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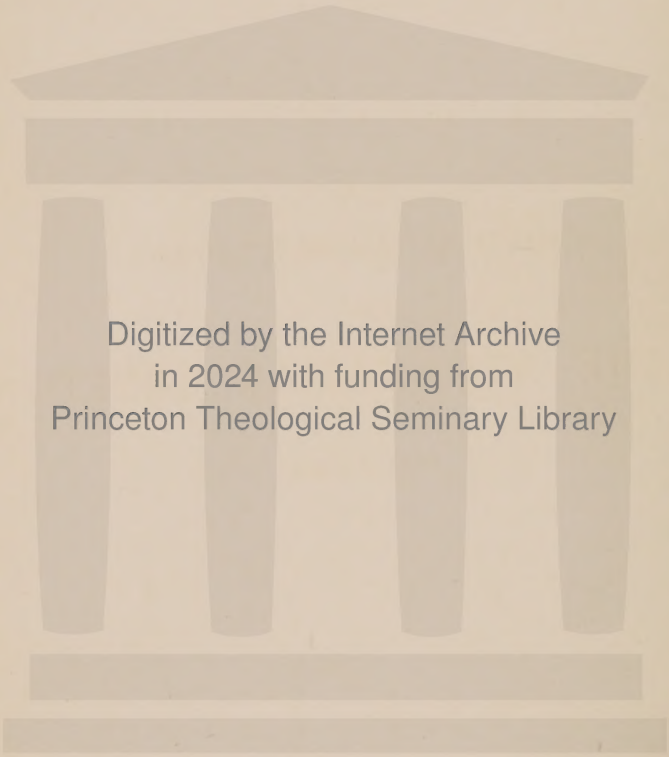
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A

CRITICAL DISSERTATION

ON

THE ATHANASIAN CREED

OMMANNEY

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A CRITICAL DISSERTATION

ON THE

ATHANASIAN CREED

ITS ORIGINAL LANGUAGE, DATE, AUTHORSHIP, TITLES, TEXT, RECEPTION, AND USE

BY

G. D. W. OMMANNEY, M.A.

PREBENDARY OF WELLS

Author of 'The Athanasian Creed, an examination of recent theories respecting its Date and Origin,' and of 'Early History of the Athanasian Creed, the results of some original research upon the subject'

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PREFACE

MANY years ago the late Dean Burgon suggested to me, as a work which I might usefully undertake, to supply the desideratum of a complete account up to date of the Athanasian Creed. The following pages are the result of a very humble but I trust honest attempt, so far as it goes, to reach the high ideal thus set before me. Of its imperfections I am fully sensible.

It is almost needless to say that I have derived great assistance from the well-known work of Waterland upon the subject, which, though it necessarily falls short of our present standard of knowledge, possesses a permanent value. But I have not accepted his statements and conclusions without examination, and in some cases have been unable to follow him; as, for instance, in regard to the Commentary ascribed by him to Venantius Fortunatus, but which seems to me to be of uncertain authorship.

Another book which has furnished me with information is the late Dr. Swainson's work on the Creeds, and I am all the more ready to make the acknowledgement, as I differ entirely from the author's theories with respect to the origin, construction, and date of the *Quicunque vult*. This was my introduction to the important MSS. of the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris — Latin 13,159, 1,451, and 3,848 B.

The information thus acquired has been supplemented by the results of study and research carried on, as opportunity has permitted, for more than twenty years in our own public Libraries and in some foreign collections, viz. the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, the Public Library at Troyes, the Ambrosian Library at Milan, and the Vatican.

It will be seen that I have divided the work into two parts, the first treating in detail of the various authorities and documents on which the history of the Creed rests, the second stating the conclusions to be drawn from them in regard to the several points of principal interest and importance. Any person, not largely endowed with the gift of patience, may do wisely to proceed at once to the second part, and if he wishes to examine the grounds of any particular conclusion as explained in the first, he will be able to do so by means of reference to the list of contents and the foot-notes.

The present volume comprises, together with much additional matter, the substance of two volumes previously issued by me on the same subject.

My sincere thanks are due to the Rev. C. E. Plumb, Principal of St. Stephen's House, Oxford, for kindly undertaking the troublesome but useful task of compiling Indices. To others, who have assisted me by advice or information, I have expressed my grateful acknowledgements in the various passages of my book where they are called for.

G. D. W. OMMANNEY.

OXFORD,
November, 1896.

CONTENTS

PART I.

DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE.

PAGE

INTRODUCTORY 1

CHAPTER I.

TESTIMONIES 2–46

1. Avitus, Bishop of Vienne. 2. Sermon on the Apostles' Creed addressed to Catechumens at the 'Traditio Symboli.' 3. Another Sermon of the same class, attributed to Caesarius, Bishop of Arles. 4. A fragment of a third, sometimes inaccurately described as the Colbertine manuscript of the Athanasian Creed, in this volume generally referred to as the 'Trèves fragment.' 5. Confession of Faith of the Fourth Council of Toledo. 6. Confession of Faith of Denebert, Bishop of the Wiccii or Worcester. 7. Alcuin, *Libellus de Processione Spiritus Sancti.* 8. Theodulf, Bishop of Orleans, *De Spiritu Sancto.* 9. Letter of Frank monks of Mount Olivet at Jerusalem. 10. Agobard, Bishop of Lyons. 11. Catalogue of Abbots of Fleury on the Loire. 12. Letter of Florus the Deacon to Hyldrad the Abbot. 13. Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims. 14. Anscharius, Archbishop of Hamburg and Bremen. 15. Ratramn or Bertram, *Contra Graecorum opposita.* 16. Æneas, Bishop of Paris, *Liber adversus Graecos.* 17. Confession of Faith of Adalbert, Bishop of Morinum. 18. Ancient Charter, quoted by Martene. 19. Udalric, *Consuetudines Cluniacenses.* 20. Ratherius, Bishop of Verona. 21. Abbo Floriacensis, *Apologeticus.* 22. Ælfric, Homily *De Fide Catholica.* 23. Irish document edited by the late Bishop Reeves. 24. Honorius of Autun, *Gemma animae.* 25. Abelard, *Epistolae* i. and x. 26. Otto, Bishop of Freisingen, *Chronicle.* 27. Henry, Abbot of Brunswick, quoted in the *Chronicle* of Arnold, Abbot of Lübeck. 28. Treatise ascribed to Robert Paululus of Amiens. 29. John Beleth, *Rationale.* 30. Letter of the Legates of Pope Gregory IX respecting their mission to the Eastern Church. 31. Alexander Hales, *Summa Theologiae.* 32. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae* 33. Johannes Januensis, sometimes called Balbus, *Catholicon.* 34. Gulielmus Durandus or Durantus, *Rationale.* 35. Ludolphus Saxo, *De vita Christi.*

CHAPTER II.

PAGE

Canons and Ecclesiastical Injunctions . . . 47–92

1. *Epistola Canonica.* 2. Canon of Autun. 3. Theodulf, *Capitulare*, also *Capitula ad Presbyteros.* 4. Other evidence of the use of the Athanasian Creed being enjoined by authority in the time of Charlemagne. 5. Hatto or Hetto or Ahyto, Bishop of Basle, *Capitulare.* 6. *Capitulare* drawn up during the reign of the Emperor Lothair. 7. Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims, *Capitula Synodica.* 8. Riculfus, Bishop of Soissons, *Capitula.* 9. Regino, Abbot of Prum, *Libri duo de Ecclesiasticis disciplinis.* 10. *Admonitio synodalis.* 11. Atto, Bishop of Vercellae, *Capitulare.* 12. Ratherius, Bishop of Verona, *Synodica.* 13. Walter de Cantilupe, Bishop of Worcester, *Constitutiones.* 14. Walter de Kirkham, Bishop of Durham, *Constitutiones.* 15. Peter Quivil, Bishop of Exeter, *Constitutiones.* 16. Confession of Faith in the Sarum *Ordo ad visitandum infirmum.*

CHAPTER III.

Manuscript Copies 93–165

1. Milan Ambrosian Library, O. 212, of the eighth century—a brief collection of Confessions of Faith and works upon dogma. 2. MS. of the same century, mentioned by Montfaucon as belonging to the Abbey of St. Germain-des-Prés in Paris, but now lost. 3. Another, probably belonging to the same century, mentioned by Mabillon, also lost. 4. Codex numbered xxviii in Denis' Catalogue of Theological Manuscripts in the Imperial Library at Vienna—a Psalter written in the latter part of the eighth century. 5. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Latin MS. 13,159—a Psalter dating between Christmas 795 and Christmas 800. 6. Another MS. in the same Library, Latin 4,858. In this book, owing to its mutilation, the Athanasian Creed is imperfect. It is of the same epoch as the Vienna Psalter mentioned above. 7. In the same Library, Latin MS. 1,451, of the beginning of the ninth century—a collection of Canons. 8. In the same Library, Latin MS 3,848 B, also of the early part of the ninth century. It includes *inter alia* the Herovall collection of Canons. 9. Psalter written in honour of the Emperor Lothair probably about 834. 10. The Utrecht Psalter, probably written early in the ninth century. 11. British Museum, Cotton MS. Galba A. xviii, sometimes described as King Æthelstan's Psalter. In this book the Psalms and Canticles, including the Athanasian Creed, were written in Germany between 817 and 850. 12. Rome, Vatican Library, Palat. MS. 574, of the ninth century—a collection of Canons. 13. No. 269 in Denis' Catalogue of Theological MSS. in the Vienna Imperial Library. In this book the Athanasian Creed follows the two books of Isidore of Seville addressed to Florentina, and it is followed by the original Nicene Creed and another Confession of Faith. 14. The Psalter of Charles the Bald, written between 842 and 869. It is deposited in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris. 15. Parker MS. 272. O. 5, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge—a Psalter dating probably 883. 16. A quadruple Psalter deposited at Bamberg, dating 909. 17. British Museum MS. Bib. Reg. 2. B. v—Psalter written in

PAGE

England early in the tenth century. 18. Lambeth MS. 427—Psalter written in England about the middle of the tenth century. 19. Salisbury Cathedral Library MS. 150—Psalter written in England in the second half of the tenth century. 20. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Latin MSS. 2,341 and 2,076, both assigned to the tenth century. The Athanasian Creed occurs in a series of Confessions of Faith, preserved in these two codices. 21. Rome, Vatican Library, Vat. MS. 82—Psalter probably compiled in the Province of Liguria and in the tenth century. 22. In the same Library, Vat. 84—Psalter assigned to the tenth century, and probably compiled in Central Italy. 23. Cambridge University Library, Ff. T. 23, written shortly before the Norman Conquest in England, probably at Canterbury. 24. Parker MS. 391, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge—Psalter written about the time of the Norman Conquest in England, probably at Worcester. 25. British Museum, Arundel MS. 60—Psalter written at Winchester at the end of the eleventh century. 26. Oxford Bodleian Library, Canonici MS. Patr. Lat. 88—Psalter of the tenth century written in Italy. 27. Paris, Cod. Mazarin, 364—Breviary written at Monte Casino in 1099.

CHAPTER IV.

COMMENTARIES OR EXPOSITIONS 166–269

1. Commentary sometimes attributed to Venantius Fortunatus. 2. The Troyes Commentary. 3. The Oratorian. 4. The Bouhier. 5. The Paris. 6. The Stavelot. 7. Commentary from an Orleans MS. attributed, but on uncertain grounds, to Theodulf. 8. Commentary drawn partly from the Stavelot and partly from the Oratorian. 9. Commentary in the form of question and answer. 10. Commentary in Boulogne MS 20. 11. Commentary in Bruno's Psalter. 12. Two expositions in Milan MS. M. 79. 13. Interrogative Commentary in British Museum MS. Reg. 8. B. xiv. 14. Commentary in Milan MS. I. 152. 15. Abelard's Commentary. 16. Discourse of Hildegardis, Abbess of St. Rupert near Bingen. 17. Commentary in Phillipps MS. 1655. 18. Commentary in Merton College, Oxford, MS. 208. 19. Commentary of Simon Tornacensis. 20. Of Alexander Necham. 21. Of Alexander Nequam. 22. Of Alexander Hales. 23. Of Richard Rolle of Hampole. 24. Of John Wyclif or one of his followers. 25. Of Dionysius Carthusiensis. 26. Of Petrus de Osma. 27. Of Jacobus Perez.

CHAPTER V.

VERSIONS 270–332

1. Greek versions: (*a*) The first of four Greek versions edited by Montfaucon in his *Diatribe de Symbolo Quicunque*; (*b*) the second; (*c*) the third; (*d*) the fourth; (*e*) the first of two Greek versions edited by Professor Caspari; (*f*) the second; (*g*) the version in the Appendix to the Greek Horology. 2. English versions, including that in the Prayer Book. 3. German. 4. French. 5. Spanish.

PART II.

CONCLUSIONS.

CHAPTER I.

PAGE

The Language 334–335

CHAPTER II.

The Date 336–374

CHAPTER III.

Authorship 375–391

CHAPTER IV.

Titles 392–406

CHAPTER V.

The Text 407–419

CHAPTER VI.

Reception and Use 420–459

APPENDIX.

A. Trèves Fragment 461–462

B. Extract from *Admonitio synodalis* 462–463

C. Confession of Faith in Sarum *Ordo ad visitandum infirmum* 463–464

D. Latin Psalters 465–472

F. The Text of the Athanasian Creed, as it appears in Waterland's *Critical History*, with Various Readings from seventeen Manuscripts 472–478

F. The Troyes Commentary from the Troyes MS. 804 478–491

G. The Oratorian Commentary from the same MS., with Collations from Mai's Edition . . 492–514

H. Preface to the Oratorian Commentary as edited by Cardinal Mai, with Collations from the Vatican MS. Reg. 231 514–515

I. The Bouhier Commentary from Troyes MS. 1,979, with Collations from Troyes 1,532 and British Museum Addit. 24,902 515–531

J. The Paris Commentary from Paris Bibliothèque Nationale, Latin MS. 1,012 531–539

K. Greek Version of the Athanasian Creed from Ὧραι τῆς ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας κατ' ἔθος τῆς Ῥωμαικῆς αὐλῆς, printed by Aldus at Venice A. D. 1497 540–541

L. Portion of a Greek Version of the same from Vat. MS. 81 541

M. Early English Version of the same from British Museum MS. Addit. 17,376 542–544

N. Wycliffite Version of the same from British Museum MS. Addit. 10,046 544–546

General Index 547

Index of Manuscripts 554

ERRATA.

P. 183, l. 15, *for* E. A. *read* A. E. Burn.
P. 189, l. 18, *for* controversy *read* heresy.
P. 212, l. 14, *for* is *read* in.
P. 486, l. 13, *for* montem *read* mortem.

PART I.

DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE.

INTRODUCTORY.

THE evidences of the ancient history of the Athanasian Creed must be sought firstly in passages of ancient authors or documents containing express references to it or quoting or adopting its language: also in Canons and authoritative injunctions relating to it: also in manuscript copies of it now existing, or which are known to have existed, though now lost: also in Commentaries or expositions upon its text: lastly, in the different versions or translations into which it has been rendered.

I propose first to review these several classes of evidence categorically, and then to consider the conclusions to be drawn from them with respect to the language in which the Creed was composed, its date and authorship, the titles applied to it, its text, its use and reception in the Church. In regard to the three first of these points it will be necessary also to take into consideration the internal evidence supplied by the document itself.

CHAPTER I.

TESTIMONIES.

PASSAGES of ancient authors or documents containing express references to the Creed or quoting or adopting its language. These I will classify as ancient testimonies.

1. The earliest writer who can with good reason be alleged as a witness to the existence of the *Quicunque* and its reception in the Church as a work of authority is Avitus, who became Bishop of Vienne in Gaul, A.D. 490, and is believed to have died A.D. 518. In a fragment of a work *De Divinitate Spiritus Sancti*, written *contra Gundobadum Arrianum regem*, he quotes, and that as from a well-known work of authority, the very language of the Athanasian Creed respecting the Holy Spirit: 'quem nec factum *legimus* nec genitum nec creatum,' adding shortly afterwards: 'Nos vero Spiritum Sanctum dicimus a Filio et Patre procedere.' What makes the matter still more clear, if that is possible, is that in another fragment of the same book he refers, as it appears, to some formulated confession of the Catholic Faith as teaching this doctrine of the Double Procession: 'Sicut est proprium Spiritui Sancto a Patre Filioque procedere, istud Catholica Fides etiamsi renuentibus non persuaserit, in suae tamen disciplinae regula non excedit.' If a Confession of Faith is here alluded to, what else but the *Quicunque* could be intended, the *Filioque* not having been inserted, at least so far as we are aware, in the Constantino-

politan Creed so early as the commencement of the sixth century? We shall find too, as we proceed, that the Athanasian Creed was entitled sometimes 'Catholica Fides,' and that this was probably its earliest title[1].

2. Evidence of the early existence of the Athanasian Creed is supplied by Sermons on the Apostles' Creed addressed to Catechumens at the 'Traditio Symboli' previous to Baptism. The first of these which I shall adduce, as being probably the earliest, is preserved in two MSS. of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; Latin 3848 B. and 2123[2]. It commences: 'Rogo vos et admoneo, fratres karissimi, quicunque vult salvus esse fidem rectam catholicam firmiter teneat inviolatamque conservet: quam si quis digne non habuerit, regnum Dei non possidebit.' The resemblance here to the two first verses of the Creed is such, as to produce the conviction either that the Creed borrowed from the Sermon or the Sermon from the Creed. The latter is clearly the most probable alternative. In two other places the language of the *Quicunque* crops up—in the comment upon the Articles, 'conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary:' 'Hoc est sine matre de Patre Deus ante secula, et homo de matre sine patre carnali in finem seculorum,' and in the exposition of the doctrine of the Trinity: 'Pater Deus est et Filius Deus est et Spiritus Sanctus Deus est et non sunt tres Dii, sed unus est Deus.' This discourse may be considered to be coeval with Avitus, the Creed which it expounds being of a type which cannot be assigned to a later date apparently, as it

[1] See Baluzii *Miscellaneorum* liber primus. Paris, 1678. Baluze published these fragments, as appears from the list of contents, from an ancient MS. of the Abbey of St. Gall in Switzerland.

[2] The expository portion of it is printed in Appendix G of my volume entitled *Early History of the Athanasian Creed.* It was also edited by Caspari, *Kirchenhistorische Anecdota*, p. 283.

did not contain the words 'passus' or 'mortuus' or 'omnipotentis,' nor yet the articles 'descendit ad inferna,' 'sanctorum communionem,' 'vitam aeternam.' In all probability it was preached in Gaul, but the author is unknown.

3. The second of these Sermons which I shall refer to as adopting the terminology of the *Quicunque* was at first published among the works of St. Augustine, but was relegated by the Benedictines to the Appendix of their edition, and assigned to Caesarius, who was Bishop of Arles from A.D. 502 until his death in 542 A.D.[1] The commencement corresponds almost word for word with that of the previously-mentioned Sermon: 'Rogo et admoneo vos, fratres carissimi, ut quicunque vult salvus esse, fidem rectam ac catholicam discat, firmiter teneat, inviolatamque conservet.' The word 'discat' introduced here is noticeable, as possibly suggested by the requirement to learn the Athanasian Creed by heart, which was imposed upon the clergy, as we shall see by-and-by, in places as early as the seventh and sixth centuries. The preacher then continues his address in terms apparently borrowed both from the first part of the *Quicunque* relating to the Trinity, and from the second relating to the Incarnation: 'Ita ergo oportet unicuique observare, ut credat Patrem, credat Filium, credat Spiritum Sanctum. Deus Pater, Deus Filius, Deus et Spiritus Sanctus; sed tamen non tres Dii, sed unus Deus. Qualis Pater, talis Filius, talis et Spiritus Sanctus. Attamen credat unusquisque fidelis, quod Filius aequalis est Patri secundum divinitatem et minor est Patri secundum humanitatem carnis.'

4. The third Sermon of this class which I must appeal to as a witness to the antiquity of the Athanasian Creed

[1] S. Augustini *Opera*, Appendix tomi quinti, *Sermo* ccxliv: Migne, *Patrol. Latina*, tom. xxxix. 2194.

exists at present only in a fragmentary state. The fragment is contained in No. 3836 of the Latin MSS. of the Paris National Library—a manuscript assigned by Palaeographers, without a single dissentient voice, to the eighth century, written in Lombardic characters and comprising an ancient collection of Canons. Montfaucon, in his *Diatribe de Symbolo Quicunque*, says that experts of his time dated this MS. about the age of Pepin, i. e. the middle of the eighth century; and such was his own opinion. The authors of the *Nouveau Traité Diplomatique* affirm that 'the Latinity and faulty spelling prove clearly enough that it was written before the revival of letters in the time of Charlemagne[1].' A facsimile of the writing, which includes the fragment we are referring to, appears in the third volume of the publications of the Palaeographical Society; and the editors describe the MS. as belonging to the eighth century. This fragment is introduced after a reference to the Council of Chalcedon with the following note: 'Haec invini Treveris in uno libro scriptum sic incipiente Domini nostri Ihesu Christi et reliqua.' In it the author of the Sermon adapts and modifies several verses of the Athanasian Creed, for the purpose of instructing his hearers in the doctrine of the Incarnation. It begins abruptly with the words of the twenty-ninth verse: 'Domini nostri Ihesu Christi fideliter credat;' and all the verses following down to the thirty-ninth inclusive are thus dealt with. The text of the Creed is not followed literally and exactly. No verse is reproduced without some variation, and in some places the divergence is very great. The thirty-fifth verse is almost passed over. Still the resemblance between the two documents is sufficiently obvious to show beyond a possibility of doubt the close

[1] Tom. iii. p. 73.

relationship between them. One must have been framed from the other; the Creed from the fragment or the reverse. The late Dr. Swainson and Dr. Lumby, following in his steps, believed the former to be the case, that the fragment was the embryo out of which the latter part of the *Quicunque* grew; and very naturally they did so, considering the exigencies of their hypothesis respecting the Creed, that it is a work of the ninth century, not earlier. Notwithstanding these high authorities, I venture to maintain on the other hand, and with the fullest confidence, that the Trèves fragment was built upon the Creed as its basis; and I believe this to be the conclusion to which nine out of ten persons qualified to form an opinion on the subject would be led by a careful comparison of the two documents. As this is a point of great importance, I think it expedient to reproduce here as briefly as possible some particulars of the proof which on a previous occasion I produced upon the subject.

Let the verses 34 and 35 of the Creed be contrasted with the corresponding passages from St. Augustine and the fragment.

'Ut quemadmodum homo est anima et caro, sic esset Christus Deus et homo. Idem Deus qui homo et qui Deus idem homo: non confusione naturae sed unitate personae.' (S. Augustini *Sermo* clxxxvi. cap. 1.)

'Sicut enim unus est homo anima rationalis et caro, sic unus est Christus Deus et homo.' (Id. *Tract. in Johannis Evan.*, lxxviii. sect. 3.)

'Unus omnino non confusione substantiae, sed unitate personae. Nam sicut anima rationalis et caro unus est homo, ita Deus et homo unus est Christus. Qui passus est,' etc. (*Athanasian Creed*, verses 34, 35, 36.)

'Unus Christus est non confusione substantiae, sed unitatem personae qui . . . passus,' etc. (*Trèves fragment*: see Appendix A.)

The reading 'unitatem' may be passed by as of no significance. Probably it was owing to the ignorance or

carelessness of the scribe, and was not originally in the Sermon. On comparison of the above passages it must be evident that the verses of the Creed could not be drawn from the fragment, because they contain important matter which is not to be found there, also that they were drawn from the passages of St. Augustine. In verse 34, 'unus omnino' is an abbreviated rendering of 'idem Deus qui homo et qui Deus idem homo' in the first passage of St. Augustine, and 'substantiae' in the former is substituted for 'naturae' in the latter. Verse 35 is nothing but the second passage of St. Augustine with a similar transposition of words in each member of the sentence. It is still further clear that the fragment, or to speak more accurately, the author of the Sermon, of which it originally formed a part, drew immediately from the Creed, not from St. Augustine, because he adopts the 'substantiae' of the former, not the 'naturae' of the latter; and, wishing to avoid using the illustration of Christ's unity which appears in verse 35, he still borrows from it 'Christus est,' and substitutes this for the 'omnino' of the Creed in order to make clear the reference of 'qui . . . passus.' Obviously the verses of the Creed supplied the materials with which this passage of the fragment was constructed. This is quite sufficient proof of the point I contend for; but I will add two others in confirmation. In the thirty-sixth verse the Athanasian Creed has 'ad inferos,' for which the fragment substitutes 'ad inferna'—a change which the homilist would naturally make in discoursing at the 'Traditio Symboli,' for the Catechumens whom he was addressing would have just before been taught to repeat the latter words in the Apostles' Creed. On the other hand, if the *Quicunque* was drawn from the fragment, as Professors Swainson and Lumby have asserted, why did not the former retain the

'ad inferna' of the latter? The use of 'ad inferos' in Confessions of Faith is so very rare, comparatively speaking, that the substitution of it for the more common and familiar expression would be perfectly unaccountable. Once more the Creed reads 'resurgere habent' in the thirty-eighth verse—a peculiar idiom, but one of common occurrence in the writings of St. Augustine. In its place the fragment gives 'erunt resurrecturi,' which savours of the corrupt Latinity of the sixth or seventh centuries. Had the author of the Creed drawn from the fragment, he would probably have substituted for this barbarism 'resurrecturi sunt,' but it is most improbable that he would have put in its place such a peculiar expression as 'resurgere habent.'

This Trèves fragment is a document of such importance in the history of the Athanasian Creed, that we have great reason to be thankful for being furnished with an accurate copy of it in the facsimile of the Palaeographical Society. From this source I have printed it in Appendix A.

It has been very frequently, indeed commonly, described as the Colbertine MS. of the Athanasian Creed—Colbertine, because the MS. containing it belonged originally to the Library of Colbert, the Minister of Louis XIV. And the result of this has been that an undue weight has been attached to it for determining the true readings and text of the Creed. But this view is entirely erroneous; and it is specially necessary to note the error on account of the mischievous consequences with which it is fraught. The fragment, it is important to remember, is not a copy of the Athanasian Creed, nor yet of a part of it: but it is a copy of the conclusion of a Sermon delivered to Catechumens at the 'Traditio Symboli'—the ceremony preparatory to

Baptism in which they were instructed in the Apostles' Creed; and the preacher, as I have already said, therein gives an exposition of the doctrine of the Incarnation, which obviously, though not avowedly, is built upon the lines of the *Quicunque*, and to a certain extent, indeed a large extent, employs its very language. That this is the true nature of the document, is obvious in the first place from the remarkable variations which it presents when contrasted with the text of the Athanasian Creed as found in all ancient MSS., among which the diversity is notably small. And next, this is obvious from the fact of its modifying the words of the Creed for the purpose of a discourse. Thus instead of 'inde venturus iudicare vivos et mortuos' we find, 'inde ad iudicandos vivos et mortuos *credimus et speramus* eum esse venturum.' And thirdly, it contains a distinct allusion to the ceremony of the 'Traditio Symboli' in the words introduced immediately after the article 'ad dexteram Dei Patris sedet,' viz. 'sicut *vobis* in symbolo traditum est.' It must be remarked also that these words occur immediately before the words—'inde ad iudicandos,' &c.—just quoted, taken in connexion with which they show very plainly and vividly that this fragment was not only part of a Sermon, but of one addressed to Catechumens at the 'Traditio Symboli.'

Such being the true account of the Trèves fragment, it follows that although it is not a copy of the Athanasian Creed nor of a part of it, still it is of the greatest value as evidence of its antiquity, the Creed being the basis, as we have seen, and supplying to some extent the very wording of the doctrinal teaching on the Incarnation contained in it or rather in the Sermon, of which it formed a part. What was the date of this Sermon? This it would be important to ascertain, if possible, in order to arrive at a true estimate

of its testimony to the antiquity of the Creed. And thus much may be asserted with safety, that it could not have been composed later than the seventh century, the MS., in which a portion of it is preserved, belonging to the eighth. We do not know what was the document found by the writer of the Paris MS. at Trèves, whether it contained the whole Sermon or only the fragment which he transcribed; nor yet how long it had been there, nor how long before it was written, nor yet whether it was the autograph, i. e. the original copy, in whole or part, or a copy from that, or one of a succession of copies. It is very improbable that it was the autograph. The writer of the Paris MS. does not seem to have considered it a recent contemporary document. Some period must have elapsed—we may reasonably believe not less than fifty years—between the composition of the Sermon and the time when the scribe met with this fragment of it at Trèves. And while the Sermon must thus be a work of the sèventh century at the latest, there is some internal evidence which points to the sixth century as the more probable era of its production. According to the preacher or homilist, the article of the Apostles' Creed respecting our Lord's session at the right hand of the Father at the time of his preaching the Sermon was as follows: 'ad dexteram dei patris sedet'; for he refers his hearers to these words as just delivered to them in the symbol or Apostles' Creed—'sicut vobis in symbolo traditum est.' But in the seventh century this article of the Creed is generally found with the word *omnipotentis* annexed to it. Dr. Heurtley says[1]: 'We do not meet with *Dei Patris omnipotentis* till it occurs in the Creed of Eusebius Gallus, nor again till it occurs in the Creeds of the *Codex Bobiensis* in the middle of the seventh century. From that

[1] *Harmonia Symbolica*, p. 138.

time it may be considered established.' The Creed of Eusebius Gallus, by the way, is referred to the sixth century: the Creeds of the *Codex Bobiensis* are contained in a Gallican Sacramentary found by Mabillon in the Monastery of Bobio in North Italy. If he is right in assigning the MS. to the middle of the seventh century, the type of the Creed which it presents cannot be of a later date, and may have been used earlier. The usual earlier form is 'ad dexteram Patris.' 'Ad dexteram Dei Patris' is very unusual. Hahn, in his *Bibliothek der Symbole*, cites three instances of it, one of which occurs in St. Augustine's *Sermo in Redditione Symboli*, ccxv. It occurs also in the discourse on the Apostles' Creed previously noticed as contained in two Paris MSS. No instance seems to be known of this article being used in the seventh century or after without *omnipotentis*. Nor is the occurrence of the words 'ad inferna descendens,' in obvious reference to the Apostles' Creed, inconsistent with the hypothesis that this Sermon was a work of the sixth century, inasmuch as 'descendit ad inferna' was an article of the Aquileian Creed in the time of Rufinus, and appears also in a Spanish Creed of the sixth century, and in the Creed as expounded by Caesarius, Bishop of Arles, in the same century, and as commented on by Venantius Fortunatus, Bishop of Poictiers, in the latter part of the same century. Nor can a later date be assigned to the Creed printed by Blanchini from a Verona MS., in which this article is also found.

Thus we arrive at the conclusion that the Sermon, a fragment of which is preserved in the Latin MS. No. 3836 of the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, and which adapts and modifies much of the language of the Athana-

[1] See Hahn, *Bibliothek der Symbole*, pp. 25, 28, 35, 42.

sian Creed on the subject of the Incarnation, was certainly not composed later than the seventh century, and probably belongs to the sixth.

5. In the Confession of Faith, which was composed and promulgated by the Fourth Council of Toledo A.D. 633, several expressions occur bearing an obvious resemblance to the Athanasian Creed, viz.: 'Nec personas confundimus nec substantiam separamus. Patrem a nullo factum vel genitum dicimus; Filium a Patre non factum, sed genitum asserimus; Spiritum vero Sanctum nec creatum nec genitum, sed procedentem ex Patre et Filio profitemur: ipsum autem Dominum Iesum Christum Filium Dei . . . ex substantia Patris ante secula genitum—aequalis Patri secundum divinitatem, minor Patre secundum humanitatem—perferens passionem et mortem pro nostra salute—descendit ad inferos.—Haec est Ecclesiae Catholicae fides, hanc confessionem servamus atque tenemus, quam quisquis firmissime custodierit, perpetuam salutem habebit[1].' I used to be of opinion that the resemblance between these expressions of the Confession of Faith of the Fourth Council of Toledo and the corresponding passages of the *Quicunque* was nothing more than the result of both Confessions of Faith giving utterance to the common terminology of Catholicity. More mature consideration has convinced me of the correctness of Waterland's view, that the relationship between the two confessions is of a much closer nature, the Toledan being drawn from the Athanasian. My grounds for this conclusion are as follows:—Firstly, in two of the above instances the terminology is of too unusual and peculiar a nature to be set down as the common language of Catholicity. Thus in the words 'perferens passionem et mortem *pro nostra salute*' of the

[1] Labbe, *Concilia*, tom. x. p. 615. Florentiae, 1764.

Toledan confession, and in the obviously corresponding expression of the *Quicunque*, 'passus *pro salute nostra*,' we find a terminology, which I believe I may assert with safety is all but peculiar to these two Confessions of Faith. In other confessions, with one exception, where any mention is made of the saving benefits of Christ's work, it is made in connexion with His mission into the world and Incarnation, not His Passion, and we have *propter salutem nostram* not *pro salute nostra*. In the Nicene and Constantinopolitan Creeds we say 'for us men and for our salvation[1]. 'He came down from heaven and was incarnate,' &c.; and the language of the Union Creed of the Antiochenes, A. D. 433, and of the Synod of Constantinople, A. D. 448, was the same. The Creed of the Western Church, or Apostles' Creed, simply mentions the fact of our Lord's Passion under Pontius Pilate. Confessions of Latin doctors assert with the Greek Creeds, that He came down from heaven, 'propter nostram salutem,' or the like. So that of Auxentius of Milan, the Damasi Symbolum, the Fides Romanorum. In one only can I find exactly the same phrase, viz. in the Confession of Pelagius I, which has 'pro nostra salute passum[2].' The other instance of doctrinal terminology peculiar wellnigh to the Confession of the Fourth of Toledo and the *Quicunque* is in the words 'descendit ad *inferos*,' which occur in both. It has been already mentioned that in the seventh century the article of the Descent into Hell had found its way generally into the Creed of the West, but differently expressed, in the form, namely, 'descendit in inferna,' or 'ad infernum,' or 'ad inferna.' The only Confession of Faith in which 'descendit ad inferos' appears,

[1] δι' ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν; in the Latin translation, 'propter nos homines et salutem nostram.'

[2] See Hahn, *Bibliothek der Symbole*, pp. 78, 83, 137, 139, 197, 204, 270.

besides the two we are specially referring to, is Irish—it appears in the Antiphonary of Bangor, which is preserved in an Irish MS. of the eighth century belonging to the Ambrosian Library at Milan[1]. The fact of this peculiar terminology being found in these two confessions points clearly to the existence of a close connexion between them —closer than that of a common Catholicity. Either the *Quicunque* must have drawn from the Toledan Confession or the Toledan Confession from the *Quicunque*. That the latter was the case we are led to believe by the commencing words of this very Toledan Confession, in which the bishops and doctors, by whom it was formulated and subscribed, affirm it to be 'in accordance with the Divine Scriptures and *the doctrine or teaching which we have received from the holy Fathers*[2].' And I am confirmed in this belief by finding, on a closer examination of the Toledan Confession of Faith, that besides the expressions bearing an evident resemblance to the language of the Athanasian Creed it contains others, clearly derived, as from their sources, from two other ancient Confessions of Faith, which are distinct documents, though possessing much in common, the one sometimes described in MSS. as 'Fides Romanae ecclesiae,' sometimes as 'Fides Romanorum,' sometimes attributed to Augustine, sometimes to Athanasius, the other commonly known as 'Damasi Fides,' but frequently attributed to St. Jerome in ancient MSS. These two Confessions, together with the Athanasian Creed, are found in a series of twelve ancient Confessions of Faith which appears in two MSS. of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Latin 2076 and 2341; the Athanasian Creed being de-

[1] Hahn, p. 41.

[2] 'Secundum divinas Scripturas et doctrinam, quam a sanctis Patribus accepimus.'

scribed as 'Fides catholica dicta a sancto Athanasio episcopo Alexandrino,' the 'Damasi symbolum' as 'Fides catholica dicta a sancto iheronimo presbitero,' and the 'Fides Romanorum' as 'Fides catholica ab ortodoxis patribus exposita,' also as 'Exemplar fidei catholice.' The Toledan fathers must have had these three documents before them, and gathered from thence the materials for the construction of their own confession [1].

6. The next document I desire to refer to as affording evidence of the antiquity of the Athanasian Creed is the profession of obedience made by Denebert to Ethelheard, Archbishop of Canterbury, at his consecration as Bishop of the Huiccii, i.e. of Worcester, A.D. 798. After avowing his purpose of obedience, Denebert proceeds to declare his faith in the Holy Trinity in terms obviously culled from the Creed: 'Orthodoxam, catholicam apostolicamque fidem, sicut didici, paucis exponam verbis, quia scriptum est *quicunque vult salvus esse, ante omnia opus est illi ut teneat catholicam fidem. Fides autem catholica haec est, ut unum Deum in Trinitate et Trinitatem in Unitate veneremur; neque confundentes personas neque substantiam separantes. Alia enim est persona Patris, alia Filii, alia Spiritus Sancti: sed Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti una est Divinitas, aequalis gloria, coaeterna majestas. Pater a nullo factus est, nec creatus nec genitus: Filius a Patre solo est, non factus nec creatus, sed genitus: Spiritus a Patre et Filio, non factus nec creatus nec genitus, sed procedens. In*

[1] For some account of the 'Fides Romanorum' and the 'Damasi Symbolum,' I may refer to my book entitled *Early History of the Athanasian Creed*, pp. 202–212. Copies of both from Paris MSS. are printed in Appendix H of the same volume. They are also to be found in Hahn's *Bibliothek*, the former as the 'Erste Formel' of the symbols ascribed to Damasus, the latter as the 'Zweite Formel,' pp. 204 and 207. The 'Fides Romanorum' is the combination of two shorter confessions, which appear in their separate form in the same MS., as the Trèves fragment.

hac Trinitate nihil prius aut posterius, nihil majus aut minus, sed totae tres personae co-aeternae sibi sunt et coaequales. Ita ut per omnia, sicut supra dictum est, et Trinitas in Unitate et Unitas in Trinitate veneranda sit. Suscipio etiam decreta Pontificum et sex synodos catholicas antiquorum heroicorum virorum, et praefixam ab iis regulam sincera devotione conservo. Haec est fides nostra, evangelicis et apostolicis traditionibus atque auctoritate firmata, et omnium quae in hoc mundo sunt catholicarum ecclesiarum societate fundata; in qua nos per gratiam Dei Omnipotentis permanere usque ad finem vitae hujus confidimus et speramus. Amen [1].'

It will be noticed that Denebert introduces his brief abstract from the *Quicunque* by the term 'scriptum est [2],' indicating that he was quoting from a well-known and authoritative document—one, too, which apparently, if we may judge from the expression 'ut didici,' he had learnt by heart. Brevity of exposition being avowedly his object, he does not go on to employ the language of the Creed for expounding his faith in the Incarnation, deeming it sufficient for this purpose to declare his adhesion to the six Oecumenical Councils. Hence his omission to quote the latter part of the Creed can afford no presumption in support of the hypothesis that in his time it existed only in an imperfect, embryo state.

7. Among the works of Alcuin is printed a *Libellus de Processione Spiritus Sancti ad Carolum Magnum.* The work consists of quotations from the Fathers; and the Athanasian Creed is twice quoted, on both occasions as the work of Athanasius. 'The blessed Athanasius, the most

[1] See *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, edited by A. W. Haddan and W. Stubbs, vol. iii. p. 525.

[2] The use of this term in St. Matt. iv. 4, 7, 10, may be considered.

reverend bishop of the city of Alexandria, . . . in the "Exposition of the Catholic Faith," which that eminent doctor himself composed, and which the universal Church (*universalis ecclesia*) confesses, declares the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father and the Son, thus saying, "The Father is made of none,"' &c. The twentieth and two following verses down to 'but proceeding,' are then quoted. The other quotation is not noticed by Waterland: '"For such as the Father is," as the blessed Athanasius, bishop of the city of Alexandria testifies, "such also is the Son, such also is the Holy Ghost, for in this Trinity none is before,"' &c. The quotation is continued to the end of the twenty-sixth verse, 'Let him thus think of the Trinity[1].' The editor of Alcuin, Frobenius, places this treatise among his genuine works upon the authority of a MS. of the ninth century, in which it appears with the title, 'Alcuinus de Processione Spiritus sancti.' The codex was given to the cathedral church of Laon by Dido, who was bishop of that see in the latter part of the ninth century, his death having occurred in 891. So that it could not have been written long after the time of Alcuin. There seems therefore good ground for attributing the treatise to him; and, if it is his work, it must have been written between the year 800, when Charlemagne was crowned Emperor—for it is dedicated to him in that character, 'Serenissimo Augusto Carolo'—and the year 804, when Alcuin died. It may very well have been written at that epoch, as the Procession was a prominent subject of discussion at the close of the eighth century, having been mooted at the Council of Gentiliacum in 867. If it is not genuine, the dedication still shows it to have

[1] Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, tom. ci. pp. 73, 82; Alcuini *Libellus de Processione*, cap. i. and cap. iii.

been written before the year 814, the date of Charlemagne's death. Thus, whether it was composed by Alcuin or not, it affords a remarkable testimony to the widespread reception of the *Quicunque* at the commencement of the ninth century, as well as to the fact that it was then considered to be the work of Athanasius.

8. Side by side with the last-named work may fitly be adduced another of the same age and dealing with the same subject, *The Procession of the Holy Spirit*, written by Theodulf, Bishop of Orleans, at the command of Charlemagne. This also consists of a series of quotations from the Fathers, and it quotes the *Quicunque* as the work of Athanasius, citing from the twentieth to the twenty-sixth verses inclusive, from the words 'The Father is made of none' to 'let him thus think of the Trinity [1].'

9. In the year 809, the Latin monks of Mount Olivet at Jerusalem wrote to the Pope respecting a dispute which had arisen between themselves and some Greek monks headed by John of the monastery of St. Sabas. The letter alludes particularly to the introduction of the *Filioque* into the Nicene or rather Constantinopolitan Creed, as one of the subjects of debate and adduces several authorities in support of the assertion of the double procession, among them the Athanasian Creed, which it entitles 'Fides S. Athanasii [2].'

10. After the death of Felix of Orgel in 818, a document was found among his papers reaffirming the errors of Adoptionism which he had abjured; and with the view of confuting them Agobard, Bishop of Lyons, composed a treatise consisting mainly, like those of Theodulf and Alcuin already mentioned, of citations from the Fathers.

[1] See Migne, *Patrol. Lat.*, tom. cv. p. 247.

[2] The epistle of the Franck monks is edited in Baluzii *Miscellanea*, tom. ii. p. 84.

The third section asserts the necessity of a belief in the Catholic Faith in the very language of the Creed: 'But he who does not condescend to read what proceeds from ourselves, may rest satisfied with the judgements of the holy Fathers here annexed, because the blessed Athanasius says, *Except a man keep the Catholic Faith whole and undefiled without doubt he shall perish everlastingly*[1]. No one can doubt that it is the second verse of the *Quicunque* which is here quoted by Agobard; and he quotes the words as those of Athanasius.

11. Baluze in his *Miscellanea*[2] has printed 'Ex veteri codice MS. Bibliothecae Colbertinae,' a catalogue of the first fourteen abbots of the celebrated Benedictine monastery of Fleury on the Loire, subjoined to which is a brief notice respecting Theodulf, the last-named in the list, containing several particulars of his life and writings which are not found elsewhere. Among other things it states that he wrote expositions of the Mass and the Athanasian Creed. My principal reason for drawing attention to this interesting and important document here, lies in the incidental mention which it makes of the daily recital of the Creed at the hour of Prime as the contemporaneous practice of monks: 'explanationem edidit,' it says of Theodulf, 'symboli sancti Athanasii, quod a monachis post tres regulares psalmos ad primam cotidie canitur.' This passage is adduced by Martene as evidence of the ancient use by the Benedictines of the *Quicunque* in the office of Prime[3]. The document is clearly subsequent in date to

[1] 'Beatus Athanasius ait, *Fidem Catholicam nisi quis integram inviolatamque servaverit, absque dubio in aeternum peribit.*' Agobardus *adversus Felicem*: see Migne, *Patrol. Latina*, tom. cv. p. 35.

[2] Baluzii *Miscellaneorum* liber primus, pp. 491, 492.

[3] Martene, *De antiquis monachorum ritibus*, lib. i. cap. iv. p. 17, ed. 1788.

the abbacy of Theodulf, which it mentions as having continued nineteen years and a half. In all probability it was drawn up soon after its termination, during the time of his successor, his name being the last, as already mentioned, in the series of abbots which it contains. This appears all the more probable from the fact of the author being himself a monk of Fleury, as is shown by his description of a place named Germaniacus, the modern Germigny, where Theodulf had built a magnificent church, as being three miles distant *from our monastery*[1]. The terms of admiration which he uses, and the particulars he states respecting Theodulf, would seem to indicate a personal knowledge and attachment. For these reasons we may believe that this document was composed not many years after the death of Theodulf, which took place in 821. The MS. from which Baluze printed it, being represented as *ancient*, cannot be supposed to be later than the tenth century, and might be of the ninth. Monsieur Cuissard, in his recent *Life of Theodulf*, refers to the latter date another MS. of it—No. 306 in the Library of Berne[2].

This is the earliest notice extant of the use of the Athanasian Creed by Benedictines, we may say of its monastic use, for it is not in the Rule of St. Benedict, i. e. it was not inserted by him in the Offices drawn up for his order[3]. Of course it does not follow from thence that the *Quicunque* was not in use among the Benedictines

[1] Monsieur Lebeuf, in 1755, speaks of the church as situated the same distance from the Abbey of Fleury. In 1839 it was placed in the class of historic monuments, and in 1861 was renovated and restored. See *Théodulfe sa vie et ses œuvres*, par Ch. Cuissard. Orléans, 1892, pp. 121, 122.

[2] U. s. p. 120.

[3] So Meratus states: 'In regula S. Benedicti nulla eius fit mentio.' *Observationes ad Gavanti Commentarium*; see Gavanti, *Thesaurus*, tom. ii. p. 173. So also Grancolas, *La Liturgie de l'Office divin*, p. 333. Paris, 1752.

prior to the epoch to which this catalogue of Fleury abbots belongs: and it is far from improbable that it was recited by them before the ninth century, though we cannot affirm it as a fact. Martene, while adducing the above evidence of the early admission of the *Quicunque* into the Benedictine Office, mentions also two other instances in point. The first of them testifies to its use at Prime in the Abbey of St. Aper or St. Evre at Toul in Lorraine, the second bears the same testimony in regard to the Abbey of St. Denis near Paris; in both too it appears to have been recited daily, but certainly in the former[1].

12. A letter from Florus the Deacon to Hyldrad the Abbot is of great interest and importance, as proving that in the first half of the ninth century the Athanasian Creed was generally admitted into Psalters and had been so admitted for some considerable time. This document was first edited by Cardinal Mai in 1828 from a manuscript in the Vatican Library[2]. The writer of the letter, several of whose works are extant, flourished from about A. D. 830 to the middle of the century, and was esteemed one of the most learned men of his day. It appears that Hyldrad had sent him a Psalter with a request that he would correct it. Florus in his reply dwells upon the difficulty of the task, arising from the great and increasing number of faulty

[1] 'Tribus hisce psalmis subiungebant olim nostri'—i. e. the Benedictines, to which order Martene himself belonged—'Symbolum S. Athanasii dictum, ut discimus ex catalogo Abbatum Floriacensium. . . . Idem patet ex Tullensi S. Apri ordinario "Omnibus diebus Dominicis infra preces post *Domine exaudi* dicat *Quicunque vult*; ceteris autem diebus dicatur *Quicunque vult* ante antiphonam. Et infra in feria 2. ad primam hymnus *Iam lucis*." Idem videre est in MS. S. Dionysii consuetudinibus.' Martene, *De antiquis monachorum ritibus*, lib. i. cap. iv. tom. iv. p. 17, ed. 1788.

[2] Mai, *Scriptorum veterum nova Collectio*, tom. iii. pp. 251–255. Rome, 1828.

copies, but says that he had done his best to correct the text by collating Jerome's translation, the Septuagint and the original Hebrew. He adds that he was aware of Hyldrad's wish to produce a new Psalter, and after giving some advice in regard to the execution of the book proceeds as follows with regard to the contents: 'Psalmis vero sola cantica copulentur[1]. Hymnis (*sic*), symbolum, oratio dominica, Fides. Compunctum[2], orationes, et si quae alia, libello altero conscribantur. Quanquam a nobis ex his omnibus solum symbolum, oratio evangelica, fides catholica, atque hymni correcti sunt; reliqua vel superstitiosa vel falsa vel parum necessaria iudicantibus; unde, et si vultis, poteritis Psalmis CI., canticis propheticis, evangelicis duobus, ea quae supra nos correxisse diximus, eo, quo a nobis commemorata sunt, ordine copulare. Alia abicite, ac velut quasdam vestri sordes psalterii fullonis vecte decutite; ut libelli illius corpus, omni labe detersa, purum et nitidum resplendeat.' The spelling and punctuation are given here as they are in Mai. That by 'Fides' and 'Fides catholica' in the above passage the Athanasian Creed is especially, though it may be not exclusively, intended, it is impossible to doubt, as each of them is distinguished from 'symbolum,' the Apostles' Creed, and the *Quicunque* is sometimes entitled 'Fides Catholica,' for instance, in the Utrecht Psalter, which may be probably assigned to the same epoch as this letter of Florus, and it is generally found in Psalters, while the Nicene, or Constantinopolitan, Creed appears in them seldom, comparatively speaking.

It appears that in Florus's time some superstitious and spurious and unnecessary matter had found its way into Psalters. In his anxiety to exclude everything of a question-

[1] This full-stop must be an error of the press.
[2] An error probably for 'computum.'

able nature, he recommends Hyldrad to subjoin nothing to the Psalms but the scriptural Canticles—Cantica—and to relegate all other matter usually annexed to Psalters to a separate volume. But he suggests an alternative plan, which he seems to prefer. He would separate the sound metal from the dross. He had therefore selected the Apostles' Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Athanasian Creed, and the Hymns, i.e. doubtless the Te Deum and the Gloria in Excelsis, and corrected their texts. These Hyldrad might, if he thought fit, subjoin to the Psalms and Canticles from Scripture. All besides should be unsparingly rejected.

That the Athanasian Creed, with the Apostles' Creed, Lord's Prayer, and Hymns, were found in Psalters generally in Florus's time, is evident first from his primary recommendation that they should be included in a separate volume together with the objectionable and unnecessary matter. Such a recommendation to separate them in this particular case from the Psalter implies that usually they were annexed to it, and would have been needless, unless this had been the case. This is evident also from his alternative advice. What was thus rejected from the Psalter must have been previously attached to it, and what was not thus rejected must have been simply retained in its usual position. Florus's advice throughout proceeds upon the assumption that there was nothing novel or unusual in the admission of the *Quicunque* to a Psalter. It is placed in the same category with the Apostles' Creed and Lord's Prayer, marked out by a clear line of distinction from the superstitious and spurious and unnecessary.

This testimony to the use of the *Quicunque* was necessarily unknown to Waterland.

13. In his work *De una et non trina Deitate*, written A.D. 857, Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims, the leading ecclesiastic of the day, repeatedly quotes the Athanasian Creed. He quotes it as the work of Athanasius, and applies to it apparently the title 'Fides Catholica.' The verses quoted are the first to the sixth inclusive, the twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth. This treatise was written for the purpose of confuting the opinions on the subject of the Holy Trinity asserted by Gotheschalcus with special reference to the term 'trina Deitas,' occurring in a hymn, the use of which, though forbidden by Hincmar, had been persistently maintained by Gotheschalcus. At the conclusion is subjoined a doctrinal formula, drawn up by Hincmar, and presented by him to Gotheschalcus on his death-bed with the promise of restoration to Catholic Communion on condition of its sincere acceptance: for the latter had incurred the penalty of excommunication. The portion of this document relating to the Trinity consists simply of verses 3–6, 24 and 25 of the *Quicunque*, with some explanatory words thrown in here and there: it is preceded by the following introduction:— 'Sic crede et confitere, sicut credit, confitetur et praedicat sancta catholica et apostolica Ecclesia dicens.[1]' In the *De una et non trina Deitate*, Hincmar quotes necessarily from the first part of the Creed only, that being alone relevant to his purpose; but in his *Explanatio in ferculum Salomonis*, which refers to the Incarnation as well as the Trinity, he quotes from both parts. It is perfectly evident that the Athanasian Creed was familiar as household words to Hincmar; and the language of the schedule or formula addressed to Gotheschalcus, which is quoted above,

[1] Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, tom. cxxv. p. 616.

shows that in his time it was considered to be a Creed of the Catholic Church.

14. In the account of the death of Anscharius, Archbishop of Hamburg and Bremen, which took place in the year 865, it is mentioned that on the night before his death, whilst the ministering priests were singing the Litany and the Psalms usually recited for the departing, he requested them also to sing the Te Deum and the Athanasian Creed[1].

15. Ratramn or Bertram, a monk of Corbie in France, in his work *Contra Graecorum opposita*, quotes the twentieth and two following verses of the Creed—'The Father is made of none,' &c.—in reference to the doctrine of the Procession of the Holy Spirit, and he describes it as 'the little book respecting the faith, which the blessed Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria, published and proposed for the acceptance of all Catholics[2].' Ratramn's treatise was written in consequence of a letter, addressed by Pope Nicholas in 867 to Hincmar and the other archbishops in the kingdom of Charles the Bald, drawing their attention to several objections which the Greek Emperors and Eastern Bishops had raised to tenets and observances of the Latin Church, one of them being the doctrine of the Procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father and the Son.

[1] 'Fratres vero qui aderant, cum litaniam facerent et psalmos ex more pro eius exitu decantarent, admonuit ipse, ut etiam hymnum ad laudem Dei compositum, id est *Te Deum laudamus*, pariter cantarent, *fidem* quoque *catholicam* a beato Athanasio compositam.' *Vita S. Anscharii auctore S. Remberto eius discipulo et successore*, apud Mabill. *Annales ordinis S. Benedicti*, tom. vi. See also Migne, *Patrol. Lat.* tom. cxviii. pp. 959–961. Rembertus, the biographer of Anscharius, was his successor in the Archbishopric of Hamburg and Bremen. Waterland's account of this circumstance is clearly inaccurate.

[2] 'Beatus Athanasius Alexandrinus episcopus . . . in libello de fide, quem edidit et omnibus catholicis tenendum proposuit, inter caetera sic ait: Pater a nullo est factus,' &c. Ratramni *Contra Graecorum opposita*, lib. ii. cap. iii. See Migne, *Patrol. Lat.* tom. cxxi. p. 247.

16. At the same epoch, and in reference to the same controversy, Æneas, Bishop of Paris, wrote a treatise in opposition to the Greeks. He also quotes the Creed upon the subject of the Procession, describing it by the title 'Fides catholica,' and as the work of Athanasius. He quotes more largely than Ratramn—the twentieth down to the twenty-sixth verse inclusive [1].

17. To the same period must be assigned the Profession of Faith made by Adalbertus to Hincmar, as Archbishop of Rheims, upon his consecration to the Bishopric of Morinum. This document shows the high estimation in which the Athanasian Creed was then held, as an authority upon dogma, and also that its use in the services of the Catholic Church was then regarded as an old and established custom. Adalbert describes it as 'the discourse of the blessed Athanasius, which the Catholic Church has been accustomed to repeat in solemn worship, and which begins thus: *Whosoever will be saved, before all things it is necessary that he hold the Catholic Faith* [2].' He then proceeds to refer distinctly to both parts of the Creed, that relating to the Trinity and that relating to the Incarnation, adopting and using some of their language.

18. We have previously noticed a mention of the daily recital of the Athanasian Creed by the monks of Fleury, if not by others in the ninth century. Martene states, on the authority of an ancient charter, that in the celebrated

[1] 'Item idem,' i. e. S. Athanasius 'in Fide catholica: *Quod Spiritus Sanctus a Patre procedat et a Filio*: "Pater a nullo est factus . . . ita de Trinitate sentiat."' Aeneae Parisiensis *Liber adversus Graecos*, cap. xix. See Migne, *Patrol. Lat.* tom. cxxi. p. 701.

[2] 'Sicut et in sermone beati Athanasii, quem Ecclesia Catholica venerando usu frequentare consuevit, qui ita incipit: *Quicunque vult salvus esse, ante omnia opus est ut teneat Catholicam Fidem.*' Professio Adalberti futuri Episcopi Morinensis Hincmaro Remorum Archiepiscopo ante ordinationem oblata. Baluzii *Capitularia*, tom. ii. pp. 616, 617. Paris, 1677.

church of St. Martin at Tours it was resolved in the year 922, with the consent of the whole Chapter, 'that the brethren should all sing at the hour of Prime, as well on Festivals as ordinary days, the Catholic Faith, which the holy Athanasius composed by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, that is, *Whosoever will be saved*[1].' This would imply that even before then the *Quicunque* had been said daily, Festivals excepted, at St. Martin's.

19. And the daily recital of the Creed was the rule of the Cluniac Order, which was founded in the tenth century, according to Udalric[2].

20. Ratherius, who was consecrated Bishop of Verona in the year 931, and died in 978, several times quotes the Athanasian Creed or refers to it. In his *Praeloquia*, written during his imprisonment at Pavia, he adopts much of its terminology in a Confession of his Faith, and after alludes to it as 'ea fides, quam Athanasii dicimus'; in his *Itinerarium* he quotes the second verse; in his second sermon for Lent the thirty-seventh and thirty-ninth, entitling it 'confirmatio catholicae fidei'; and in his treatise

[1] 'Ut cantarent fratres generaliter ad horam primam tam festis diebus quam et quotidianis Catholicam Fidem, quam S. Athanasius Spiritu Sancto inspirante composuit, id est, *Quicunque vult salvus esse*.' Martene, *De antiquis ecclesiae ritibus*, lib. iv. cap. viii. tom. iii, ed. 1788.

[2] 'Textus fidei, scilicet *Quicunque*, a S. Athanasio conscriptus, cuius nonnullae ecclesiae nec meminerunt nisi in sola Dominica, nullo die omittitur, ut non dicatur a nobis.' *Consuetudines Cluniacenses* per Udalricum. Migne, *Patrol. Lat.* tom. cxlix. p. 646. The churches mentioned here by Udalric, who wrote in the eleventh century, as saying the Athanasian Creed *only* on Sunday, were clearly not Cluniac churches, as Martene supposes. The unvarying custom of the Cluniacs at that time in saying it daily, is put in strong contrast with the custom of some churches—plainly not belonging to their order—who used it only on Sundays. But it may be noticed, that none are mentioned as omitting it altogether. Martene adds: 'Ipsi nihilominus tam Cluniacenses ex eodem Udalrico quam Carthusienses ex antiquis eorum statutis quotidie symbolum illud'—i. e. Athanasianum—'persolvebant persolvuntque hactenus Carthusienses et Mediolanenses.' Martene, *De antiquis ecclesiae ritibus*, lib. iv. cap. viii.

De contemptu Canonum, referring to the refusal of the Canons to recite it, he quotes the last two verses[1]. To his synodical injunction requiring the recitation of the Creeds, including the *Quicunque*, by his clergy, special reference will be made in the chapter upon Canons.

21. Towards the close of the same century Abbo Floriacensis, Abbot of the important monastery of Fleury in France, incidentally mentions the fact of the Athanasian Creed being sung antiphonally in the English Church as well as in France[2]. He was a competent witness in regard to the ritual of the English Church, having passed some time in the Abbey of Ramsey in Huntingdonshire, which was founded in the reign of Edgar, A. D. 969, where he presided over the schools, and was occupied in the promotion of discipline and literature. At the request of St. Dunstan he wrote the Passion of St. Edmund the Martyr. Abbo was considered one of the most distinguished men of his age for learning and piety, and died in 1004.

22. To the same epoch belongs another evidence, and a very interesting one, of the use and reception of the Athanasian Creed in the early English Church—one too which escaped the notice of Waterland. At the commencement of the last century Dr. Wotton drew attention to the

[1] Ratherii *Praeloquiorum* lib. iii. sec. 31, 32; *Itinerarium*, num. 10; *Sermo II de Quadragesima*, sec. 19; *De contemptu Canonum*, pars 1, 24. Migne, *Patrol. Latina*, tom. cxxxvi.

[2] 'Primitus de fide dicendum credidi, quam alternantibus choris et in Francia et apud Anglorum Ecclesiam variari audivi. Alii dicunt, ut arbitror, secundum Athanasium: *Spiritus Sanctus a Patre et Filio, non factus nec creatus nec genitus, sed procedens*; alii vero tantum: *Spiritus Sanctus a Patre et Filio, non factus nec creatus, sed procedens*—qui, dum id quod est *nec genitus* subtrahunt, synodicam domni Gregorii se sequi credunt, ubi est scriptum: *Spiritus Sanctus nec genitus est nec ingenitus, sed tantum procedens*.' Abbonis *Apologeticus*, ad Hugonem et Rodbertum reges Francorum. Migne, *Patrol. Latina*, tom. cxxxix. p 470.

fact that an Anglo-Saxon Homily, *de Fide Catholica*, which had been published from a MS. belonging to the Cambridge University Library in the previous century, by Abraham Wheloc in his edition of *Bede's History*, together with a Latin version, contained several expressions clearly drawn from the Creed; and in this fact he found an evident proof of its use and reception in the English Church about the middle of the tenth century [1]. Neither Wheloc nor Wotton appear to have known who was the author of this discourse; but it proves to be one of a series of *Sermones Catholici* or Homilies written by one Ælfric, monk and mass-priest, and expressly intended for popular use and instruction in the Church at the successive sacred seasons. They were edited by Benjamin Thorpe for the Ælfric Society, together with an English version, in 1846.

The Homily commences by stating that it declares 'the faith which stands in the Creed according to the wise Augustine's exposition of the holy Trinity.' The following passages, which I reproduce as rendered in the English version of Thorpe and the Latin of Wheloc, may be considered in proof of Wotton's assertion that it draws expressions from the *Quicunque*.

'For the Father is one, the Son is one, and the Holy Ghost is one: and yet of these three there is one Godhead, and like glory, and coeternal majesty.' 'Alius est Pater, alius Filius, alius Spiritus Sanctus: nihilo secius trium illorum una est Divinitas, aequalisque gloria, et majestas

[1] 'Circiter decimi saeculi medium Symbolum illud,' i. e. Athanasianum, 'Ecclesiae Anglicanae civitate donatum esse dixi, quod porro mihi constare videtur ex sermone Saxonico de Fide Catholica, quam (p. 41) Bedae sui historiae Ecclesiasticae inseruit Whelocus. Etenim in egregio isto ad populum sermone multa leguntur, quae homilista ex Symbolo Athanasiano sumpsisse videtur, ut phrases ipsae probant.' *Linguarum veterum Septentrionalium thesauri* . . . auctore Georgio Hickesio, *conspectus brevis* per Gul. Wottonum. Notae, p. 75. London, 1708.

aequaliter aeterna.' Compare verses 5 and 6 of the Athanasian Creed.

'The Father is Almighty God, the Son is Almighty God, the Holy Ghost is Almighty God: and yet there are not three Almighty Gods, but one Almighty God.' 'Omnipotens Deus Pater est, Omnipotens Deus Filius, Omnipotens Spiritus Sanctus: nihilo secius non sunt tres Dii Omnipotentes, sed unus Omnipotens Deus.' Compare verses 13 and 14.

'The Father is God of no God. The Son is God of God the Father. The Holy Ghost is God, proceeding from the Father and from the Son.' 'Pater est Deus a Deo nullo, Filius Deus est a Deo Patre, Spiritus Sanctus Deus est a Patre et Filio procedens.'

The Father is 'Almighty Creator not created nor born[1].' 'The Son is neither made nor created, but He is begotten.' 'The Holy Ghost is not made nor created nor begotten, but He is proceeding.' 'Quid est Pater? Omnipotens Creator nec factus nec genitus.' 'Filius nec factus est nec creatus, sed genitus.' 'Spiritus Sanctus nec factus est nec creatus nec genitus, sed procedens.' Compare verses 20, 21, 22.

'The Father is God, the Son is God, and the Holy Ghost is God, not three Gods, but they all three are one Almighty God.' 'Pater est Deus, et Filius est Deus, et Spiritus Sanctus est Deus, non tres Dii, verum tres omnes unicus Omnipotens Deus.' Compare verses 15 and 16.

'There is so great likeness in this holy Trinity that the Father is no greater than the Son in the Godhead, nor is the Son greater than the Holy Ghost, nor is one of them less than the whole Trinity. . . . No one of them is greater

[1] The Saxon word is the same which is translated 'begotten' in reference to the Son.

than the other, nor one less than other, nor one before other, nor one after other.' 'Tanta quidem similitudo est in sacro-sancta Trinitate, ita ut Pater maior Filio in divinitate minime sit, nec Filius Spiritu Sancto maior, neque horum aliquis unus tota ipsa Trinitate minor existat. . . . Nullus horum maior est altero, neque ullus minor altero, nec ullus altero prior, nullusque altero posterior.' Compare verse 24.

The close resemblance of the terminology in these passages between the Homily and the Creed shows that the author of the former must have been perfectly familiar with the latter.

The date, when the composition of these Anglo-Saxon Homilies or Sermons was completed, is determined within a very few years by the fact of their being dedicated, so to speak, to Archbishop Sigeric, sometimes called Siric, who was Archbishop of Canterbury from 990 to 994. Their author has been frequently identified with Ælfric, Archbishop of Canterbury from 994 to 1006, upon no other ground apparently than that they both share in the same name. Thorpe identifies him with Ælfric, Archbishop of York from 1023 to 1051, first apparently because he considers that the name points him out as one or other of these prelates, and then because, to quote his editorial Preface: 'From the words of his own Preface, where he,' i. e. Ælfric, 'speaks of King Ethelred's days as past, and informs us that in those days he was only a monk and mass-priest, it follows that he was not Ælfric, Archbishop of Canterbury, who died in the year 1006, ten years before the death of King Ethelred.' But in the first place, Ælfric being a common name at the period when the homilist lived, the mere fact of his being so called does not prove him to be either of the prelates above-mentioned. And then it is

not compatible with the particulars which he tells us respecting himself to suppose that he was either of them. For we learn, as has been already said, from the dedication of his Homilies, contained in the Latin Preface to Archbishop Sigeric, that they must have been completed and published between the years 990 and 994; and further, he there speaks of himself as a pupil of Æthelwold, Bishop of Winchester, who died in 984. Now as Ælfric, Archbishop of York, died in the year 1051, supposing him to have died at the age of seventy, we are forced to the conclusion, if the homilist is identified with him, that he was not more than thirteen years of age when his Homilies were completed, a work displaying considerable learning, being translated, as he says, and drawn in substance from Holy Scripture and the Fathers, particularly Augustine, Jerome, Bede, Gregory, Smaragdus, and Haymo—a work too which must have cost much time and labour in the execution; and, moreover, upon this hypothesis we must conclude that he was not more than three years old when he was under the instruction and tuition of Bishop Æthelwold! Nor could he have been the same person as Ælfric, the Archbishop of Canterbury. Had he been so, in the Preface to his Homilies, which were issued, as we have seen, during the archiepiscopate of Sigeric and dedicated to him, he would scarcely have described himself as 'Ælfric, monk and mass-priest,' he must have written himself 'bishop.' For the Ælfric, who succeeded Sigeric afterwards in the primacy, succeeded him also in the bishopric of Ramsbury in Wiltshire, which the latter vacated on his promotion to Canterbury. It is clear that Thorpe misunderstood the passage of Ælfric's Preface which seemed to him to imply that the Homilies were written after the death of Ethelred. Such an interpretation is not only unnecessary but inadmissible, the

contrary being certain from the fact of the completion of the Homilies during Sigeric's archiepiscopate, which ended twenty-two years before the death of Ethelred. Ælfric does not speak of Ethelred's days as past, but of an event in his own life as occurring in that king's reign. He 'was sent' are his words, according to Thorpe's version, 'in King Ethelred's day from Bishop Ælfeah,' or Ælpheage, 'Æthelwold's successor, to a minster called Cernel at the prayer of Æthelmane the thane.' As the authorship of these Anglo-Saxon Homilies is a question of some interest and importance in regard to their date, I will conclude by quoting Lingard's final opinion upon the subject. He had been disposed to accept the common belief of their being the work of Ælfric, the Archbishop of Canterbury, but he adds: 'A more minute and patient inquiry has convinced me that there exists no sufficient reason to believe that Ælfric the translator was ever raised to the episcopal bench, much less to either of the archiepiscopal thrones[1].'

23. In the year 1872, Dr. Reeves, at that time Dean of Armagh, afterwards Bishop of Down, Connor and Dromore, drew attention to an Irish MS., containing *inter alia* the Athanasian Creed accompanied by a short preface, which is written partly in Irish and partly in Latin, and possesses a special interest as recording a tradition that the Creed was composed at the Council of Nice by three bishops, Eusebius, Dionysius, and another, whose name was unknown to the writer. The following is Dr. Reeves's version of this curious document:—

'The Synod of Nice that made the Faith Catholic; and three bishops of them only that made it, i. e. Eusebius and Dionissius, et nomen tertii nescimus. But it is said that it is the whole Synod that made it, for it was it which published it. In Necea vero urbe it was made. And in Bethinia is that city, i. e. a territory in Little Asia. Now to expel the error of Arius it was made;

[1] Lingard, *Anglo-Saxon Church*, vol. i. p. 453.

for it was his belief that the Pater is greater quam Filius, and that the Filius is greater quam Spiritus Sanctus. The Synod was therefore assembled by Constantine at Nicea, namely three hundred and eighteen bishops; and they were not able to overcome him (Arius) because of his eloquence, until God overcame him. Exiens enim de coitu (coetu) ut purgaret ventrem suum, ei contigit ut omnia viscera cum stercore foras exirent, ut Judae atque Agitofel contigit [1].'

The learned Irish scholar who has called our attention to the above-mentioned MS. states his opinion, formed after inspection, that it is 'written uniformly in a hand which is not later than the year 1100.' Archbishop Ussher, who saw and examined it, speaks of it as 'codex vetustissimus' in his letter addressed to Voss prefixed to his treatise on the Creeds. It embodies a collection of Hymns written partly in the Irish language and partly in Latin, and it possesses a varied history, for in the early part of the seventeenth century it belonged to the Franciscan Convent of Donegal. In the year 1647 it was at Louvain. From thence it was transferred with Colgan's Irish collections to the Irish Franciscan Convent of St. Isidore at Rome; and there it remained till 1872, when the whole manuscript library of that house was removed to Ireland and deposited in the Church of the Franciscans on Merchant's Quay in Dublin.

Waterland deems it certain that Eusebius of Vercellae is the Eusebius of the legend recorded in this preface to the *Quicunque*. Ussher rightly considers the point not so clear. Still there are some traces of a kindred legend, connecting Eusebius of Vercellae either with the composition or the translation of the Creed. According to Bona, in a manuscript history of Piedmont preserved in the library at Turin, he was represented as assisting Athanasius either in drawing it up or else in rendering it from Greek into Latin.

[1] See Appendix by the Rev. William Reeves to a Sermon on the Athanasian Creed, preached on Sunday, May 12, 1872, by William Lee, D.D., Dublin, 1872.

Bishop Jewell, in the second part of his Apology, says that he was believed by some to be the author; but he says this without specifying who they were who thus ascribed the authorship. Voss in his treatise *De tribus Symbolis* simply accepts Jewell's assertion [1].

It only remains to add that there can be no doubt as to what is meant by *the Faith Catholic* described as being made by three bishops at the Council of Nice, inasmuch as the document giving this description is immediately followed by the Athanasian Creed entitled *Fides Catholica.*

24. At the commencement of the twelfth century Honorius of Autun, a priest and scholastic divine of considerable repute who flourished from about 1090 to 1120, in his work *Gemma animae,* under the head of the Faith enumerates four Creeds, as then received by the Catholic Church, the fourth being the *Quicunque.* 'First,' he says, 'the Apostles' Creed, to wit, *I believe in God,* it,' i.e. the Catholic Church, 'lays down as its foundation, singing it every day at the commencement of the day and at the commencement of the hours, namely, at Prime; by this it completes its works, reciting it at Compline. Next, the Faith *I believe in God the Father,* which is read in Synods, and which the Nicene Synod issued. Thirdly, the Faith *I believe in One,* which was published by the Council of Constantinople, it chants in the congregation at Mass. Fourthly, the Faith *Whosoever will,* which Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria, issued at the request of the Emperor Theodosius, it repeats daily at Prime.' The historical

[1] 'In hoc Symbolo,' i.e. Athanasiano, 'componendo sive e Graeco in Latinum traducendo adiutorem fuisse Athanasio Eusebium Vercellensem Episcopum refert Gulielmus Baldesanus in historia Pedemontana, quae manuscripta Taurini asservatur in Bibliotheca Ducis Sabaudiae ex tabulario Vercellensis Ecclesiae. Imo solum Eusebium eius auctorem agnoscunt aliqui, ut testatur Vossius.' Bona, *De Divina Psalmodia,* cap. xvi. § 18.

error in regard to Theodosius cannot affect the credibility of this testimony to the use and reception of the Athanasian Creed at the beginning of the twelfth century. And elsewhere Honorius thus expresses his sense of its value: 'By means of the *Quicunque vult* we declare our faith, in which we sum up all besides, and through which we believe ourselves to be associated with the angels[1].'

25. The teaching of the famous Abelard attracted great attention in the first half of the twelfth century; and the estimation in which the Athanasian Creed was then held may be amply illustrated from his history. He repeatedly quotes it in his works *Introductio ad theologiam* and *Sic et non*, describing it as 'Symbolum fidei' and attributing it to Athanasius. And when he was arraigned in 1120 before a Council at Soissons on a charge of heterodoxy, he was required to make a public recital of it in his vindication[2].

And when accused by St. Bernard of having sanctioned an innovation in ritual, he retorts by enumerating a variety of innovations in the celebration of divine service chargeable upon the Order to which St. Bernard belonged, i.e.

[1] 'Fidem catholicam quatuor temporibus editam, immo corroboratam, Ecclesia Catholica recipit, et in quatuor mundi climatibus custodit. Primo Symbolum Apostolorum, scilicet *Credo in Deum*, fundamentum sibi ponit, dum hoc quotidie in principio diei et in principio horarum, scilicet ad Primam, canit; per hoc opera sua consummat, dum hoc ad Completorium recitat. Deinde fidem *Credo in Deum Patrem*, quae in synodis legitur, quamque Nicaena synodus edidit. Tertio fidem *Credo in Unum* in conventu populi ad Missam modulatur, quae per Constantinopolitanum concilium propalatur. Quarto fidem *Quicunque vult* quotidie ad Primam iterat, quam Athanasius, Alexandrinus episcopus, rogatu Theodosii imperatoris edidit.' Honorii, *Gemma Animae*, lib. ii. cap. 59, De fide quatuor temporibus edita, Migne, *Patrol. Latina*, tom. clxxii. p. 634. Also 'Per *Quicunque vult* fidem nostram depromimus, in qua reliqua omnia concludimus, et per quam angelis associari credimus.' Ibid. lib. ii. cap. 58, De Prima dominicis diebus.

[2] Abaelardi *Opera*, Epist. i. seu *Historia calamitatum*, Migne, *Patrol. Latina*, tom. clxxviii. pp. 145, 146.

the Cistercians, one of them being that they had 'decreed that the Creed of Athanasius was to be recited on Sundays only[1].' This, as it is explained by, so it confirms the testimonies of Udalric and Honorius in regard to the daily recital of the Creed being customary at the time when they wrote.

26. Otto, Bishop of Freisingen, in his Chronicle notices the tradition, but not as being generally received or credited, that Athanasius put forth the Creed during his residence at Trèves[2]. Otto's chronicle was commenced in 1143 and finished in 1147. He died in 1158.

27. In the Chronicle of Arnold, Abbot of Lübeck, who died in 1213 or the commencement of the following year, an account is given of a journey made by Henry, Duke of Saxony and Bavaria, in the year 1172 for the purpose of visiting the Holy Sepulchre. The duke made a short stay at Constantinople *en route*; and whilst he was there a discussion took place between the ecclesiastics, who formed part of his suite, and some Greek theologians on the subject of the Procession. The Greeks at first turned a deaf ear to the arguments of their opponents; but at last Henry, Abbot of Brunswick, who is described as a man of the greatest learning and eloquence, convinced them of the truth of the Western doctrine, first by adducing proofs from holy Scripture, and then by quotations from their own doctors. The first quotation is the twenty-second verse of the *Quicunque*, which he cites as the words of 'Athanasius in Symbolo Fidei[3].' The duke is described

[1] Abaelardi *Opera*, Epist. x.

[2] 'Ibidem,' i. e. Athanasius, 'manens in ecclesia Treverorum sub Maximino eiusdem ecclesiae sacerdote *Quicunque vult* a quibusdam dicitur edidisse.' Ottonis Frisingensis *Chronicon*, lib. iv. cap. 7, apud Pertz, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, tom. xx. p. 399. Hanover, 1868.

[3] 'Vestri doctores . . . professi sunt Spiritum Sanctum procedere a Filio,

as starting upon his journey from Brunswick. It was possibly this which occasioned Waterland's mistake in calling him the Duke of Brunswick, not of Saxony and Bavaria.

28. The appendix to the dogmatic works of Hugh of St.Victor contains a treatise upon Ceremonies, Sacraments, Ecclesiastical Offices and Observances, ascribed to Robert Paululus, Presbyter of Amiens, who flourished in the latter half of the twelfth century. Speaking in reference to the services at the Hours, the writer says that the devotion of the faithful had added to the three Psalms sung at Prime the *Quicunque vult*, 'in order that at no hour we may be forgetful of the Articles of the Faith which are necessary to salvation[1].'

29. John Beleth, rector of the theological school at Paris, in his *Rationale* reckons, like Honorius of Autun, four Creeds—'the least, that which is said by all in common in daily prayer and which the Apostles jointly composed; the second is that which is recited at Prime, *Whosoever will be saved*, which was composed by Athanasius the Patriarch of Alexandria in opposition to the Arian heretics, notwithstanding the false opinion of very many that Anastasius was the author; the third is that which the Council of Constantinople issued, to wit, that

sicut a Patre. Unde Athanasius in Symbolo Fidei: *Spiritus Sanctus a Patre et Filio, non factus nec creatus, nec genitus, sed procedens.*' Arnoldi *Chronica Slavorum*, lib. i. cap. 5, apud Pertz, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, tom. xxi. p. 120.

[1] 'Isti tres Psalmi obsequium nostrum Domino praesentant per tres horas, Primam scilicet, Secundam et Tertiam, ut in his tribus Domino custodiamur . . . His addidit fidelium devotio: *Quicunque vult salvus esse*, ut articulorum fidei, qui sunt necessarii ad salutem, nulla diei hora obliviscamur.' Appendix ad Hugonis opera dogmatica, *De Caeremoniis, Sacramentis, Officio, et Observationibus Ecclesiasticis*, auctore ut videtur Roberto Paululo, lib. ii, De officiis ecclesiasticis, cap. 1, De hora Prima, apud Migne, *Patrol. Latina*, tom. clxxvii. p. 408.

which up to the present time has been usually sung at Mass; the fourth is that which was put forth by the Nicene Council, . . . and ought to be read in every synod either wholly or at least in part[1].' Beleth's work is assigned to some date between the years 1182 and 1190. There is a doubt respecting his nationality, whether he was an Englishman or Frenchman.

30. In the thirteenth, as in previous centuries, the Athanasian Creed necessarily comes into notice in connexion with the controversy between Eastern and Western Christendom. Four legates, two selected from the Dominican Order and two from the Franciscan, were sent in the year 1233 by Pope Gregory IX to the Patriarch of Constantinople for the purpose of effecting, if possible, the restoration of unity; and they met the representatives of the Eastern Church in conference at a synod, assembled first at Leschara, afterwards transferred to Nymphaea in Bithynia. In their letter to the Pope, describing the result of their mission, they quote the twentieth and two following verses of the Creed, and speak of it as 'the exposition of the Faith which the holy Athanasius composed in Latin during his exile in the West[2].'

[1] 'Notandum est quatuor esse symbola; minimum quod a cunctis communiter in quotidiana oratione dicitur et quod Apostoli simul composuerunt: secundum est, quod in prima recitatur, *Quicunque vult salvus esse*, quod ab Athanasio Patriarcha Alexandrino contra Arianos hereticos compositum est, licet plerique eum Anastasium fuisse falso arbitrentur: tertium est, quod Constantinopolitana synodus edidit, videlicet, quod in Missa hactenus cani consuetum est: quartum est, quod ex Niceno concilio prodiit . . . ac legi oportet in omni synodo vel totum vel saltem eius aliqua particula' Beleth, *Rationale divinorum officiorum*, cap. xl, Quid symbolum, quando canendum, et quot sint numero? Apud Migne, *Patrol. Latina*, tom. ccii. p. 49.

[2] 'Ideo qui credit, quod Spiritus Sanctus non procedit a Filio, in via perditionis est. Unde sanctus Athanasius, cum in partibus occidentalibus exularet, in editione fidei, quam Latinis verbis expressit, sic ait: *Pater a nullo . . . sed procedens.*' *Charta Apocrisiorum D. Papae*, apud *Concilia* Labbe et Cossart, tom. xxiii. p. 299. Venetiis, 1779.

31. Ample notice of the Athanasian Creed is found in the writings of the doctors of the two great orders of friars which the thirteenth century gave birth to. Alexander de Hales—Hales in Gloucestershire—an Englishman and Franciscan, celebrated as the irrefragable doctor, who spent the best of his years in teaching theology at Paris, and died there in 1245, treats of it fully in his *Summa Theologiae*. It is entitled by him 'Symbolum Athanasii,' and 'Symbolum fidei,' and classed as the third of the Creeds; for it must be observed that the divines of this century, unlike Honorius and Beleth in the preceding one, reckoned only three Creeds, confounding the Nicene proper and the Constantinopolitan, and applying to the latter the title of the former—a classification which has been continued ever since. 'The first Creed,' he says, 'which is said silently, drawn up according to tradition by the Apostles themselves; the Creed which is sung at Mass, *I believe in one God*, which was drawn up by the Fathers at the Council of Nice, and the Creed of Athanasius which is sung at Prime.' In reference to the cause of the multiplication of Creeds or Symbols, he states that 'the explanation of the Faith in relation to doubtful questions which had emerged was the cause of the composition of the Creed of the holy Fathers, which is sung at Mass. But the exclusion of error, rendered necessary by the growth of manifold heresies, was the cause of the Creed of Athanasius, which is sung at Prime.' The reasons he gives for the *Quicunque* being sung at Prime are notable. They are twofold: 'namely, for the sacred meaning, to signify that faith is the first illumination of the mind and the first of virtues; and for utility, for we are armed by the Symbol of the faith according to what is said in Ephes. vi, *In all things taking the shield of faith.* Therefore at the

first hour we take the armour of God, that we may be able to vanquish all the invisible temptations of the enemy[1].'

32. Thomas Aquinas, the angelical doctor, the greatest of the Schoolmen, who lived a little later in this century than Alexander—he died in 1274 at the age of fifty—also reckons only three Creeds, and the Athanasian as one of them, and he entitles it 'Symbolum,' 'Symbolum fidei,' and 'Manifestatio fidei,' and regards it as the work of Athanasius. He treats of the question whether it pertains to the chief pontiff to sanction a Symbol of the Faith; and some of the premisses, which he adduces in solving this question in the affirmative, are no less applicable for the defence of the Creeds, and in particular the *Quicunque*, in the nineteenth century than they were in the thirteenth, and are such as may be used in argument by Anglo-Catholics no less than Roman Catholics. The same objections, which are urged in the present age to the use of the Creeds, seem to have been urged in the days of Aquinas and the Schoolmen. Thus he says 'that in the teaching of Christ and the Apostles the verity of the Faith is sufficiently explained; but because men of perverse minds pervert the apostolic and other teaching and the Scriptures to their own de-

[1] 'Primum Symbolum dicitur in silentio, ab ipsis Apostolis constitutum, sicut tradunt; Symbolum quod cantatur in Missa—*Credo in unum Deum*—quod fuit a Patribus in Nicaeno concilio constitutum; et Symbolum Athanasii'—in Laud MS. Mis. 493, *Anastasii*—'quod cantatur in Prima.' Also 'Fidei explanatio circa dubitationes emergentes fuit causa compositionis Symboli sanctorum Patrum, quod cantatur in Missa. Erroris vero exclusio propter haereses pullulantes causa fuit Symboli Athanasii'—Laud MS. Mis. 493, *Anastasii*—'quod cantatur in Prima.' And 'Dicendum quod propter duo, scilicet propter significationem ut designetur quod fides est prima illuminatio mentis et prima virtutum, et propter utilitatem: armamur enim Symbolo fidei, secundum quod dicitur ad Ephes. vi.: *In omnibus sumentes scutum fidei.* Propterea in hora prima arma Dei sumimus, ut omnes tentationes invisibiles inimicorum expugnare valeamus.' Alexander de Hales, *Summa Theologiae*, Pars iii, Quaestio lxix, De ratione Symboli.

struction, on that account the more explicit declaration of the Faith became necessary in process of time in order to combat the errors which arose.' In reference to the Canon of Ephesus forbidding any one to produce or compose any other Creed than the Nicene, that is, clearly, the original Nicene Creed, he asserts that this prohibition 'applies only to private persons to whom it does not belong to determine matters of faith.' It will be recollected that this canon was confidently alleged in the recent controversy respecting the Athanasian Creed as furnishing an irresistible argument against its acceptance and use. And lastly, he states that 'Athanasius composed' it 'not in the form of a Symbol, but of a doctrinal exposition,' and that it 'contains in brief the whole truth of the Faith[1].'

33. Towards the conclusion of the same century Johannes Januensis, or Genuensis rather—i. e. of Genua or Genoa—sometimes called Balbus, sometimes de Balbis, who was a professor of the same Order as Thomas Aquinas, viz. the Preachers or Dominicans, issued his *Catholicon*—a universal vocabulary. This work was printed repeatedly even in the fifteenth century, a proof of the great esteem in which it was then held, as also we may presume in the century preceding; and under the head of 'Symbolum' it treats of the Creeds. Genuensis follows Hales and Aquinas in reckoning three Creeds or Symbols—the Atha-

[1] 'Dicendum est . . . quod in doctrina Christi et Apostolorum veritas fidei est sufficienter explicata. Sed quia perversi homines Apostolicam doctrinam et caeteras doctrinas et Scripturas pervertunt ad sui ipsorum perditionem . . . ideo necessaria fuit temporibus procedentibus explicatio fidei contra insurgentes errores.' Also 'Prohibitio et sententia Synodi'—i. e. of Ephesus—'se extendit ad privatas personas, quarum non est determinare de fide.' And 'Athanasius non composuit manifestationem fidei per modum Symboli, sed magis per modum cuiusdam doctrinae.' And 'Integram fidei veritatem eius doctrina breviter continebat.' D. Thomae Aquinatis, *Summa Theologiae*, Secunda secundae. Quaest. i, De Fide Art. x.

nasian as the third. He states, as the reason why the Apostles' Creed was said in silence at Prime and Compline, whereas the two others were recited aloud, one after the Gospel and the second at Prime, that 'the Apostles' Creed was issued when the Faith was not yet spread abroad, and on that account is said secretly; and also that it was issued with the object of propounding the doctrine of the Faith, and on that account is said daily at Matins, at Prime and Compline, as if at the beginning of the day and the night, to signify that all our work should take its beginning from faith, and that by it we are protected against the dangers of adversity and prosperity. But the other Creeds were issued when the Faith was already spread abroad, and therefore are sung openly. And because they were issued, not for the purpose of propounding the Faith but of defending and elucidating it, therefore they are not said now every day, but on days when people are accustomed to resort in the largest numbers to church, and which are marked by some special solemnity in reference to matters concerning the articles of the Faith. And because the Nicene Creed was issued for the declaration of the Faith, it is said immediately after the Gospel, as it were its exposition. But the Creed of Athanasius, which was issued for the refutation of heretics, is said at Prime, as it were just after the darkness of heresy has been driven away.' Then he adds that it might be objected that 'this Creed is proposed as a rule of Faith requiring assent; but, as Augustine in his epistle to Jerome says: *To Apostles and Prophets solely is this honour due, that whatever they said those very things are to be believed as true*, therefore after the Apostles' Creed other Creeds ought not to have been made.' To this he replies, 'that the Fathers, who issued other Creeds after the Apostles, added nothing of their

own, but gathered those things which they added from the holy Scriptures; and because some things are difficult in that Creed of the Apostles, on that account, in order to explain it, the Nicene Creed was issued, which treats more fully of the Faith as regards certain articles: and because some things were contained implicitly in those Creeds, which on account of the heresies which arose required to be explicitly enunciated, to that end the Creed of Athanasius, the special antagonist of heretics, was issued[1].' These passages from Alexander Hales and Thomas Aquinas

[1] 'Scias quod tria sunt Symbola,—Symbolum Apostolorum quod dicitur in Matutinis, in Prima, et in Completorio,—item Nicenum, quod dicitur in Dominicis diebus post Evangelium,—item Athanasii, quod dicitur in Prima Dominicis diebus alta voce. Et, si quaeras quare Symbolum Apostolorum dicatur submisse in Prima et in Completorio; alia vero duo dicantur alte, unum post Evangelium, alterum sicut:—*Quicunque vult salvus esse* in Prima, respondeo:—Symbolum Apostolorum fuit editum, quando Fides non erat propalata, et ideo in secreto dicitur; et quod editum fuit ad proponendam Fidei doctrinam, ideo quotidie dicitur in Matutinis et in Prima et in Completorio, quasi in principio diei et noctis in signum, quod omnis nostra operatio a fide debet accipere initium, et quia per ipsam contra adversa et in prosperis protegimur. Alia autem Symbola edita fuerunt tempore Fidei propalatae, et ideo publice cantantur. Et quia non ad proponendum (*sic*) Fidem sed ad defendendum vel ad elucidandum edita fuerunt, ideo nunc non in singulis diebus dicuntur, sed in illis, in quibus homines maxime ad ecclesiam venire consueverunt, et in quibus fit aliqua sollemnizatio de his quae ad articulos Fidei pertinent. Et quia Symbolum Nicenum editum est ad manifestationem Fidei, dicitur statim post Evangelium quasi expositio ipsius. Symbolum autem Athanasii, quod contra hereticos editum est, in Prima dicitur, quasi iam pulsis hereticorum tenebris. Sed potest queri:—hoc Symbolum proponitur ut regula Fidei cuius actus est assentire; sed, sicut Aug. in ep. ad Hiero.: *Solis Apostolis et Prophetis est hic honor exhibendus, ut quaecunque dixerunt haec ipsa vera esse credantur*, ergo post Symbolum Apostolorum non debuerunt fieri alia Symbola. Ad hoc dico, quod Patres qui alia Symbola post Apostolos ediderunt, nihil de suo apposuerunt, sed ex sacris Scripturis ea quae addiderunt excerpserunt: et quia quaedam difficilia sunt in illo Symbolo Apostolorum, ideo ad eius explanationem editum est Symbolum Nicenum, quod diffusius Fidem quoad aliquos articulos prosequitur: et quia quaedam implicite continebantur in illis Symbolis, quae oportebat propter insurgentes hereses explicari, ad id editum est Symbolum Athanasii, qui specialiter contra hereticos se opposuit.' *Catholicon seu universale vocabularium Johannis Genuensis.* Lugduni, 1514. Sub voce 'Symbolum.'

and Johannes Genuensis are important as showing that in the age of the Schoolmen, and we may say in the Western Church of the Middle Ages, the *Quicunque* was received as a Creed and recited in the offices of worship together with the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds, and also as showing the relative value in the estimation of those divines who spent their lives in the study of theology, of holy Scripture, and the Creeds; the former being deemed by them sufficient as containing all things needful to be believed, the latter necessary, not as adding to God's word, but explaining, defending, elucidating its true meaning, the exponents and safeguards of revealed truth. The Schoolmen and our own articles are here at one.

34. William Durandus, or Durantus, the author of the famous *Rationale*, was a contemporary of Genuensis. He was a Frenchman by birth, and appointed Bishop of Mende in the south of France in 1285, but during the greater part of his life he was employed in Italy in offices of trust and responsibility under successive Popes. He died at Rome in 1296, and was present as Legate at the Council of Lyons in 1274. Durand, in common with the divines of the thirteenth century, reckons only three Creeds, but with Beleth he places the Athanasian Creed second in order, though he adds that possibly it may be described as the third, inasmuch as the Nicene was drawn up prior to it at the first Nicene Council. He speaks of the *Quicunque* as the work of Athanasius, composed at Trèves[1].

[1] 'Nota quod triplex est Symbolum :—Primum est Symbolum Apostolorum. Secundum est *Quicunque vult salvus esse &c.*, ab Athanasio Patriarcha Alexandrino in Trevirensi civitate compositum. Hoc tamen potest dici tertium, nam Nicenum, de quo sequitur, fuit prius in prima Nicena synodo compilatum. Tertium est Nicenum, scilicet *Credo in unum Deum*, quod Damasus Papa ex condicto universalis Synodi apud Constantinopolin celebratae instituit in Missa cantari patenter, quanquam et Marcus Papa statuisset illud alta voce cantari, et

35. In the fourteenth century Ludolphus Saxo, a schoolman and monk of the Carthusian monastery at Strasburg, in his *Life of Christ*, reckons three Creeds, the Athanasian as the third. The ends for which they were made he states to be severally instruction in the Faith, its explanation, and its defence[1]. According to Sixtus Senensis, Ludolph had belonged for thirty years to the Dominican Order before his reception into the Carthusian monastery at Strasburg, but on this point there is some difference, another authority—Philip Bergomas—speaking of him as an Augustinian Eremite. He flourished about the year 1330: his work was very popular, as appears from its passing through several printed editions in the fifteenth century and being translated into various modern languages.

It is needless to adduce any further evidence under the head of Testimonies.

vocatur Symbolum maius.' Durandi *Rationale*, lib. iv. cap. 25 De Symbolo, p. 207, edit. Neapoli 1859.

[1] 'Sunt tria Symbola. Primum Apostolorum; secundum Niceni Concilii; tertium Athanasii. Primum factum est ad Fidei instructionem; secundum ad Fidei explanationem; tertium ad Fidei defensionem.' Ludolpus Saxo, *De vita Christi*, secunda pars, cap. 83, edit. Ven. 1581, p. 730.

CHAPTER II.

CANONS AND ECCLESIASTICAL INJUNCTIONS.

1. THE earliest document, applicable to our subject under this category, is entitled 'Epistola Canonica;' apparently so to speak an episcopal charge, containing a series of canons or capitula with reference to the duties of the clergy, and authoritatively declaring 'quae debeant adimplere presbyteri, diaconi seu subdiaconi.' The first of these canons or capitula was adduced by the brothers Ballerini, the editors of the works of St. Leo, A.D. 1753–57, in proof of the antiquity of the Athanasian Creed. It is as follows:—'Primum omnium Fidem Catholicam omnes Presbyteri, Diaconi, seu Subdiaconi memoriter teneant, et si quis hoc faciendum praetermittat, xl diebus a vino abstineat; et si post abstinentiam neglexerit commendandum, replicetur in eo sententia.' These learned canonists think it certain that the *Quicunque* is described here under the term 'Fides Catholica;' firstly, because that was its earliest title; secondly, because it is so termed in the heading of Fortunatus's commentary; and thirdly, because neither the Apostles' Creed nor the Nicene could be intended—not the former, which would have been more fitly called 'Fides Apostolica' and was required to be learnt by heart not by the clergy only but by the laity as well; not the latter, which was usually designated 'Fides

Nicaena[1].' They maintain that the Epistola Canonica must have been issued in the early part of the sixth century, inasmuch as it is found in a collection of canons of that epoch, also that it is an Italian document, as is shown by the fact of its appearing in three different collections, all Italian: and it may be added that in all probability it was drawn up for some diocese in the north of Italy, the original home of several of the MSS. in which it is preserved. We have some external evidence of the antiquity and authenticity of this document. Thus the first capitulum or canon quoted above is incorporated into the Capitulare drawn up by Atto, Bishop of Vercellae, in the middle of the tenth century, A.D. 945 to 960. Atto, who is described by D'Achery as a most learned theologian and canonist, had met with the Epistola Canonica in a MS. belonging to his cathedral library, and having found it to be of the greatest use wrote to a priest of Milan, by name Ambrose, to make inquiry respecting its age and authorship[2]. But the latter was unable to give the desired information; and the fact that in the tenth century the date when it was drawn up was unknown to men of learning, shows that at that time it could not have been a recent production. Similarly the ninth capitulum, forbidding the alienation by the clergy of church estates, forms the forty-second chapter, bearing the title *De bonis ecclesiasticis. Ex epistola canonica*, in the second appendix to the Collection of Regino, Abbot of

[1] See Migne, *Patrol. Latina*, tom. lvi. p. 890. Also *Editorum observationes in P. Quesnellei dissertationem*, § III, *De auctore Symboli Quicunque, quod S. Athanasii nomine inscribitur*, printed in the *De vetustis Canonum Collectionibus dissertationum Sylloge*, edited by Gallandius, tom. i. pp. 842–7. Magontiaci, 1790. Also Baluzii *Capitularia*, tom. ii. p. 1374, note. Paris, 1780.

[2] Migne, *Patrol. Latina*, tom. lvi. p. 862. Also *Spicilegium Dacherianum*, tom. i. p. 439. Paris, 1723.

Prum in the Diocese of Trèves. This collection was compiled A.D. 906; the two appendices were, in the opinion of Baluze, ancient additions, though not the work of Regino. Both the collection and appendices were drawn from earlier sources [1].

And the Epistola Canonica bears internal evidence of authenticity: its contents are such as we should expect to find in a document of the class and epoch to which it is assigned. The first capitulum has been already produced; another censures presbyters, who admit to Communion persons who have contracted incestuous marriages—some marriages of near affinity being specified; another enacts a penalty to be inflicted upon presbyters who should persistently receive to Communion persons guilty of partaking in certain pagan superstitions and idol worship—a proof of the common prevalence of paganism at the time in the diocese where this epistle was issued; another requires that in every parish where Baptism was celebrated the presbyter should be assisted by a deacon; another, as already mentioned, forbids the alienation or sale of church estates by the clergy; another denounces some married clergy possessed of churches, in which they exercised their ministry [2], of whom it was reported that they had allowed their wives and daughters to appropriate to their own use the sacred vestments, and it imposes a severe penalty for the offence, if proved. Here is a distinct proof that at the time parochial clergy, having charge of and serving churches, were not unfrequently married men, living with their wives and families. The last requires all clergy, who are subject to the bishop, to submit their case to his

[1] See Baluze's Preface to Regino's Collection in Migne, *Patrol. Latina*, tom. cxxxii. p. 175, &c.

[2] 'Quidam coniugati habentes titulos, in quibus deserviunt.'

decision, in the event of any difference, and by no means to resort to a secular tribunal.

This 'Epistola Canonica' is printed by the Ballerini the fourth among 'Documenta iuris canonici veteris' in the Appendix to their edition of the works of St. Leo[1], it is also printed by Baluze from the papers of Sirmond, with the title: 'Capitula data Presbyteris, Diaconis, et Subdiaconis,' in the Appendix to his edition of the *Capitularia*[2]. It is found, as one of the documents comprised in the ante-Dionysian Collection of Canons already mentioned, in two Roman MSS., Barber. 2,888 and Vat. 1,342, of which the Ballerini have given some account in their treatise *De antiquis collectionibus Canonum*[3]. The Barberini MS. belonged for some time to the monastery of St. Saviour at the Monte Amiata in Tuscany, and is assigned by Reifferscheid to the ninth or tenth century; the Vatican MS., described by Montfaucon as *elegantissimus et antiquissimus* and considered by Maassen to have been executed at the end of the ninth or the beginning of the following century, is believed to have been one of the books of the ancient Lateran Library. It is also found, as a constituent of another Italian Collection called the *Additions of Dionysius*, in the following MSS.:—Vat. 1,343, 1,353, 5,845, Vallicellan A. 5, and the MS. already mentioned as being consulted by Bishop Atto in the tenth century, which is probably still in the Cathedral Library at Vercelli, for it was there, as stated by the Ballerini, at the time when they wrote in the last century. Of these MSS. all but the Vallicellan may be distinctly traced to the

[1] Migne, *Patrol. Latina*, tom. lvi. p. 890.

[2] Baluzii *Capitularia*, tom. ii. p. 1374. Paris, 1780.

[3] Pars ii. cap. 7. See Galland's *De vetustis Canonum collectionibus Dissertationum Sylloge*, tom. i.

north of Italy, a fact which evidently points to the conclusion that there must be sought the birthplace of the collection common to them. Vat. 1,343, a MS. of the tenth century, belonged originally to the church of Pavia, as appears from the last document, which it contains—an official letter from a bishop of that city respecting a priest who had been subject to his jurisdiction to the Archbishop of Milan. At the commencement too a fragment has been inserted from another MS., which likewise preserves a Pavian church document, viz. a copy as it seems of a citation to archpresbyters and clergy of other orders to attend a Synod at Pavia bringing with them their sacred vestments and books. This though inserted by the authorities of the Vatican, as appears by the papal stamp marked upon it together with the number of the MS., must have been so inserted because they considered the codex to to be a Pavian book. Vat. 1,353 is a copy written in the year 1441 of an older MS. at Bergamo, and was presented to Cardinal Peter Barbo, who afterwards succeeded to the papacy under the title of Paul II. He was pope from 1464 to 1471. Vat. 5,845 is written in Lombardic minuscules, which points to the probability that it was executed either in the north of Italy or at any rate by a North-Italian scribe. Holstenius calls it 'codex Longobardicus vetustissimus.' The Ballerini assign it to the time of Charlemagne, because it contains an account of the conference between Leo III and the envoys of the Frank Emperor respecting the insertion of the *Filioque* in the Creed. Having inspected the MS. myself, I may add that this is the latest document which it includes. From a note written at the bottom of the first page, we learn that this codex was in private ownership in the early part of the seventeenth century. It is as follows: 'P. Constanteinus Abbas

Caietanus, T. P. anno Domini 1629, mense Octobris.' The Vallicellan MS., so called because it is deposited in the library attached to the church of S. Maria in Vallicella at Rome, is believed by the Ballerini to have been written during the pontificate of Nicholas I in the middle of the ninth century, inasmuch as it gives a list of the popes which closes with that pope, his name being written in the original hand of the manuscript, while the years, months, and days of his reign are added in a later hand. It bears a close resemblance as regards its contents to the Vercelli MS. and to Vat. 1,353, in all three the additions of Dionysius being preceded by the Hadrian Collection.

The other codices in which the Epistola Canonica is found are a MS. of Monte Casino and a Vatican MS., the two MSS. in which Sirmond discovered it, as stated by Baluze in his notes on the Capitularies, though possibly the latter may be identical with one of the Vatican MSS. previously mentioned; also a MS. at Lucca, used by Mansi in editing the document in the Supplement to the Councils. These are also Italian MSS., and it may be presumed comprise the third collection in which, according to the Ballerini, this Epistola is preserved[1].

It must be remembered that Waterland wrote his book several years before the Ballerini drew attention to the Epistola Canonica in connexion with the Athanasian Creed. Hence, no doubt, his silence upon the subject.

2. The next canonical authority in reference to the Athanasian Creed which calls for attention, as being next in point of antiquity, is the well-known Canon of Autun. Waterland spoke with hesitation of this canon, not venturing 'to propose it as clear and undoubted evidence but

[1] See *Admonitio in Collectionem*, 4 Migne, *Patrol. Latina*, tom. lvi, pp. 861, 862.

probable only[1]. But in his time it was only known through the single MS. in the Library of St. Benignus at Dijon, in which Sirmond discovered it in the early part of the seventeenth century[2]. But our knowledge upon the subject has been considerably enlarged by Professor Maassen's account in his History of the Sources and Literature of Western Canon-Law of the two ancient collections, in which this canon is preserved; and its authenticity is thus firmly established, so far at any rate as to accredit its testimony to the use of the *Quicunque* under Church authority in one diocese of France at least as early as the seventh century, and to the fact also of its being esteemed the work of Athanasius at that period. These two collections of canons are called the Angers and Herovall Collections—the first being so called by Professor Maassen from the place where Sirmond first met with a manuscript copy of it, the Library of the Cathedral Church of Angers; the second receiving its title from the name of a former owner of the codex, through which it first became generally known, Antony Vion d'Hérouval. They are both systematic collections, the canons being arranged not under the headings of the Councils at which they were severally enacted, but according to their subject-matter. The Angers, being the basis of the Herovall Collection, is necessarily the older of the two; at the same time the Herovall, while it has incorporated the Angers, has drawn its materials from other and independent sources also. The MSS. of the Angers Collection at present known are, according to Maassen, six in number:—1. A Cologne MS., Darmstadt, 2,179, of the eighth or ninth century. 2. Paris, Lat., 1603, of the ninth century. 3. Burgund., 10,127–

[1] *History of the Athanasian Creed*, chap. ii.

[2] *Concilia antiqua Galliae* opera Sirmondi, tom. i. pp. 506, 507, ed. Paris, 1629.

10,144, a MS. in the Burgundian Library at Brussels, of the ninth century. 4. Einsiedeln, 205, of the ninth century. 5. Sangall, 675, of the ninth century. 6. Vienna, 2,171, of the ninth century. Whether the codex in which Sirmond found this collection is still in existence seems unknown. The MSS. of the Herovall Collection, according to the same authority, are as follows:—1. Paris, Lat., 3,848 B, of the beginning of the ninth century. 2. Vercelli, 175, of the ninth century. 3. Paris, Lat., 2,123, of the ninth century. 4. Paris, Lat., 4,281, of the ninth century: this appears from the following advertisement written on the flyleaf to have belonged originally to St. Martial's Abbey at Limoges, from which it passed to the Royal Library at Paris, now the Bibliothèque Nationale: 'Hic est liber sancti Martialis si quis eum furaverit sit cum datan et abiram in infernum responderunt omnes. amen.' 5. A codex at Ivrea, in Piedmont, of the tenth century. 6. Paris, Lat., 2,400, of the eleventh century—this also originally belonged to St. Martial's at Limoges. 7. Sangerm. Lat., 1,363, of the eleventh century—this is the MS. which was owned by Monsieur d'Hérouval, from whom it passed to James Petit, and the latter presented it in 1709 to the Abbey of St. Germain-des-Prés at Paris. It is in all probability now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, to which wellnigh all the Sangerman. MSS. were transferred at the time of the French Revolution. From this MS. Petit edited a selection of the Herovall Canons as an appendix to Theodore's *Penitentiale*: it is printed in vol. xcix. of Migne's *Patrologia Latina*.

I have been the more particular in specifying the dates of these MSS., inasmuch as they indicate to a certain extent the antiquity of the collections—that neither of them could have been compiled later than the close of the

eighth century. But we may form a nearer approximation to the several epochs of their composition, and upon surer grounds. Both Petit and the Ballerini conclude from the internal evidence of its contents that the Herovall Collection must have been drawn up prior to the reign of Charlemagne. On the other hand, the earliest period possible for its compilation is determined by the latest document contained in it, the date of which is certain—the anathemas of Gregory II, and the Roman Synod of 721. Another of its contents, the decretal *In Epistola* or responses of Stephen II, who was pope from 752 to 757, would necessarily be dated later if its genuineness could be relied upon, but this is not the case. Thus the Herovall Collection could not have been compiled later than the year 770 or thereabouts on the one side, nor earlier than 721 on the other. It may safely be considered a work of the middle of the eighth century. And the Angers Collection, being the earlier of the two, as already stated, must be assigned to the early part of the same century or the close of the preceding one. It could not have been compiled earlier, the latest document included in it being the Autun Canons, subscribed, as we shall see, by Leodegar or St. Leger, Bishop of that city, who died in the year 678.

The Angers Collection, being the earlier of the two and the source in a great measure of the other, is necessarily the most important in reference to the canon enjoining the recitation of the Athanasian Creed, and requires to be first considered. In the two earliest MSS. of this collection, the Cologne MS. of the eighth or ninth century and the Paris MS., which though assigned by Maassen to the ninth century generally, belongs indeed to the early part of it, the first chapter or capitulum has for its subject-title 'De fide catholica et symbolo,' and it contains two canons,

the first being as follows in the Paris codex, from which I have copied it: 'Si quis presbyter aut diaconus subdiaconus clericus symbolum quod sancto inspirante spiritu apostoli tradiderunt et fidem sancti Athanasi presolis irreprehensibiliter non recensiverit ab episcopo condamnetur.' 'If any of the clergy, presbyter, or deacon, or sub-deacon, shall fail to recite correctly the Symbol which the Apostles delivered by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, and the Faith of the holy Athanasius, let him be censured by the bishop.' This is introduced by the title, written in large rubricated capitals, as follows: 'Incipiunt canones Agustodininsis hira prima'—the word *hira* in this connexion obviously meaning *number*. The other canon is the thirteenth of Agde, which refers to the 'Traditio Symboli' or instruction of catechumens in the Creed. In the Vienna, Einsiedeln, and Sangall MSS. this chapter respecting the Creeds is omitted, and the two canons which it contains appear with other pieces at the commencement, before the list of the titles of the chapters. The Brussels MS. varies from the rest, not only omitting this first chapter with these three MSS., but also that which forms the first chapter in them and the second in the Cologne and Paris codices; and it appears that neither of the above-mentioned canons is to be found in it. The Cologne MS. is described by Maassen, I may mention, as giving the collection in its most authentic form. Besides the canon upon the Creeds in its first chapter, this collection contains in another chapter—the forty-fourth, which is appropriated to the subject of monastic discipline—several other Autun Canons referring to that topic. They are numbered 1, 8, 6, 5, 10, 21, the numbers showing that there must have been other canons enacted at the same Synod which passed these; and they are expressly attributed to Leodegar, the

first being thus described in the Paris MS.: 'Canon Agustodoninsis hira · I · Leudegarii episcopi.' This might suggest that the canon enjoining the recital of the Apostles' and Athanasian Creeds, which is simply described as the first of the Autun Canons without being attributed to Leodegar, was drawn up at some other Autun Synod, not presided over by him nor held during his episcopate. But at the end of the collection, in a chapter bearing the title *De episcopis qui suprascriptos canones consenserunt et firmaverunt*, a list is added of the different Councils, at which the canons comprised in the collection were enacted, together with the numbers of the bishops present at each several Council, and the names of many of them. There are twenty-six paragraphs in all referring to the several Councils, one paragraph for each Council; and the last is somewhat different in form from the rest—it simply records the consent of Bishop Leodegar, and adds *totidem verbis* the very terms of his subscription. It appears thus in the Paris MS.: 'Consensum domno Leutgario episcopo agustiduninsis Ego Leutgarius acsi peccator episcopus cum consensu fratrum meorum polliciti sumus et perpetualiter placuit conservandum.' No other Synod of Autun being mentioned in the table, the unavoidable conclusion is that this subscription applies to all the Autun Canons contained in the collection; that referring to the Creeds as well as the others concerning monastic discipline. We are led by it to understand that these were the canons authorized and enacted by St. Leger, as bishop in a Diocesan Synod, over which he presided. It has been objected that the canon on the Creeds cannot belong to the same Council as the canons relating to monastic discipline, because it is termed the first of the Autun Canons, and one of the latter set is thus numbered also. But the first of the canons

relating to monastic discipline is expressly described in the Angers Collection as the first of its class—'Primus titulus hic est *monasticae disciplinae*'—which would seem to imply that in the original Autun Collection it was preceded by others on different subjects. And this appears to be the opinion of Sirmond, who refers the canon on the Faith to the Synod of Leodegar, which enacted these disciplinary canons.

It is very observable that the compiler of this collection gives his notice of the Autun Canons in a peculiar form. In other instances he simply mentions the particular Council which enacted the several canons, together with the names of some or all of the bishops present. In regard to the Autun Canons not only is Leodegar's name recorded as the consenting bishop, but also the very terms in which he gave his consent. This may have been done partly because in this case a peculiar importance and authority would attach to the presiding bishop's subscription, the Council being Diocesan—the only Diocesan Council mentioned in the table—and partly it may have been owing to the weight and veneration with which Leodegar's memory was invested. But the subscription thus recorded seems to have a further significance, implying that the compiler probably had access to the archives of the Church of Autun, and was himself a member of it. As the Synod in all probability occurred within his own lifetime and memory, he may have been himself present on the occasion—one of the brethren who declared their placet in favour of the canons which he has preserved.

Our belief in the antiquity and genuineness of the canons under our consideration receives full confirmation from the Herovall Collection, which, as we have before said, is based upon the Angers Collection and comprehends its contents

almost entirely. In the first place this collection, like the Angers according to the two earliest and most reliable MSS., has for the subject of its first chapter the faith with the title *De fide catholica et simbolo;* and this chapter contains the Autun Canon concerning the Apostles' and Athanasian Creeds, clearly drawn from the Angers Collection with a remarkable abbreviation, as follows: 'Canon agustudinensis hira · I · Si quis presbyter diaconus subdiaconus vel clericus simbolum apostolorum et fidem sancti Athanasi episcopi irreprehensibiliter non recensierit, ab episcopo condemnetur.' This is absent from none of the existing MSS., I believe, certainly from none of those at Paris. Then in its chapter respecting monastic discipline it reproduces the Autun Canons on the subject, which appear in the corresponding chapter of the Angers Collection, with some verbal alterations; but what is worthy of notice is that it omits to ascribe them to Leodegar, simply describing them as Autun Canons, the last one, however, being numbered differently—15 instead of 21—probably by a mere clerical error. Then in a later chapter it gives in an abbreviated form the Angers Table of Councils, the last paragraph or number consisting merely of the mention of Leodegar's consent to the canons without his subscription—thus, according to Paris 3,848 B and 2,123: 'Consensio et confirmatio Leodegarii episcopi augustudinensis.' Lastly, prefixed to this collection—the Herovall—is its own Table of Councils, i.e. a list of the various Councils at which the canons included in it were passed, together with the numbers of the bishops present and in many instances their names. The last number or paragraph in this table is 'Canones Augustodunensium sancti Leodegarii episcopi,' which varies in form from the last paragraph in the Angers Table, but harmonizes with the other para-

graphs in both tables. What are these Autun Canons of St. Leger? Clearly all the Autun Canons in the collection, that in the first chapter relating to the Creeds, as well as the others in the chapter concerning monastic discipline. This is the more plain in the present case, because the monastic canons are not attributed, and that solely, to Leodegar, as they are in the Angers Collection or at least in the Paris codex of it. These two Tables of Councils, appearing side by side almost, as they do in Petit's edition of a selection of the Herovall Canons[1], have occasioned great confusion in the minds of persons unaware of the fact that they belong to two different, though kindred, collections, and many groundless objections have arisen in consequence.

To sum up the evidence of these two collections to the genuineness and antiquity of the canon in question. In the two earliest and most reliable MSS. of the Angers it is found in the first chapter which has the faith for its subject, and is described as the first of the Autun Canons. Other Autun Canons, referring to monastic discipline, appear in another chapter, and they are ascribed to Leodegar; but this does not forbid our believing the canon in the first chapter to have been his also, and we are induced to attribute it to him by the Table of Councils and of bishops who passed the canons contained in the collection, inasmuch as the last number gives the name of Leodegar as consenting to certain canons together with his subscription as Bishop of Autun, and this subscription must be understood to apply to all the Canons of Autun in the collection—that on the Creeds as well as the rest—no other Council of Autun being mentioned besides that, the canons of which were thus subscribed by him. In three other of the MSS. of this collection it does not appear in the same place, the

[1] Migne, *Patrol. Latina*, tom. xlix. pp. 1075, 1076.

first chapter concerning the faith being omitted; but it is found among some prefatory matter. In this case also the Table of Councils which is met with in these MSS., as well as those before mentioned, points to the conclusion, though not with equal clearness and directness, that the canon was one of those sanctioned by Bishop Leodegar. Thus there is but one existing MS. of the Angers Collection which omits this canon entirely. Of the seven MSS. of the Herovall Collection none is known to omit it. It appears, as in the Cologne and Paris MSS. of the Angers Collection, in the first chapter relating to the faith: in the chapter concerning monastic discipline the Autun Canons on that subject, which are met with in the earlier collection, are reproduced, but not ascribed, as there, to Leodegar: and the Table of Councils belonging to this collection in its last number or paragraph mentions the Canons of Autun, and that simply as the Canons of St. Leodegar, clearly implying that all the Autun Canons in the collection were enacted at the Council over which that bishop presided. Nothing can be more distinct than the testimony of this collection to the fact that the canon we are considering was thus authorized by him. And this, bearing in mind that the Angers Collection was the principal source from which the Herovall was drawn, is a cogent reason for believing that in the judgement of the compiler of the latter collection this canon was an original element of the former and not a subsequent addition, and was thus originally inserted in the primary collection as being one of Leodegar's Canons. Clearly in the copy of the Angers Collection which he used, and which he must have deemed authentic, he found the canon in the first chapter relating to the faith as it appears in the Paris and Cologne codices; and he evidently understood Leodegar's subscription recorded

in the Angers Collection to apply to this as well as the other Autun Canons respecting monastic discipline. Moreover, had this canon been a subsequent addition, it would have been placed at the end of the collection, not at the beginning in the first chapter. The omission of it therefore from the Brussels MS. has no material significance; and the original type of the Angers Collection is to be found in the Paris and Cologne MSS. rather than in that codex.

Thus we have sufficient grounds for holding this Autun Canon requiring the recitation of the Athanasian as well as the Apostles' Creed by the clergy to have been enacted by a Council presided over by Bishop Leodegar. But whether it were his or not is a point of no material importance in regard to the value of its testimony to the antiquity of the *Quicunque.* For if it was not drawn up at a Synod held under Leodegar it must have emanated from some other Autun Synod held prior or subsequently to his episcopate, but still in the seventh century. It cannot be put later, the Angers Collection in which it is found having been compiled, as we have seen, in the early part of the eighth century at the latest. The date would thus be postponed some twenty years only, or at the outside thirty.

As the history of MSS. is always interesting and often important, I must not omit to add that Paris, Lat., 1,603, to which I have made frequent reference, for some time belonged to the Abbey of St. Amand near Tournay, described by Martene as one of the most illustrious abbeys of the Low Countries, and even of the Benedictine Order. This appears from a memorandum on the first page of the collection—fol. 7 of the codex—'Pertinet monasterio S. Amandi in pabula ordinis sancti Benedicti tornacensis diocesis.' From thence—as we learn from another note, 'Codex Tellerianus Remensis, 264, Reg. 4,483'—it seems to

have passed into the Library of Letellier, Archbishop of Rheims from 1671 to 1710, and next into the Royal Library. It is highly probable that Autun or some place in Burgundy was the birthplace of this MS., from whence it may have been transferred to St. Amand during the period when the Low Countries formed part of the dominions of the Dukes of Burgundy, as intercourse between the two countries must have been frequent at that time. The Brussels MS. copy of the Angers Collection was formerly the property of the Abbey of St. Peter at Ghent, of which it contains a memorandum written in a hand of the twelfth or thirteenth century: 'Liber S. Petri gandensis ecclesiae. Servanti benedictio · tollenti maledictio. Qui folium inde tulerit vel contrectaverit anathema sit.' There is a note of its passing into the possession of the Jesuits in 1599 by the gift of an abbot, as follows: 'Societatis Jesu ex dono R. D. P. Columbani abbatis D. Petri Gandensis, 1599[1].'

Two other points remain to be considered in reference to the Autun Canon—whether the 'Fides sancti Athanasii' which it mentions was indeed the *Quicunque*, and what was the precise date of Leodegar's Synod?

In regard to the first of these points, it was argued by Papebrochius that the Faith of Athanasius in this canon must refer not to the *Quicunque*, but the Nicene Creed[2], by which he means, no doubt, what is commonly called so by modern Western theologians, though it would be more accurately described as the Constantinopolitan Creed. But the position is manifestly untenable. The title 'Fides sancti Athanasii' or the like was commonly applied to the *Quicunque*, and that beyond a question, as early as the

[1] Maassen, *Bibliotheca Latina iuris canonici manuscripta.* See *Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie*, tom. lvi.

[2] Muratori, *Anecdota*, tom. ii. p. 223.

ninth century. On a former occasion, if I may venture to say so, I have produced evidence, and shall by-and-by reproduce it, from the Preface to the Oratorian Commentary[1], showing that is was probably so applied in the seventh century, inasmuch as the *Quicunque* was at that time attributed to the great opponent of Arianism. But I apprehend not a single well-accredited instance can be found in the whole of antiquity of the Nicene Creed, whether the Nicene Creed proper or the Constantinopolitan, being thus entitled. How these two Creeds were described in the seventh century is shown very remarkably by a MS. we have alluded to—the earliest MS. of the Herovall collection—Paris, Latin, 3,848 B, where they are inserted just before the Autun Canon together with the other definitions of the Faith of the five earliest General Councils as recited and re-affirmed at the Lateran Synod held A.D. 649. The first of the two is there entitled 'Fides Niceni Concilii cccxviii episcoporum,' the second 'Symbolum apud Constantinopolim cl patrum.' On the other hand, the Athanasian Creed, which appears in the same MS. among other documents preceding the Herovall Collection, is entitled as in the Autun Canon 'Fides sancti Athanasii episcopi.' Moreover, that the compiler of the Herovall Collection did not understand the Autun Canon to refer to the Constantinopolitan, or Nicene Creed as we call it, is plain from this, that for the Canon of Agde relating to the 'Traditio Symboli,' which immediately followed the Autun Canon in the Angers Collection, he substituted the second canon of the Third Council of Toledo, which required that Creed to be recited at the Holy Communion[2].

[1] *Early History of the Athanasian Creed*, p. 37.

[2] *Canones selecti, caput primum*, apud Migne, *Patrol. Latina*, tom. xcix. pp 991, 992.

The late Professor Swainson, while rejecting Papebrochius's hypothesis, being unwilling to admit the *Quicunque* to be the 'Fides Athanasii' of the Autun Canon, suggested that a Confession of Faith, frequently met with in ancient collections of canons and described by various titles,—for instance 'Expositio Fidei Catholicae,' 'Fides Romanorum,' 'Fides Ecclesiae Romanae,' and attributed to several different authors, St. Athanasius for one,—might be the document intended [1]. But this suggestion is also untenable. No doubt the Confession alluded to was attributed to Athanasius as early as the ninth century, for it is quoted as his work by Hincmar and Ratramn in the latter half of that century, but it never attained to such a position of authority and esteem as to be recited in the offices of the Church and to be required to be learnt by heart by the clergy. Indeed it is altogether unsuited for use in Church services. Nor can it be said that it was ever commonly called the Faith of Athanasius, as the *Quicunque* was beyond question [2]. The conclusion therefore of Waterland on this point may well be accepted, that 'there is no reasonable doubt to be made but that the Council of Autun in the canon intended the Athanasian Creed [3].'

With regard to the date of the Autun Synod, over which Leodegar presided, much variety of opinion has been expressed, and it is impossible to fix it precisely, our knowledge of the Council being derived solely from the canons belonging to it, which are contained in the Angers and Herovall Collections, and another edited by Delalande [4].

[1] *The Nicene and Apostles' Creeds*, by C. A. Swainson, pp. 257, 271, note.

[2] This Confession is printed in Appendix H of *Early History of the Athanasian Creed* by G. D. W. Ommanney; and some account of it may be found in the same volume, pp. 202–209.

[3] *History of the Athanasian Creed*, p. 23. Oxford edition, 1870.

[4] *Conciliorum antiquorum Galliae a Sirmondo editorum supplementa* opera et studio P. Delalande, pp. 70, 71. Paris, 1666.

Sirmond assigns the year 670 as the date; Mansi 677; D. Ruinart, the authors of *Gallia Christiana*, and Pagi, who are followed by Dom Pitra in his life of St. Leger, 661. Of these Sirmond's opinion seems the most probable, as in 670 Leodegar was at the zenith of his power, being at that time, according to his biographer Ursinus, Mayor of the Palace under Childeric. At any rate it is very improbable that the Synod took place after the year 673, when he was disgraced by the king, compelled to leave Autun, and placed in confinement at Luxeuil. The rest of his life with a brief interval was a continuous course of trouble and hardship, and was spent for the most part in prison. Both of his contemporary biographers make mention of a Synod, which was summoned by King Theodoric in 677 and attended by a large number of bishops. But this Synod was not held at Autun, but at the royal palace, and it appears to have been called for political purposes solely. Nothing is said of the transaction of any ecclesiastical business. Several bishops were deposed, but apparently for political offences. Leodegar, who had been for two years in prison at Fiscamnus, was cited to appear, not to take part in the Council, for he had previously been deposed from his bishopric, but to answer the charge, brought against him by his foe Ebroin who was then in power as Mayor of the Palace, of being concerned in the murder of Childeric. He was condemned and treated with indignity, and in the next year 678 he was put to death [1].

3. In a Capitulare or Episcopal charge addressed to the Presbyters of his Diocese by Theodulf, Bishop of Orleans, the first in order of the admonitions or in-

[1] See the *Life of Leodegar* by Ursinus, and an anonymous life dedicated to his successor in the bishopric of Autun, Ermenarius, in Mabillon, AA. o. s. Ben. saec. II, and Migne, *Patrol. Latina*, tom. xcvi.

junctions is as follows: 'Therefore we admonish you, O priests of the Lord, that you both commit to memory and thoroughly understand the Catholic Faith, that is, *I believe*, and, *Whosoever will be saved, before all things it is necessary that he hold the Catholic Faith*[1].' The precise date of this Capitulare is uncertain, but it must necessarily have been issued some time in the episcopate of Theodulf, which probably commenced shortly before the Council of Frankfort, A.D. 794, at which he is believed to have been present, and closed with his death in the year 821. It must be distinguished from the *Capitula ad presbyteros* of the same Bishop, which were first edited by Baronius in his Annals, and afterwards by Sirmond. In these, presbyters are instructed to learn the Catholic Faith and to preach it to the people, every one in his own Church. The term *Catholic Faith* used in this connexion can have but one meaning[2].

4. There is other evidence, which calls for our attention, of the authorized use of the Athanasian Creed in the age and dominions of Charlemagne, besides that furnished by the Capitula and Capitulare of Theodulf. In October, 802, a large convention of the counts and bishops of his realm was held by Charlemagne at Aix-la-Chapelle, in which among other things he issued a general command to the clergy to live in accordance with the canons, and all the laws of his dominion were read, explained, and amended. Pertz subjoined to his notice of this convention, the

[1] 'Itaque vos, o sacerdotes Domini, admonemus ut fidem catholicam et memoriter teneatis et corde intelligatis, hoc est, *Credo*, et *Quicunque vult salvus esse, ante omnia opus est ut teneat catholicam fidem.*' Migne, *Patrol. Latina*, tom. cv. p. 209. See also Baluze, *Miscellanea*, tom. ii. p. 99. The document was edited by Baluze from a MS., No. 4310, in the library of Colbert, of which he was the custodian.

[2] 'Discite fidem catholicam, praedicate diligentissime, et eam populo praedicate, unusquisque in ecclesia vestra.' Migne, u. s., tom. cv. p. 206.

acts of which he remarks had never been published, four documents, two of which are pertinent to our subject[1]. There is no reason to suppose that these two documents were enactments of the council or convention of Aix; nor does Pertz appear to have regarded them as such, but rather to have produced them for the purpose of illustrating the ecclesiastical discipline and requirements imposed upon the clergy generally of Charlemagne's realm, at least in Gaul and Germany. The first is entitled *Capitula examinationis generalis*, and was copied from a MS. of the commencement of the ninth century, marked G. 111, among the MSS. of St. Emmeram at Ratisbon, now deposited in the Royal Library at Munich. From the date of the MS., clearly the document must have been extant in the time of Charlemagne, and possibly yet earlier. It consists of a series of episcopal visitation articles or inquiries, the first being as follows: 'Interrogo vos presbyteri quomodo credetis (*sic*) ut fidem catholicam teneatis, seu simbolum et orationem dominicam quomodo sciatis vel intelligitis (*sic*).' That the Athanasian Creed is described here as 'Fides Catholica' I have no doubt; firstly, because this was in all probability the earliest title applied to it, and still more because it was so described in other contemporaneous documents, for instance, as we have just seen, the Capitula and Capitulare of Theodulf, and in the Orleans MS. of the Commentary attributed to that Bishop, in the Oxford MS. of the so-called Fortunatus Commentary, and the Utrecht Psalter; and lastly, because other authoritative documents, the Autun Canon, the Capitulare of Theodulf already noticed, the Capitula of Hetto of Basle, and the Capitula of Hincmar to be noticed, expressly require it to be learnt by the clergy, and a similar inquiry to that before us with

[1] Migne, *Patrol. Latina*, tom. xcvii. pp. 246–249.

respect to their knowledge of it is proved by a continuous line of evidence to have been made by the bishops at their visitations throughout the ninth century. Moreover, it is evident that the Apostles' Creed, which is referred to as *simbolum*, cannot be intended; had the Nicene Creed or the Constantinopolitan been intended, in either case a more full and distinctive title might have been expected [1].

These inquiries of the bishops at their visitations respecting the faith of their presbyters were expressly ordered to be made by the Capitularies of Charles, which were, it should be recollected, codes of statutes of Church and State enacted by the sovereign with the consent of the dignitaries both civil and ecclesiastical, and of the people of his realm assembled in obedience to his summons [2].

The other document referring to the Athanasian Creed subjoined by Pertz to his notice of the Capitulare of the

[1] In the expression 'fidem catholicam teneatis' as 'fidem catholicam' obviously denotes a formulated Creed, being contrasted with 'simbolum,' 'teneatis' no less obviously refers to the learning that formula by heart. In that sense the verb *tenere* is distinctly used more than once by St. Augustine. Thus, in a sermon on the Lord's Prayer, addressed to the candidates for Baptism just before Easter—*Sermo* lviii—he says: 'Symbolum reddidistis . . . Quia ergo quomodo credatur in Deum et accepistis et *tenuistis* et reddidistis,' i.e. you have received and learnt by heart and recited the Creed, 'accipite hodie quomodo invocetur Deus.' Afterwards he continues: '*Tenete* ergo et hanc Orationem quam reddituri estis ad octo dies. Quicunque autem vestrum non bene Symbolum reddiderunt, habent spatium, *teneant*.' This use of the word is no less clear in the next discourse: it occurs also in *Ser.* ccxii and ccxiii. The word 'memoriter' is therefore not absolutely necessary to the sense here, but it occurs in a similar connexion in Theodulf and Regino, and may have been omitted by a copyist's or printer's error.

[2] 'Ut episcopi diligenter discutiant per suas parochias presbiteros, eorum fidem, baptisma, et missarum celebrationes, ut et fidem rectam teneant, et baptisma catholicum observent et missarum preces bene intelligant et ut psalmi digne secundum divisiones versuum modulentur.' *Capitulare* of 789 A. D. cap. 69. This is repeated in the *Capitulare* of March, 802, cap. 28; Migne, *Patrol. Latina*, tom. xcvii. pp. 174 and 238.

year 802 is headed, 'Capitula de doctrina Clericorum. Haec sunt quae iussa sunt discere omnes ecclesiasticos.' He gives as his authority for the text two Freising MSS. in the Munich Library—C. K. 3 of the ninth century and C. I. 26 of the tenth—containing copies of Isidorus *de Officiis*, one taken from the other, at the end of which on a spare leaf this document occurs. It is not in any sense a Capitulare or collection of authoritative injunctions or canons, but simply a list, with no sign of authorship or date, of formulae, offices, books of instruction, and other things, which, as stated by the heading, the clergy were required to learn, the first in order being 'Fidem catholicam sancti Athanasii et cetera quaecunque de fide,' the two next the Apostles' Creed and the Lord's Prayer with its exposition. Rather more than twenty years ago, the Rev. E. S. Ffoulkes made the startling announcement that the *Quicunque* was first published by Charlemagne in the year 802, and that as the work of Athanasius, though he knew all the while that it had been recently compiled by Paulinus Archbishop of Aquileia: and as his authority for the statement, he produced the above memorandum printed by Pertz from the Munich Library, describing it as contained in the Capitulare of Charles[1]. Upon this Professor Stubbs, now Bishop of Oxford, wrote to Dr. Halm, the Royal Librarian at Munich, to ask him to look at the MS. The latter replied 'that it was undated and without historical context,' that it did 'not contain the slightest indication which should lead us to regard it as a Capitulare of Charles; Pertz in fact had not done so[2].' Professor Stubbs stated subsequently that the MS.

[1] *The Athanasian Creed, by whom written and by whom published*, p. 233.

[2] Letter to 'the Guardian' by Professor Stubbs, April 3, 1872.

does not contain even the title *Capitula* &c. Still the document, though clearly not a Capitulare, nor a part of one, may probably be considered from the date of the MS. containing it, as it was plainly considered by Pertz, to belong to the age of Charlemagne: consequently it is another evidence of the use of the Athanasian Creed under authority at that epoch.

From these two documents we pass naturally to the consideration of the thirty-third Capitulum adopted at the Council of Bishops and Priests of Charlemagne's realm, which was held at Francfort under his presidency in 794. It is as follows:—'Ut fides catholica sanctae Trinitatis et oratio dominica atque symbolum fidei omnibus praedicetur et tradatur.' As there can be no doubt that the Apostles' Creed is here represented as 'symbolum fidei,' it is obvious that either the Constantinopolitan, commonly called the Nicene Creed, or the Athanasian, must have been intended under the term 'fides catholica sanctae Trinitatis.' In the opinion of Voss the former was referred to, in that of Waterland the latter. Probably Waterland was right. Besides being described by its most ancient title of 'The Catholic Faith' the Athanasian Creed might also be fitly described as 'The Catholic Faith of the Holy Trinity'—more fitly indeed than any other Creed—on account of its more explicit statement of that doctrine. It declares at the commencement of its dogmatic exposition 'The Catholic Faith' to be 'this, that we worship one God in Trinity and the Trinity in Unity.' Accordingly we shall find Regino in his disciplinary collection, compiled at the beginning of the tenth century but drawn expressly from earlier sources, applying to it a similar title, 'Sermo Athanasii episcopi de fide Sanctae Trinitatis'; and so also later in the same century Ratherius Bishop of Verona in

his admonition to his clergy. In the two last-mentioned documents we saw that the *Quicunque* was ordered, as well as the Apostles' Creed and Lord's Prayer, to be learnt by the clergy; here it is ordered, as well as the Creed and Lord's Prayer, to be recited in the congregation and explained by instruction and comment. Such appears to be the meaning of this Capitulum[1]. Accordingly we find these three formularies inserted in the three extant Psalters of the time of Charlemagne—the Vienna Psalter, Paris Lat. 13159, and the Utrecht Psalter—after the Canticles. Had the Nicene Creed so-called been intended, we should have supposed that some more distinctive and appropriate title would have been chosen.

5. The Capitulare of Hatto or Hetto or Ahyto, as he is variously described, Bishop of Basle, calls for notice in the next place. The fourth of his Capitula requires the Athanasian Creed to be learnt by heart by priests and recited in the Office at Prime on Sunday[2]. Hetto was

[1] *Praedico* is used in this sense of reading or reciting in the Church. Isidorus, *de Officiis*, lib. i. cap. 16, speaks of the Nicene Creed as 'Symbolum, quod tempore sacrificii populo praedicatur.' The passage is incorporated in the work *de Divinis Officiis*—cap. lvi—ascribed but wrongly to Alcuin. And the word is thus used in Theodulf's address to his clergy, printed at the end of his Capitula—Migne, *Patrol. Latina*, tom. cv. p. 206: 'Discite fidem catholicam, praedicate diligentissime, et eam populo praedicate, unusquisque in ecclesia vestra': also in the sixtieth capitulum of the Capitulare of 789 A. D., and the twenty-ninth of that of March 802. *Trado* is used in the sense of expounding, explaining; thus in the seventy-sixth cap. of the Capitulare of 789, 'canonici libri et catholici tractatus et sanctorum dicta legantur et tradantur.' And the *Chronicon Moissiacense* in its account of the proceedings at the Council or Convention held at Aix in October 802, states that Charles the Great 'ibi fecit episcopis cum presbyteris seu diaconibus relegi universos canones, quos synodus praecepit, . . . et pleniter iussit eos tradi'; also that 'similiter ipse synodo congregavit universos abbates et monachos qui ibi aderant, et ipsi inter se conventum faciebant, et legerunt regulam sancti patris Benedicti et eam tradiderunt sapientes in conspectu abbatum et monachorum.' Pertz, *Monumenta Germaniae Scriptorum*, tom. i. pp. 106, 107.

[2] 'Quarto, ut Fides sancti Athanasii a sacerdotibus discatur et ex corde die

consecrated Bishop of Basle A.D. 806, and he died in 836. He was Abbot of the monastery of Augia the rich, or Reichenau, in the diocese of Constance.

6. We have seen that the use of the Athanasian Creed was the subject of episcopal admonitions and inquiries in the time of Charlemagne, and that too apparently under the sanction and authority of his capitularies. Its use was also enjoined upon the clergy in the reign of the Emperor Lothair as a matter of canonical duty respecting which they were bound to give account to the bishop in synod, and were liable to incur censure in the event of disobedience. Of this I have found evidence, which has hitherto escaped notice, in the British Museum MS. Addit. 19, 725, which in the judgement of Mr., now Sir E. M. Thompson, as he kindly informed me, was written in Germany in the early part of the tenth century. On f. 63 v. there is the following rubric: 'Incipit exposicio de xv capitulis de canon (*sic*) de quo[3] (*sic*) sacerdos rationes reddere debet in sinodo.' The first of these capitula has for its subject the nature of a canon and its contents: 'Quid sit canon vel quid contineatur in canone.' The second has for its subject: 'Qualiter fides catholica et credatur et observetur'; and it concludes: 'Secundum fidem quia[1] exposita est in Nicena sinodo a tricentis decem et hocto (*sic*) episcopis continens hanc (*sic*) modum: *Credimus in unum Deum Patrem omnipotentem omnium visibilium et invisibilium factorem*; fidem enim[2] Athanasii episcopi in hoc opere censuimus observandam et simbolum Apostolorum con[3] tradicionibus et exposicionibus sanctorum patrum in his sermonibus adnotatis.' The direction to observe the

Dominico ad horam primam recitetur.' Labbe, *Concilia*, tom. xiv. p. 391, edit. 1769, Venetiis.

[1] Probably a mistake for 'quae.'

[2] Possibly an error for 'etiam.'

[3] Clearly for 'cum.'

Athanasian Creed no doubt implies that it should be learnt by heart and recited by the clergy, as enjoined by the Canon of Autun, and the Capitulum of Hetto or Hatto, just referred to, and that of Hincmar, which we shall notice next; and this, it must be remarked, is imposed as a matter concerning which the priest must render account to the bishop in synod or visitation, as we should say, according to the title of these capitula quoted above, the neglect of which too would subject him to canonical censure, as we find expressly stated in the last of the series[1].

The date of these capitula and the locality of their enactment are indicated approximately by the thirteenth of the series, which has for its subject, 'Prayers for the Lord King and his faithful people,' and directs that 'in Psalters and Prayers and Masses' supplications should be made for 'the most pious and serene Emperor Lothair and his sons, that the Lord would grant them life and health and peace and victory for the government of the Church and our perpetual peace[2].' Clearly then these capitula must have been composed between the year 840 when Lothair became sole Emperor on the death of his father Louis the Meek, and 855 the date of his own death, unless

[1] The fifteenth capitulum says: 'Haec, fratres karissimi, quae supra scripta sunt, admonemus et deprecamur, ut cum bono animo ac fide devota teneatis. Qui vero neglexerit, sciat se canonicis interdictis subiacere.' These capitula were clearly issued under episcopal authority.

[2] 'De oracionibus quae pro domno rege et filiis eius vel pro omnibus fidelibus eius admonicionem facimus ut in salmis et oracionibus ac missis cum summa devocione Deum deprecare studeatis una nobis ut vitam et sanitatem et pacem et victoriam piissimi et serenissimi imperatoris Lotharii et filiis eius dominus tribuat ad gubernacionem ecclesie et ad nostram perpetuam pacem.' In Litanies, at the end of Psalters, petitions sometimes occur for the reigning Sovereign or Pope; and these are obviously a clue to the date of the books in which they appear and the locality which gave birth to them. We shall have occasion to adduce some instances in point by-and-by. A similar remark might be made in regard to names mentioned for the purpose of intercession in Missals.

they were drawn up in 833 and the following year when he reigned for a short time as sole Emperor during the deposition and imprisonment of his father. And in all probability they were enacted at some place situated between the Meuse and the Rhine, as by the treaty of Verdun, A.D. 843, his dominions were limited to the long strip of country bounded by the Meuse, the Saône, and the Rhone on the west, and by the Rhine on the east, and to Italy. There is no reason to suppose that the last-named country was the original home of this collection.

It must be remarked that the two first of these fifteen capitula appear to be drawn from documents which must have existed prior, perhaps considerably prior, to the compilation of the series in the reign of the Emperor Lothair. Both of them bear internal evidence of a higher antiquity; and it is remarkable that in the printed editions of the works of Jesse, Bishop of Amiens, they are found at the end of his 'Epistola de Baptismo,' as forming part of it, although they have no connexion with the subject of which it treats. Galland has added the following note with respect to them: 'Fortasse haec ad alium auctorem pertineant, qui ante synodum v vixit[1].' No doubt his conjecture as to their date was based upon the mention which the first of the two makes of the first four General Councils, as the exponents of the Faith. A similar document drawn up after the Sixth Council would have noticed the six Councils in the same connexion. Whether the second Capitulum was from the same source as the first, and therefore contemporary, must be uncertain. But it is evident from its language, which we have quoted, that it must have been drawn from an authoritative work containing directions concerning the use of the Creeds, together

[1] Migne, *Patrol. Latina*, tom. cv. pp. 793, 794.

with expository discourses upon them. And hence it is a clear testimony, not only to the canonical use of the Athanasian Creed in the time of Lothair, but also to its use under Church authority at some earlier period, though we cannot determine for certain the date of the injunction nor its author.

Why these two capitula were edited in this close connexion with the treatise of Jesse respecting Baptism, we are not informed. The reason may be simply that the first edition found them in a MS. placed immediately after that work, and hence concluded that they formed part of it; and other editors have blindly followed the leader.

7. Our next instance carries us into the dominions of Charles the Bald, brother of Lothair. At a Synod held at Rheims in the year 852, under Archbishop Hincmar, certain capitula were enacted to be committed to memory and carefully observed. The first of these requires every presbyter to learn the exposition of the Creed and Lord's Prayer in accordance with the traditions of the orthodox Fathers, and from thence diligently to instruct the people entrusted to his care; also to understand the preface of the Canon of the Mass and the Canon itself, and to be able to say it distinctly and from memory as well as the prayers of the Offices; he must also be able to read well the Apostles —i.e. the Epistle—and Gospel, and to recite in regular course and by heart the Psalms with the usual Canticles. And it concludes: 'Moreover, let every presbyter commit to memory the discourse of Athanasius concerning the Faith, commencing *Whosoever will be saved*, and understand its meaning and be able to enuntiate it in common words,' i.e. no doubt in the vernacular[1].

[1] 'Necnon et sermonem Athanasii de fide, cuius initium est: *Quicunque vult salvus esse*, memoriae quisque commendet, et sensum illius intelligat, et

8. In the year 889 Riculfus, Bishop of Soissons in Belgica Secunda or the ecclesiastical Province of Rheims, addressed a series of capitula or authoritative instructions to his clergy, not only exhorting them to obedience, but warning them of its necessity by the threat of deposition in the event of wilful negligence. The fifth is as follows: 'Likewise we admonish each one of you, that he apply himself to learn by memory and with truth and accuracy the Psalms and the discourse of the Catholic Faith commencing *Whosoever will be saved*, and the Canon of the Mass, and the ordinary Offices and the Order of the Calendar[1].' Riculfus is believed to have died in the year 902.

9. Early in the tenth century, according to Morinus in the year 906, Regino Abbot of Prum, by the command of Rathbod Archbishop of Trèves, edited a manual of ecclesiastical discipline. The work consists of a collection of episcopal visitation articles—inquiries, which it was the duty of bishops to make either personally or by their officers respecting the ecclesiastical and religious condition of the parishes of their several dioceses. It is expressly drawn from various councils of the holy Fathers and decrees of the Roman Pontiffs, and is divided into two books, the first relating to the clergy, the second to the laity. The eighty-fifth article or capitulum of the first book is as follows: 'Whether he,' i.e. the priest, 'learn by memory

verbis communibus enuntiare queat.' Hincmari *Capitula Synodica*, I. cap. i. See Migne, *Patrol. Latina*, tom. cxxv. p. 773.

[1] 'Item monemus ut unusquisque vestrum Psalmos et sermonem Fidei Catholicae, cuius initium *Quicunque vult salvus esse* et Canonem Missae ac Cantum vel Compotum memoriter et veraciter ac correcte tenere studeat.' Migne, *Patrol. Latina*, tom. cxxxi. p. 17. Probably 'cantum' here is an error for 'canticum.' 'Canticum nocturnum atque diurnum noverit' is the corresponding direction in the 'Admonitio synodalis,' which I shall refer to by-and-by. These capitula are entitled 'Riculfi statuta.'

the discourse of Bishop Athanasius concerning the Faith of the Holy Trinity, commencing *Whosoever will be saved*, and understand its meaning and know how to enunciate it in common words,' i. e. the vernacular[1]. The book is concluded by a note declaring that 'the inquiries above arranged in capitula should be confirmed by canonical authority.'

Regino, according to Pertz, was Abbot of Prum from 892 to 899. During the rest of his life he resided in the monastery of St. Maximinus in the suburbs of Trèves; and the fruits of his literary leisure there enjoyed are seen in his books on *Ecclesiastical Discipline*, his *Chronicon*, and an Epistle addressed to Rathbodus. There also he died. His sepulchral stone, found in the year 1580, seems to assign 915 as the date of his death[2]. Trithemius describes him as a man of the highest erudition in the divine Scriptures and honourably distinguished by his learning in secular literature, the *facile princeps* among the doctors of his age.

It must be added that Waterland claims for the above article of inquiry quoted from Regino respecting the Athanasian Creed so high an antiquity as the age of Boniface—the middle of the eighth century, alleging the authority of Baluze[3]. How far he can be safely followed in this particular we shall have occasion to consider in our next section.

10. A document, closely connected with Regino's work

[1] 'Si sermonem Athanasii episcopi de fide sanctae Trinitatis, cuius initium est *Quicunque vult salvus esse* memoriter teneat et sensum illius intellegat et verbis communibus enuntiare sciat.' Reginonis *Libri duo de Ecclesiasticis Disciplinis*. S. Baluzius edidit Parisiis, 1671. Also Migne, *Patrol. Latina*, tom. cxxxii. p. 192.

[2] Pertz, *Monumenta*, tom. i. p. 537. Preface to Reginonis *Chronicon*.

[3] Waterland's *History of the Athanasian Creed*, Oxford edition, 1870, p. 25.

and therefore illustrative of it, now demands attention. In the *Appendix veterum actorum* annexed to his edition of Regino's books on *Ecclesiastical Discipline* Baluze has printed three forms of an 'Admonitio synodalis' or episcopal charge or injunction to the clergy, a document of the same kind as the capitula of Theodulf of Orleans, of Hatto of Basle, of Hincmar of Rheims, and the statutes of Riculf of Soissons; we may add also the Epistola Canonica, but of a more comprehensive and complete character. The difference between the three forms is not one of substance, but only of language and detail—such as would be the natural effect of the lapse of time, perhaps also of the variety of locality, in a document used during several ages and in several countries. It is the same document in all three forms. In the first, which is apparently the oldest, edited by Baluze from two MSS.—one dated A. D. 1009, the other described by him as very ancient—it is headed: 'Admonitio synodalis antiqua a Diacono post Evangelium legenda Episcopo et ceteris in ordine sedentibus'; in the second, 'Admonitio synodalis nova quae post Evangelium legebatur ab Episcopo sedente in faldistorio. Ex Pontificali Romano Augustini Patricii de Picolominibus Episcopi Pientini'; in the third, 'Admonitio synodalis novissima ab Episcopo legenda post Evangelium. Ex Pontificali Romano.' In the first the direction respecting the Athanasian Creed is: 'Sermonem Athanasii de fide sanctae Trinitatis, cuius initium est *Quicunque vult,* memoriter teneat et omni die cantet'; in the second, 'Simbolum Athanasii de Trinitate et fide Catholica memoriter teneat'; in the third, 'Simbolum Sancti Athanasii de Trinitate et fide Catholica memoriter teneat[1].'

[1] Regino, *de Disciplina Ecclesiastica,* S. Baluzius edidit Parisiis, 1691, pp. 602-607. Also Migne, *Patrol. Latina,* tom. cxxxii. pp. 455-458.

There is a note of Baluze on the subject, which is of so great interest for the light it throws not only upon this particular document, but upon the condition of ecclesiastical discipline in antiquity, that I cannot forbear reproducing it in substance. He begins by stating it to be certain that in ancient times bishops held a yearly visitation of their dioceses, either in person or by presbyters or deacons of approved character. It was the custom for priests of country parishes to assemble every year in the city on Maundy Thursday, for two reasons—to answer the necessary inquiries respecting their ministry and to receive the chrism. And an order was issued by Karloman at the Synod where Boniface was present requiring every presbyter to render to his bishop every year in Lent a formal account of his ministry, whether as regards Baptism or the Catholic Faith, or the prayers and the Order of Masses. Afterwards this was changed, priests being no longer required to assemble in Lent for this purpose. But they were still required to attend the bishop's visitation once a year, and at this synod the 'Admonitio' was read by the deacon. At a later period, as appears by the Ordo Romanus, it became the custom for the bishop himself to read it, if he wished. Baluze deems it to be unquestionable that the form of inquiry—the 'inquisitio'—as well as the 'admonitio,' was not confined to one diocese, but was in general use throughout the West. He believes the latter document, though held by some to be the work of Pope Leo IV, to whom it is attributed in some ancient codices, to be of higher antiquity and to have emerged at the same period as the 'inquisitio.' And it is his decided opinion that the 'inquisitio,' inasmuch as it contains references to pagan habits and superstitions, was compiled in the time of Boniface Archbishop of Mentz, or certainly not much later,

being subsequently enlarged and amended to meet the needs and customs of various Churches and provinces[1].

The Ballerini agree with Baluze in the opinion that both the 'inquisitio' and 'admonitio' are as old in substance as the age of Boniface. They believe them to be by the same hand, and deny that the latter is the work of a pope, deeming it to be of Gallic origin[2].

The 'inquisitio' and 'admonitio' are co-ordinate documents, as is evident from the close connexion and correspondence existing for the most part between them as regards the subjects dealt with, arrangement, and language. In form necessarily they vary, the one being a series of inquiries, the other of orders or exhortations. The correspondence is particularly observable in the closing part relating to ritual, which I print from the latter document in Appendix B. In the former, it should be added, there seem to be a few subjects noticed, which are passed over in silence by the latter.

The question which presents itself for our consideration is, to what period we can trace the witness of these documents in reference to the Athanasian Creed. Can we with Waterland allege it, and that on the authority of Baluze, to be as early as the time of Boniface or the middle of the eighth century? To this it must be answered, firstly, that, inasmuch as Baluze held that these documents, though originating in the time of Boniface, received subsequently additions and emendations, it is impossible to claim his authority for attributing that antiquity to any particular contained in them, as for instance the clause relating to the

[1] Note by Baluze in his edition of *Regino*, p. 534. Also Migne, *Patrol. Latina*, tom. cxxxi. pp. 405–408.

[2] See 'Admonitio in Ratherii Synodicam,' Migne, *Patrol. Latina*, tom. cxxxvi. p. 551.

Athanasian Creed. And secondly, there are three varieties of the 'Admonitio synodalis' or 'Sermo synodalis,' which contain no mention of the *Quicunque*. They are printed in Labbe's *Concilia* in three parallel columns[1]. The first is entitled 'Commonitorium,' from Martene, by whom it was originally edited from two MSS. of the thirteenth century, with the title, 'Commonitorium cuiusque episcopi ad sacerdotes sibi subditos exterosque ministros cuiusque ordinis ecclesiastici[2].' The second is entitled, 'Homilia Leonis Papae IV.' From what MSS. it is edited is not stated. The third, 'ex codice Lucensi saeculi xii,' is entitled 'Epistola Leonis in Synodo legenda.' The two last of these omit altogether the closing part of the 'Admonitio' as edited by Baluze relating to ritual—beginning 'De ministerio' and ending 'confitentem'; but with this exception, they are the same document as the 'Admonitio.' It would seem probable that this omitted portion, which includes—it will be observed—the clause relating to the Athanasian Creed, formed no part of the original document, but was a subsequent addition.

That clause however, and indeed much besides of the omitted portion, may be distinctly traced up to the time of Hincmar of Rheims, if not earlier. Baluze, taking into consideration the close resemblance, or rather identity, between some of the capitula of Hincmar, the first of which has reference to the *Quicunque*, and the corresponding portion of the 'Inquisitio' of Regino and therefore also of the 'Admonitio,' both being the same, *mutatis mutandis*, arrives at the conclusion, either that Regino made use of

[1] Labbe, *Concilia*, edit. Florence, 1769, tom. xiv. pp. 890–898.

[2] Martene et Durand, *Amplissima Collectio*, tom. vii. It is also edited by Migne, *Patrol. Latina*, tom. xcvi. pp. 1375–1379, and described as 'Anonymi saeculi viii. commonitorium episcopale.'

some more complete capitula of Hincmar than those now existing, or else that both drew from a more ancient formula as their common source. The latter alternative he holds to be nearer the truth. I confess it appears to me not merely to be nearer the truth, but the truth. There is no reason to suppose that Hincmar's capitula are but an abbreviation of others more complete and copious, once issued by him, but now lost[1]. The peculiar title too—'*Sermo* Athanasii de fide,' or 'de fide Sanctae Trinitatis'—found in the 'Inquisitio' of Regino, the 'Admonitio,' and the capitula of Hincmar, also in the Statutes of Riculfus and the profession of Adalbert of Morinum, but not occurring before the time of Hincmar, would seem to indicate the use of some common source.

We cannot indeed adduce any document prior to the capitula of Hincmar as containing the clause relating to the Athanasian Creed, which is common to them and to the 'Inquisitio' of Regino; nor can we affirm with certainty when it was united with the 'Admonitio synodalis' in its present form. But we know from the capitula of Lothair that in the reign and dominion of that monarch the observance of the *Quicunque*—implying the knowledge and recitation of it—was a matter concerning which priests were bound to render account to the bishop[2]. We know further from the evidence of Theodulf's capitulare, which was in point of fact an episcopal admonition or charge[3], and of the two Munich manuscript capitula[4], that in the time of Charlemagne this was one of the subjects of admonition and inquiry by bishops at their visitations. And probably it

[1] For the opinion of Baluze above stated, see *Reginonis Libellus de Ecclesiasticis Disciplinis—Admonitio ad lectorem* by the editor; Migne, *Patrol. Latina*, tom. cxxxii.

[2] Above, sec. 6. [3] Above, sec. 3. [4] Above, sec. 4.

was so before his time: for in the first capitulare of that monarch, dated 769–771, some capitula originally passed at a synod held under Karloman in 742 are incorporated and re-enacted, among them that quoted by Baluze and before referred to, which decreed that every presbyter should always in Lent render a formal account of his ministry to the bishop, whether as regards Baptism, or the Catholic Faith, or the prayers and order of masses[1]. Now as this capitulum was not a new enactment on the part of Charlemagne, but a portion of the ecclesiastical legislation inherited from his predecessors, so it seems probable that the procedure which was practised in his time in compliance with its terms was nothing new either, but the same which had existed previously ever since its primary enactment, that as in his reign the account, which priests were obliged to render respecting their faith, involved an account of their knowledge of the Athanasian Creed, so it had been previously under Pepin and Karloman.

11. Our next instance is connected with the north of Italy. Atto, already mentioned with reference to the 'Epistola Canonica' as Bishop of Vercellae in the middle of the tenth century and a very learned theologian and canonist, addressed a capitulare to his clergy consisting of a hundred chapters or capitula. The fourth of these is word for word the first capitulum of the 'Epistola Canonica,' of which, as I have before said, he had found a copy in his cathedral library. Having previously

[1] 'Decrevimus iuxta sanctorum canones, ut unusquisque presbyter in parrochia habitans episcopo subiectus sit illi, in cuius parrochia habitat, et semper in quadragesima rationem et ordinem ministerii sui, sive de baptismo, sive de fide catholica, sive de precibus et ordine missarum, episcopo reddat.' Migne, *Patrol. Latina*, tom. xcvii. p. 123. Boniface, Archbishop of Mentz, was present at the synod from which this capitulum originally issued, as stated above, and mentions it in his epistle to Cuthbert.

quoted that capitulum I feel it unnecessary to quote it again here; but it is clearly very pertinent to draw attention to the remark of D'Achery with regard to the meaning of the term 'Fides Catholica' which it requires the clergy to learn by heart, or rather the meaning attached to the term by Atto. 'In Attonis Capitulari,' he says, 'animadvertenda sunt: primo haec verba *fides catholica* signant symbolum Athanasii.' That such was the meaning in which Atto employed the words in this capitulum is the more clear, because in two passages of his Capitulare the Apostles' Creed is described as 'Symbolum'; and when it is considered that before this it was no uncommon thing for bishops to require the Athanasian Creed to be learnt by priests, as we have seen by several instances, the matter can no longer admit of doubt. Atto's Capitulare was first edited by D'Achery in his *Spicilegium*[1] from a Vatican MS., No. 4332, a copy being sent to him from Rome in 1664 by Johannes Bona.

12. Another episcopal injunction of the tenth century also relates to North Italy. In Lent, 966, Ratherius, Bishop of Verona, held a visitation of his clergy, at which he made the usual inquiries respecting their faith. The result, as stated by himself, was that he found by far the majority of them to be ignorant even of the Apostles' Creed. With a view to correct this gross state of clerical ignorance he addressed a charge or 'synodica' to his clergy, which is still extant and is described by the Ballerini, the editors of his works, as 'of all the documents of the tenth century relating to ecclesiastical discipline the most excellent and celebrated[2].' This charge commences with a direction to learn without delay the three Creeds

[1] Migne, *Patrol. Latina*, tom. cxxxiv. pp. 10–23.

[2] *Admonitio ad Synodicam*; Migne, *Patrol. Latina*, tom. cxxxvi. p. 551.

by heart, which the bishop emphasizes by adding: 'Whoever wishes to be or to become or to continue a priest in our diocese let him recite to us by memory these three Creeds when next he shall be cited by us to attend here[1].' Subsequently, by way of instructing his clergy more fully in their duties, he repeats, but without acknowledging the source of his materials, the 'Admonitio,' or 'Sermo Synodalis,' adding the words 'as I before said' to its direction for learning the Athanasian Creed. How these commands were received by his clergy we learn from his own words: 'When I saw that they were disobedient, and inquired what measures I could adopt canonically in consequence, fear took possession of some of them, so much so that they promised me assistance for my journey[2], and engaged that henceforth they would sing the definition[3] of the blessed Athanasius, and to the best of their power would fulfil the rest of my requirements.' He thanks God that the clergy both of the city and country churches were prepared to do this. Not so the Canons of the Cathedral, who were persistently contumacious, and he tells them his mind plainly: 'As for you, O Cardinals, who after the example of the Scribes and Pharisees of old are guiding these people into the way of perdition, I see that you still continue so rebellious as to choose rather to be damned for ever with Arius the enemy of this same faith, than by consenting to sing it publicly like the clergy of other Churches to yield

[1] 'Ipsam fidem, id est, credulitatem Dei, trifarii parare festinatis hoc est, secundum Symbolum, id est, collationem Apostolorum, sicut in Psalteriis correctis invenitur, et illam, quae ad Missam canitur, et illam Sancti Athanasii, quae ita incipit: *Quicunque vult salvus esse.* Quicunque vult ergo sacerdos in nostra parochia esse aut fieri aut permanere illas tres memoriter nobis recitet, cum proxime a nobis huc vocatus fuerit.' Ratherii *Synodica*, uti supra.

[2] He was contemplating a journey to Rome.

[3] 'Descriptionem.'

to my wishes, and thus yielding to save your souls[1].' From these words of Ratherius it appears that the neglect of the Veronese clergy to use the *Quicunque* in the Church services was an exception to the general rule in the tenth century; and being a travelled man he was a competent witness upon the subject.

The reluctance of the clergy generally and the positive refusal of the Canons to comply with the injunction of Ratherius need not be imputed to any objection on their part to the Athanasian Creed. Their conduct was but the natural consequence of the relations existing at the time between him and them, which were of the most hostile character; and the causes which produced this state of things are clearly traceable to the extraordinary circumstances of his long episcopate. Indeed, it might be questioned whether at this period he was Bishop of Verona *de iure* as well as *de facto*. Originally a monk of Lobbes on the Sambre in the diocese of Cambrai, he was consecrated Bishop of Verona in 931 in compliance with a letter of recommendation to the office, which he obtained from the Pope and the Roman Church. In 935 he was put in prison at Pavia by Hugh, King of Italy, for a political offence. On his release, which occurred two years after, he was banished to Como; from thence he went into

[1] 'Vos, Cardinales . . . ita hinc manere adhuc cerno rebelles, ut eligatis cum inimico eiusdem fidei Ario in aeternum damnari quam hoc publice, ut aliarum ecclesiarum clerici, cantando salubriter vinci.' Ratherii *Itinerarium*, n. 7. There are three classes of clergy mentioned in the above passage—*Titularii*, *Illi de plebibus*, and *Cardinales*. The first, the Ballerini say in a note, were the clergy of the town and suburban Churches, the second those of the country Churches, country parishes being called *plebes*, and the third the Cathedral Canons. They add that the Canons of Milan, Aquileia, Naples, Lucca, and very many other cathedrals, were likewise called *cardinales*. That such is the meaning of the term here is moreover clear from the fact of Ratherius afterwards sarcastically alluding to the title *canonici*.

Gaul, and in 944 found his way back to his old monastery of Lobbes, where he stayed until his return to Verona in 946. There he was able to recover his bishopric by the favour of Count Milo, another bishop, who had occupied the see in his absence, being obliged to relinquish it. But in two years he was compelled once more to leave, owing to the determined opposition he encountered from the clergy, and the superseded bishop returned to power. This time he took refuge in Germany. After an ineffectual attempt to recover his see in 951 he virtually abdicated his claim to it by getting himself appointed to the bishopric of Liége through the influence of Bruno, Archbishop of Cologne; but Liége, following the example of Verona, would not away with him; and in 961 he was reinstated in the bishopric of Verona by the strong hand of Otho, then king, soon after Emperor of Germany, the occupant of the see at the time being necessarily in this as in the former instance extruded. And this expelled bishop, backed as he must have been by a powerful party of friends and supporters among the clergy, would prove, and he did indeed prove, a thorn in the side of Ratherius, a constant element of disquiet. If the circumstances of Ratherius's restoration to the bishopric of Verona were most inauspicious, his manner of administration was not calculated to smooth down matters. He questioned the validity of the orders of the clergy who had been ordained by the bishops who occupied the see during his absence, he told the married clergy who had their wives living with them—it appears this was not uncommon—that they must put away their wives; above all, he gave deadly offence to the Canons by attempting to deal with their property. The result was that in the beginning of the year 965 the exasperation of the clergy burst out into unjustifiable acts of violence.

They seized Ratherius and placed him in custody. It was only a year after this happened that, having recovered his liberty, he addressed his Synodica to his clergy, urging upon them the full discharge of their canonical duties, particularly as regards the Creeds. Was it to be expected, considering the situation, and especially the antecedents of the bishop, that his injunctions, albeit they were in accordance with the law of the Church, and its practice too in well-ordered dioceses, would be received with willing ears and obedient hearts? It only remains to add that after a lapse of two years more the measure of his troubles was complete: forbidden by the Pope to meddle with the property of the Canons and abandoned by his patron and friend the Emperor, in 968 he quitted Verona, never to return; and, as before, the bishop who had been removed to make way for him, was restored to the see. But he found a patron in the then bishop of Liége, by whom he was appointed in 971 to the abbacy of Lobbes, where in early life he had embraced the monastic profession. There he died soon after. The strange vicissitudes of his life are summed up in a distich of his epitaph:—

'Veronae praesul, sed ter Ratherius exsul;
Ante cucullatus, Lobia, postque tuus[1].'

13. There are three synodical injunctions issued under episcopal authority for English dioceses in the thirteenth century which demand attention in reference to the Athanasian Creed.

The Constitutions of Walter de Cantilupe, Bishop of Worcester, are a series of episcopal injunctions or directions for the clergy, similar to the Capitularia of Theodulf, and Hetto of Basle, and Hincmar and Hatto of Vercelli, and the Admonitio Synodalis. They are described by Wilkins

[1] See *Ratherii Vita*, Migne, *Patrol. Latina*, tom. cxxxvi. pp. 27–142.

as 'Constitutiones venerabilis patris Walteri de Cantilupo, Dei gratia Wigornensis episcopi, in sancta synodo sua in Cathedrali ecclesia promulgatae in honorem Dei et sanctae ecclesiae in crastino S. Iacobi Apostoli anno Domini MCCXL anno pontificatus sui tertio.' The article relating to the teaching of priests directs that 'each of them should have at least a simple understanding of the Faith according to what is contained in the Psalm which is called *Quicunque vult*, and in the greater as well as the lesser Symbol, that in these they may know how to instruct the people committed to their care[1].'

14. The Constitutions of Walter de Kirkham, Bishop of Durham, issued A.D. 1255 or thereabouts, are a document of the same nature as the Constitutions of Walter de Cantilupe. The clause of the former relating to instruction in the Faith so closely resembles in language the corresponding clause of the latter, as to show either that the one was drawn from the other or else that they both had a common source[2].

15. The Constitutions of Peter Quivil, Bishop of Exeter, were published at a synod summoned by him and held in Exeter Cathedral in the year 1287. In the twenty-first chapter, which relates to the inquiry to be made respecting the literary knowledge of ecclesiastical persons, he enjoins

[1] 'Habeat etiam saltem quilibet eorum fidei simplicem intellectum secundum quod continetur in psalmo, qui dicitur *Quicunque vult* et tam in maiori quam minori Symbolo, ut in his plebem sibi commissam noverint informare.' Wilkins, *Concilia*, vol. i. p. 669, Londini, 1737.

[2] '"Habeat quoque unusquisque eorum simplicem intellectum fidei, sicut in Symbolo tam maiori quam minori, quod est in psalmo *Quicunque vult* et etiam in *Credo in Deum* expressius continentur, necnon in Oratione Dominica, quae dicitur *Pater noster*, et salutatione beatae Mariae." Constitutiones Walteri de Kirkham episcopi Dunelmensis.' Wilkins, *Concilia*, vol. i. p. 704. The text has obviously undergone some corruption, which has rendered it ungrammatical and unintelligible.

the archdeacons to be diligent in such inquiries—to make and hold frequent trial of parish priests, whether they know the Decalogue . . . also the seven deadly sins . . . also the seven Sacraments of the Church . . . and whether they have a simple understanding of the articles of the Faith of Christians, as they are contained in the Psalm *Quicunque vult* and in both Symbols, in which articles they are bound to instruct the people committed to their care with all the greater earnestness, since none who believes not firmly the Catholic Faith can be saved [1].' This is probably the usual form of inquiry made by the officials of English bishops at their visitations in the thirteenth century, and it may be earlier, from which it would appear that Walter de Cantilupe and Walter de Kirkham drew the language of their injunctions. The former declares that in his directions he follows in the footsteps of his predecessors. From these codes, so to speak, we learn that the Athanasian Creed was a subject of episcopal inquiry and direction in the middle ages in our own country as well as on the Continent.

The *Quicunque* is here termed a Psalm, because it was at the time sung as a Psalm, and with the Psalms in the service of the Church, and had been so sung for ages; and the fact of its being so called is an evidence of this use. That these bishops of the thirteenth century regarded it at the same time as a Creed is shown by their speaking of the Articles of the Faith or the Faith being contained in it as

[1] 'Singulis Archidiaconis iniungimus ut diligenter inquirant, qui rectores, vicarii, aut sacerdotes in literatura enormem patiuntur defectum . . . De parochialibus sacerdotibus frequenter assumant experientiam et habeant, an sciant decalogum . . . an etiam sciant septem peccata mortalia . . . sciant etiam septem sacramenta ecclesiastica . . . et an articulorum fidei Christianorum simplicem habeant intellectum, prout in psalmo *Quicunque vult* et in utroque Symbolo continentur; in quibus plebem sibi commissam tanto tenentur studiosius informare, quanto quilibet, qui Fidem Catholicam firmiter non crediderit, salvus esse non poterit.' Wilkins, *Concilia*, vol. ii. p. 144.

well as in the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds. Waterland refers to instances of the Apostles' Creed, and even the Lord's Prayer, being called a Psalm.

16. In the 'Ordo ad visitandum infirmum' according to the old Use of Salisbury, printed in Maskell's *Monumenta Ritualia*[1], the dying man, if a priest, is called upon to express his assent to a form of Faith consisting of the fourteen Articles issued in Archbishop Peckham's Constitutions, the seven first of which relate to the Trinity, the remainder to the Incarnation, the condemnatory clauses of the *Quicunque* being annexed. These Articles are described in Peckham's Constitutions as a comprehensive and brief summary of 'the Articles which all the Ministers of the Church are bound to know,' and hence, it may be presumed, were considered a fitting Confession of Faith to be made by a priest in his last moments: that they are supplemented by the minatory clauses of the *Quicunque* in order to enforce the necessity of a belief in the Catholic Faith, thus summarily expressed, can only be regarded as another proof that at the time when this Office for the Visitation of the Sick was compiled, the language of the latter was familiar as household words to all who took part in the services of the Church. This formula will be found in Appendix C. It cannot be deemed earlier than the Constitutions of Peckham, which were enacted at the Council of Lambeth held A.D. 1281.

[1] 2nd edition, Oxford, 1882, vol. i. p. 89.

CHAPTER III.

MANUSCRIPT COPIES NOW EXTANT, OR WHICH, THOUGH NOW LOST, ARE KNOWN TO HAVE EXISTED.

OWING to the use of the Athanasian Creed from a remote period in the services of the Western Church, MS. copies of it are exceedingly numerous, as it is commonly found together with the Scriptural Canticles, which were also sung in the congregation, at the end of Psalters. It is found also in some collections of Canons and Formulae of Faith. For the purpose of illustrating its antiquity and early use and reception it will be sufficient to notice a very few comparatively, including of course the oldest.

1. The earliest known MS. of the Athanasian Creed is contained in a thin 4to volume of a few leaves deposited in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, and bearing the press-mark O. 212. Muratori, who was custodian of the library, gives some account of the MS. in the second volume of his *Anecdota*, published in 1698, and describes it as 'most ancient, written a thousand years ago and more,' i. e. before the eighth century. Montfaucon, who saw and examined the MS. when he visited the library in the course of his literary tour in Italy in 1698, pronounced it to be written in the eighth century[1]. The present librarian, Dr. Ceriani, agrees with Montfaucon as to the date. Nor has any

[1] *Diarium Italicum*, p. 18.

palaeographical authority, to the best of my knowledge, ever placed it later. On the fly-leaf of the volume is a list of contents in a modern hand: 'In isto libro continentur Dogmatum fidei liber, Bachiarii Fides, Fides Catholica seu simbolum S. Athanasii, ut aiunt, De ascensione Domini Sermo, D. Hieronymi fides. Codex seculi VI.' This 'Dogmatum fidei liber' is the 'Liber de ecclesiasticis dogmatibus' commonly ascribed to Gennadius of Marseilles, sometimes to St. Augustine, and printed in the Appendix to his works; the 'Hieronymi fides' is not the confession which is generally thus entitled, but the 'Damasi Symbolum.' Then follows a memorandum, apparently of the first Librarian, giving a somewhat amusing account of the acquisition by Cardinal Frederick Borromeo of this MS. for the Ambrosian Library, which he founded: 'Hunc codicem, qui ex Bibliotheca Bobii a S. Columbano instituta prodiit, Illustrissimo Cardinali Federico Borrhomae, B. Caroli patrueli, dum Ambrosianam bibliothecam manuscriptis codicibus undique conquisitis instrueret, religiosissimi patres Ordinis S. Benedicti, simillimo prius munere compensati, humanissime tradiderunt anno 1606. Antonio Olgiato eiusdem bibliothecae Ambrosianae, quam primus omnium tractavit, Praefecto.' The monastery of Bobbio on the river Trebbia in North Italy, it should be noticed, was of Irish origin, founded by St. Columbanus in the year 613. The MS. we are speaking of is written in an Irish hand, and probably in Ireland; so Dr. Ceriani thinks. The Ambrosian Library received from the same source other Irish MSS., among them the very interesting Antiphonary of Bangor. On the first page of the MS. appears another list of contents, written in an ancient hand, but not that of the MS., which includes in addition to the documents named in the list on the fly-leaf five others, viz. 'Ambrosii

Confessio Fidei, Hieronymi regula Catholica Fidei, Libellus de Trinitate, Ambrosii de Trinitate libri tres, Eiusdem libellus Fidei.' These are not to be found in the MS., nor were they in the time of Muratori, and he adds that to all appearance they never were included in it, 'inasmuch as it is complete and shows no sign of mutilation anywhere[1].'

The Athanasian Creed commences on f. 14. r., without any title or introduction, immediately after the conclusion of the 'Bachiarii Fides.' The text presents no material diversity from the ordinary type. The only one which really calls for notice is the addition of the words 'patri et filio coaeternus est' after 'procedens' in ver. 22. But this is sufficiently accounted for by the fact that in the three other Confessions of Faith contained in this MS., two of them it should be borne in mind preceding the *Quicunque*, the Holy Spirit is described as 'patri et filio coaeternus.' If my memory serves me right, the words occur twice in the 'Bachiarii Fides.' What more natural under these circumstances than that the copyist should insert them in the *Quicunque* to bring it into harmony with the other confessions then before him? He may have thought they had been erroneously or inadvertently omitted. Or he may have wished to emphasize the point. Besides, he was evidently an inaccurate person. He was guilty of two omissions which have been supplied by another hand, one between the lines, the other in the margin—'sed patris et fili et sp̄s sc̄i' in ver. 6, and 'ante saecula genitus' in ver. 29. He certainly wrote 'conversatione' in ver. 33, the letters *at* being obviously erased. These of course are mere inaccuracies, the results probably of carelessness, but they are significant as showing that we have here not the autograph of the author, but a mere copy of an earlier

[1] *Anecdota*, vol. ii. p. 224.

document. Muratori, it must be added, has not given an accurate transcript of this text, and has thus misled Waterland. The words in ver. 38, 'resurgere habent cum corporibus suis et,' are not omitted as he states, only 'in' is read for 'cum': 'prohibemur' is read in ver. 19, not 'prohibemus.' I have printed collations of the MS., which I have twice examined, in Appendix E.

The Creed is immediately followed by this apostrophe to the Blessed Virgin:—'Lacta, mater, eum qui fecit te, quia talem fecit te, ut ipse fieret in te. Lacta eum, qui fructum fecunditatis tibi dedit conceptus, et decus virginitatis non abstulit natus.' I have sometimes suspected that this might be a fragment of some lost sermon or other work of St. Augustine; it reflects so clearly his teaching respecting the Incarnation and also his terse and antithetic style. The resemblance might be illustrated abundantly; but the subjoined passages will suffice for the purpose. 'Panem nostrum illa' i. e. Maria 'lactabat.' S. Aug. *Ser.* clxxxiv. 'Quid mirabilius virginis partu? Concipit et virgo est, parit et virgo est.' Ibid. *Ser.* clxxxix. 'Nullo modo Christus matrem nascendo faceret deteriorem, ut cui munus fecunditatis attulerat, decus virginitatis auferret.' Ibid. *con. Faustum*, lib. xxix. cap. 4. Especially the following apostrophe in one of his sermons on the nativity of St. John the Baptist: 'Fit in te, qui fecit te, fit in te, per quem facta es: imo vero, per quem factum est caelum et terra, per quem facta sunt omnia, fit in te Verbum Dei caro, accipiendo carnem, non amittendo divinitatem. . . . Invenit te virginem conceptus, dimittit virginem natus. Dat fecunditatem, non tollit integritatem.' Ibid. *Ser.* ccxcii. A passage in a sermon, which appears among St. Augustine's printed sermons, but marked as one of doubtful genuineness, should be noticed in this connexion for the obvious

resemblance it bears to the above antiphon, so to call it, in the Ambrosian MS.: 'Lacta eum, qui talem fecit te, ut ipse fieret in te, qui tibi et munus fecunditatis attulit conceptus, et decus virginitatis non abstulit natus.' This sermon was probably the work of a disciple and imitator of the great Latin Doctor, not St. Augustine's own.

2. In his 'Diatribe' Montfaucon speaks of a copy of the Athanasian Creed belonging to the Abbey of St. Germain-des-Prés at Paris, his own monastery, as having been executed in the eighth century and before the time of Charlemagne. He describes it as 'Sangermanensis noster num. 257,' and adds that it was written in a Saxon hand and had for title 'Fides Sancti Athanasii Episcopi Alexandriae.' Waterland gives several collations of the text[1]. This MS. seems to be now lost, unless it found its way to St. Petersburg with a few of the St. Germain MSS. at the close of the last century. It cannot be identified with the Latin MS. 13159 of the Bibliothèque Nationale, which we shall notice by-and-by, as the readings of the two MSS. do not agree, judging from Waterland's collations. And yet we should expect to find it in the Bibliothèque Nationale, if anywhere, as the great bulk of the St. Germain MSS. were transferred to that collection at the time of the French revolution.

3. Mabillon in his book *De Re Diplomatica* prints as a specimen of Saxon handwriting the first three verses of the Athanasian Creed from a Corbie MS., No. 267[2]. He does not assign any date to the MS.; but as far as we can judge from the facsimile, the character of the writing

[1] See Waterland's *History of the Athanasian Creed*, pp. 176–191. Oxford edit. 1870.

[2] Mabillon, *De Re Diplomatica*, Neapoli, 1789, tom. i. p. 366.

would seem to point to the eighth century as the date. I should be sorry however to rest any argument upon a judgement thus formed, facsimiles made before the invention of photography not being always very accurate. This MS. appears also to be lost: at least if it is still in existence, its domicile is not known. The 300 MSS. remaining at Corbie in Mabillon's time were taken to Amiens in 1791. Of these, sixty-five were removed in 1803 to the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris and formed into a distinct collection called 'Fonds de Corbie.' Those left at Amiens were entirely neglected for years, and many disappeared. The residue were at length arranged and catalogued in 1828[1].

4. The earliest extant MS. Psalter, in which the Athanasian Creed occurs, or known to be extant, is the celebrated and costly Psalter, written apparently by command of Charlemagne before he became Emperor, and sometime in the Pontificate of Hadrian I, which lasted from A. D. 772 to 795. It belongs to the Imperial Library at Vienna: and an account of it is given by Lambecius, the custodian of that collection at the close of the seventeenth century, who discovered the MS. in the private library of the Emperor Leopold I, in the year 1666[2]. Denis also, custodian of the library at the close of last century, in his catalogue of the MSS. has furnished a description of this codex, which is of value as corroborating his predecessor's estimate of it, and supplementing some omissions on his part. It is numbered 28 among the theological manuscripts of that catalogue.

[1] See *Recherches sur l'ancienne Bibliothèque de Corbie*, par M. Delisle. Paris, 1860.

[2] Lambecii *Commentariorum de Bibliotheca Caesarea Vindobonensi liber secundus.*

The MS. is written in an ornate style, adopted no doubt to do honour to the distinguished and royal personage to whom as we shall see it is dedicated—'in letters of gold,' says Silvestre, 'on white vellum intermingled with leaves of purple and ornamented with some rich capital letters.' On the first folio appear two sets of dedicatory verses. The first is addressed by King Charles to Pope Hadrian, the second by Dagulfus the writer of the MS. to King Charles. These we will refer to more fully by-and-by, after mentioning the contents of the volume, as we learn them from the descriptions of Lambecius and Denis.

The dedicatory verses are not followed immediately by the Psalms, but by a variety of documents, which are described by Lambecius as prolegomena and printed by him *in extenso*. First we have five confessions of Faith—the Nicene Creed proper, including of course the anathema annexed to it; the Faith of St. Ambrose; it begins 'Nos patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum confitemur,' and ends 'adversus veritatem rebellis est'; the Faith of Pope Gregory the Great; the Faith of Gregory, Bishop of Neo-Caesarea, here called Martyr; and the Faith of St. Jerome. To these succeed immediately a metrical paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer in hexameters, the first line being 'Sydereo Genitor residens in vertice caeli,' and the 'Gloria in excelsis' without any title. The occurrence of these confessions of Faith, especially in the prefatory documents of the Psalter, is very remarkable and unusual. I cannot recollect meeting with any similar instance. As a rule, the Creeds which appear in Psalters are limited to the Apostles' Creed, the Nicene, the Constantinopolitan, and the Athanasian, the last being seldom omitted and frequently appearing alone: and they follow the Canticles. But this

Psalter possibly, being written for such an eminent person as Charlemagne, may be considered exceptional. A similar remark may be made in reference to the 'Gloria in excelsis.' I know of no other instance of it being placed, as it is in this case: it is generally, if it occurs at all, placed after the Canticles and before the Confession or Confessions of Faith. After the 'Gloria in excelsis' in our MS. come several documents relating to prophecy or inspiration, particularly that of the Psalms, also to their origin, authorship, use, excellence; some of which documents are not uncommonly found in the prefatory matter of Psalters, at least of those which are of a more full and elaborate character:—the treatise 'Origo Prophetiae David,' beginning 'David Filius Jesse'; St. Jerome's preface to the Gallican Psalter beginning 'Psalterium Romae dudum'; a tractate 'De Prophetia,' and three documents which in the opinion of Lambecius are drawn from SS. Jerome, Augustine, and Isidore of Seville; the epistle of Pope Damasus to St. Jerome, and the reply of the latter, denied to be genuine by Baronius; some responsive verses, Damasus and Jerome being represented as the interlocutors; a piece 'de libro sancti Isidori qui incipit Liber Psalmorum'; and Ruffinus's version of St. Basil's Preface to the Psalms, here attributed to St. Augustine, and beginning 'Canticum Psalmorum animam decorat, invitat angelos in adiutorium.' It is a Gallican Psalter; and the Psalms are followed immediately by the usual Old Testament Canticles, viz.:—the song of Isaiah, 'Confitebor tibi Domine,' the song of Hezekiah, 'Ego dixi, in dimidio dierum,' the song of Hannah, 'Exultavit cor meum,' the song of Moses, 'Cantemus Domino,' the song of Habakkuk, 'Domine, audivi auditionem tuam,' and the song of Moses, 'Audite caeli.' It may be well to mention, that in Latin

Psalters, except those of the Ambrosian and Mozarabic rites, these Canticles, which were sung severally on week-days at Lauds with the Psalms, always appear in the above order immediately after the Psalms[1]. It will be sufficient to describe them henceforward as *the usual Old Testament Canticles*. In some MSS. they are appropriated to the several days on which they were used. Thus in the Bodleian Library Psalter of the eleventh century—Canonici, Eccl. 88—we have 'FR̄. IĪ. Cañ. Esaie prophete. Confitebor tibi &c. FR̄. IIĪ. Cañ. Ezekie Regis. Ego dixi &c.,' and so on. In the Mozarabic and Ambrosian rites the Canticles were different, so also in the Office of the Greek Church. In the Vienna Psalter the Old Testament Canticles are followed by the Benedicite entitled 'Hymnus trium puerorum,' the Te Deum entitled 'Hymnus quem S. Ambrosius et S. Augustinus invicem condiderunt,' the Benedictus entitled 'Canticum Zachariae Prophetae,' the Magnificat entitled 'Canticum sanctae Mariae,' the Nunc dimittis entitled 'Canticum Simeonis,' the Lord's Prayer entitled 'Oratio Dominica,' the Apostles Creed entitled 'Symbolum Sanctorum Apostolorum,' and the Athanasian entitled 'Fides S. Athanasii Episcopi Alexandrini.' Here the book closes, as it would appear from the account of Lambecius.

It is obvious that whenever evidence of date is supplied by the contents of an ancient MS., this must needs be the most reliable kind of evidence for ascertaining the epoch when it was written. In this point of view the dedicatory verses inscribed on the first leaf of this Psalter are specially important and interesting. It is not necessary to quote them in full, only so much as is relevant to our

[1] See *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, under articles on *Canticles* and *Psalmody*.

purpose. In the first set, Pope Hadrian is thus addressed by King Charles:—

'Hadriano summo papae patrique beato
Rex Carolus salve mando valeque pater.
Praesul Apostolicae munus hoc sume cathedrae.
. . . . . .
Hoc vobis ideo munus pie dedo sacerdos,
Filius ut mentem patris adire queam.
Ac memorere mei precibus sanctisque piisque
Hoc donum exiguum saepe tenendo manu.
. . . . . .
Incolumis vigeas Rector per tempora longa
Ecclesiamque Dei dogmatis arte regas.'

In the second, the scribe Dagulfus thus addresses King Charles:—

'Aurea progenies, fulvo lucidior anno,
Carle, iubar nostrum, plebis et altus amor.
Rex pie, dux sapiens, virtute insignis et armis,
Quem decet omne decens, quicquid in orbe placet.
Exigui famuli Dagulfi sume laborem,
Dignanter docto mitis et ore lege.
Sic tua per multos decorentur sceptra triumphos,
Davidico et demum consociare choro.'

That Hadrian the Pope and Charles the King of these verses were none other than Hadrian I and Charlemagne was the unanimous opinion of the learned, until it was recently suggested by the late Rev. E. S. Ffoulkes, that they might be identified with another Pope Hadrian and another King Charles, viz., Pope Hadrian II, whose pontificate lasted from 867 to 872, and King Charles the Bald. The suggestion suited the exigencies of Mr. Ffoulkes' theory: for if this MS. was written during the Pontificate of Hadrian I which terminated A.D. 795, inasmuch as it contains the Athanasian Creed in its entirety, we have here a clear disproof of that scholar's assertion that the Creed was first published to the world in the year 802. But the suggestion has nothing else to recommend it.

The verses may be unquestionably understood with most fitness in the sense universally received until Mr. Ffoulkes's theory saw the light. According to Charlemagne's biographer, Eginhard, his relations with Hadrian I were those of the closest friendship, so much so, that he was moved to tears by the tidings of that Pope's death: he grieved, as though he had lost a brother or a son. And this grief found a lasting expression in a metrical epitaph which he composed in his friend's memory:—

> 'Post patrem lacrymans Carolus haec carmina scripsi,
> Tu mihi dulcis amor, te modo plango, pater [1].'

Three times during the pontificate of Hadrian he visited Rome, and the second occasion in the year 781 was rendered memorable by the baptism of his son Pippin, at which the Pope stood Godfather. Eginhard also relates that on several occasions Charlemagne was very munificent to the Pontiffs [2], so that nothing can be more probable than that he should have sent, or at least intended to send, this costly Psalter, a present to Hadrian I. On the other hand, the relations between Charles the Bald and Pope Hadrian II, so far from being of a friendly character, were certainly strained. There is but one instance on record of the former sending any presents to the latter, when Charles, in defiance of Hadrian's remonstrances, having taken possession of the kingdom of his deceased nephew Lothair, sought to appease the Pope's displeasure by addressing to him a letter, and at the same time requesting his acceptance of 'a cloth for the altar of St. Peter's made out of his own golden robes, together with two golden crowns decked with jewels [3].' The presents

[1] *Opera Caroli Magni*, Migne, *Patrol. Latina*, tom. xcviii. p. 1331.

[2] Einhardi *Caroli Magni vita*, sec. 27.

[3] *Annales Bertiniani*, annus 870. Migne, *Patrol. Latina*, tom cxxv. p. 1261.

being mentioned, it is natural to conclude that none others were sent.

The verses of Dagulfus too are far more applicable to Charlemagne than to Charles the Bald. They may be compared with some verses which were inscribed on a book of the Gospels, written by one Godescal at the command of the former sovereign, and which refer particularly to his second visit to Rome and the baptism of his son Pippin in the year 781[1]. The language employed by Godescal respecting Charlemagne bears an evident similarity to the terms in which Dagulfus addresses the king Charles to whom he dedicated this Psalter. By Godescal Charlemagne is described as 'Orbe bonus toto passim laudabilis heros, inclytus in regno, fretus caelestibus armis .... humili pietate superbus, providus ac sapiens, studiosus in arte librorum' and 'rex pius': by Dagulfus Charles is addressed as 'Rex pie, dux sapiens, virtute insignis et armis, quem decet omne decens, quicquid in orbe placet,' and he is requested to read the Psalter 'docto ore.' What conclusion can be drawn from this resemblance, but that the king Charles of Dagulfus is none other than the king Charles of Godescal? Eginhard too dwells upon Charlemagne's literary accomplishments, and his skill in the arts of reading ecclesiastical books and singing the service, particularly the Psalter.

Nor are these dedicatory verses the only documentary evidence of Charlemagne's connexion with this Vienna Psalter. Prefixed to it is a document subscribed by John Henseler, a public Imperial notary, which attests that it had been originally used by Hildegardis, the wife of Charlemagne, who after her death presented it A.D. 788 to the Church of Bremen, where it had been kept as

[1] Migne, *Patrol. Latina*, tom. xcviii. pp. 1353, 1354.

a sacred treasure for 800 years and more, and publicly exhibited once a year together with the other relics of the Church. In proof of which are subjoined two clauses copied word by word, as he certifies, from ancient manuscripts of that Church; one of which gives a list of the possessions and articles of value bestowed by Charlemagne upon the Church, the last being 'Psalterium divae ipsius coniugis literis aureis bene et subtiliter confricatum.' The other, written in German, mentions the Psalter as one of the sacred relics of the Church which were annually exhibited.

There is an obvious difficulty in reconciling the history of the Psalter, which is thus attested on the authority of the ancient records of the Church of Bremen, with the first set of dedicatory verses, if they are understood to mean, as they do apparently, that it was actually given or sent as a present to Hadrian by Charlemagne. But the difficulty is not insurmountable. Lambecius cuts the knot by denying altogether that Charlemagne gave the book to the Church of Bremen; and he supposes that the Frank king sent it to Hadrian at Rome as a present on occasion of his elevation to the papal throne in the year 772, and that it remained there till 788, when Hadrian presented it to St. Willehad upon his consecration as the first Bishop of Bremen. This hypothesis is accepted by Waterland; but, as Pagi remarks, it is entirely unsupported by evidence, and it is highly improbable that the Pope should have parted with a present conferred upon him by so great a monarch, and that too in order to bestow it upon a subject of that monarch. Pagi[1] therefore conjectures that Hadrian, having originally received it from Charlemagne, afterwards gave it to Hildegardis, when she accompanied the latter to Rome in 781; and that thus it reverted to

[1] Pagi, *Critica in Annales Baronii*, an. 783.

Charlemagne on her death, which took place two years after. But this is also improbable. The simplest solution of the difficulty appears to be that suggested by the authors of the *Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique*,—that the Psalter, though dedicated to the Pope, from some cause or other was never actually sent to him [1].

Whatever be the right reconciliation of the apparent discrepancy between the dedicating verses of this interesting Psalter and the ancient records of the Church of Bremen as regards its history, their combined evidence may be accepted as proving thus much—that it was written during the pontificate of Hadrian I (not necessarily at its commencement) for Charlemagne and in his honour by one Dagulfus, and was presented by that monarch together with other gifts to the Church of Bremen. And the date, which thus rests upon documentary evidence, is confirmed by palaeographical authorities. The opinion of Lambecius, who must have had a large acquaintance with ancient MSS., has been already mentioned and is entitled to consideration, though he may have been in error in regard to the precise year to which he assigned the MS., viz. A.D. 772. Denis too, the Vienna librarian at the close of the last century, dates it in his elaborate catalogue as belonging to the eighth century, and in the most positive manner asserts its antiquity as well as value [2]. The Benedictine authors of the *Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique*, who seem to have been well acquainted with the MS., place it at the latter part of the eighth century. And

[1] 'Le Psautier dedié par cet empereur au pape Adrian I., quoiqu'il ne l'ait pas reçu: peut-être parcequ'il vint à mourir dans la circonstance, où il devoit lui être présenté'; u. s. tom. ii. p. 100. But it could not have been the death of the Pope, which occurred A.D. 795, that prevented his receiving it, as it was presented to the Church of Bremen in 788.

[2] *Codices manuscripti theologici Bibliothecae Palatinae Vindobonensis Latini*, vol. i. pp. 54–70. Recensuit M. Denis a. 1793.

more recently Silvestre and his coadjutors express the same opinion, founded apparently on a personal examination of the book. 'The writing,' they say, 'is a good specimen of the renovated Roman or Caroline characters in general usage from the end of the eighth century'; and 'the general appearance of the volume at once indicates it to be of the latter part of the eighth century[1].' No competent palaeographer, to the best of my knowledge, has dated it later.

As I have described this Psalter as a Gallican Psalter, and shall have occasion to use that term repeatedly, and to mention Roman Psalters also, with the view of explaining these terms, which are not familiar to many persons, I have added in Appendix D a note on Latin versions of the Psalter.

5. Next to the Vienna Psalter, it is desirable to draw attention to another Psalter connected with Charlemagne. It is deposited in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, to which collection it was transferred from the Abbey of St. Germain-des-Prés, and has for its press-mark Latin 13159. This is also a Gallican Psalter, and it is remarkable for the evident care bestowed upon its execution and the richness of its decoration, which would lead us to suppose that it was written for some person of distinction. The volume is at present in a soiled and mutilated condition, imperfect at the end with several leaves lost. Each Psalm is preceded by a title called 'Titulum,' and followed by a prayer. The initial letters are large and elaborately ornamented, more especially that of the first Psalm, which occupies a whole page. By the side of the commencing leaf the corresponding leaf of another Psalter, with an initial B of Hiberno-Saxon form, has been inserted. Dr.

[1] *Universal Palaeography*, by M. J. B. Silvestre. Translated by Sir F. Madden. London, 1850. Vol. i. pp. 331, 332.

Swainson by the way, not perceiving that the latter was inserted, mistook the B for the original initial letter of this Psalter. In regard to the contents, the 150th Psalm is followed by the apocryphal 151st—the 'Pusillus eram.' The usual Old Testament Canticles then commence; but these are imperfect at present, owing to the loss of some—probably two—leaves. This is evident, inasmuch as at the bottom of the verso side of one folio appear the words 'quia non in fortitudinem roborabitur vir,' which are found in the Song of Hannah, the third in order of the Canticles; and the commencing words on the next page—198 recto—are 'quomodo persequetur unus mille' from the Song of Moses in Deuteronomy, which is always the last in order. After this come the Benedicite, the Benedictus entitled 'Canticum Zacharie Prophete,' the Magnificat entitled 'Hymnum Sanctae Mariae,' the Nunc dimittis headed 'Huic loco Simeon,' and then the Te Deum without a title. The last-named is imperfect, ending with the words 'Te gloriosus apostolorum chorus' in the last line of f. 160, verso. The commencing words on the next page—f. 161, recto—are those of the Constantinopolitan Creed, 'Deum de Deo'; and at the termination of this Creed, on the verso side of the same leaf, the *Quicunque* commences without a title. This leaf, it should be noticed, is written in a different hand from almost all the rest of the volume; for it appears in one other place only—in a prayer on f. 28. So that here again two of the original leaves would seem to be missing, one for which f. 161 was apparently inserted as a substitute, and another containing the matter clearly omitted, viz. the greater part of the Te Deum and the commencement of the Constantinopolitan Creed, possibly also the Apostles' Creed and the Gloria in excelsis. But why only one leaf was inserted to supply the place of

those which had been lost is a difficulty which cannot now be solved. Certain it is that the commencement of the Athanasian Creed, which is written on the verso side of this leaf as far as the words 'nec tres inmensi,' must have been in the volume originally, because the Creed is continued on the next folio in the original hand, and this hand is maintained to the end of the MS. The initial word 'Finit' of the Rubric at the conclusion of the Creed is alone legible at present, the rest being obliterated by rough and careless usage. Then follow several Litanies, which require special notice, as they supply indisputable evidence of the date of this Psalter. The first of these commences: 'Christus vincit, Christus regnat, Christus imperat; III. Exaudi Christe. Leoni summo pontifici et universali papę vita. Salvator mundi, Tu illum adiuva; Sancte Petre, Tu illum adiuva.' And after similar invocations addressed to SS. Paul, Andrew, Clement, and another, it continues: 'Exaudi Christe, Carolo excellentissimo . . . es (*sic*) a dō coro (*sic*) . . . atque magno et pacifico regi Francorum et Longobardorum ac patricio Romanorum Vita et victoria; Redemptor mundi, Tu illum adiuva,' &c. Then after similar invocations of saints and angels we have: 'Exaudi Christe, nobilissime proli regali vita. Sancta virgo virginum, Tu illam adiuva.' Then after more invocations occurs: 'Exaudi Christe, Omnibus iudicibus vel cuncto exercitui Francorum Vita et victoria.' Again, we have towards the end: 'Christus vincit, Christus regnat, Christus imperat; Rex regum Christus vincit.' The end is as follows: 'Christe, Te rogamus. Kurie eleison, Te rogamus. Feliciter Feliciter. Tempora bona habeas (*sic*), Te rogamus multos annos. Amen.' By the above petitions the date of this national Frank Litany, in which the notes of jubilant exultation are mingled with those of supplica-

tion, seems clearly determined to the period between the accession of Leo III to the pontificate at the close of the year 795 and the coronation of Charlemagne as Emperor at Christmas, A.D. 800. Charles is prayed for as 'Rex Francorum et Longobardorum ac patricius Romanorum,' the title usually applied to Charlemagne from the time of his conquest of Lombardy in 774 until his coronation as Emperor, after which he was commonly designated as 'Augustus' or 'Imperator Romanorum.' And if Charlemagne is the king here prayed for, Leo III must be the Pope. What other King Charles and Pope Leo could be intended? It is true that Leo IV (who was Pope from 847 to 855) and Charles the Bald were contemporaries, but the latter was never called and never was king of the Lombards and Patrician of the Romans. What confirms the conclusion that this Litany was composed before the accession of Charlemagne to the imperial dignity is the petition added for the *royal* family: 'Exaudi Christe, nobilissime proli regali vita.' It should be noticed that 'Carolo' is the last word in the third line from the bottom on the recto side of the leaf (f. 163), and a great portion of the two last lines of the page, comprising no doubt originally some complimentary epithets or titles, has been obliterated by excessive wear. The words 'es (*sic*) a dō coro'—clearly for 'coronato'—looked to me like a conjectural attempt to retrace some of the lost portion, and between them and 'excellentissimo' at the beginning of the last line but one on one side and 'atque magno et pacifico' (which come at the end of the last line) on the other there is a blank space. Then in the first line on the reverse of the leaf follow immediately, written distinctly in the original hand, 'regi Francorum et Longobardorum ac patricio Romanorum.' What were the obliterated epithets or titles it is impossible

now to ascertain; but it is very improbable that 'augusto' or 'imperatori' should have been among them, as 'patricius Romanorum' is never found associated with either of the titles 'augustus' or 'imperator,' and seems to have been supplanted by them when Charlemagne received the imperial dignity. And if this Litany belongs to the period between the accession of Leo III to the popedom and the coronation of Charlemagne as emperor, such must be the date also of the Psalter. Not improbably the Psalter was written specially with a view to this Litany, which seems to have been composed for the purpose of imploring the Divine favour upon Charles the Great while celebrating his victories.

The above conclusion in regard to the date of the MS. is confirmed by the two other Litanies immediately succeeding, both of which contain petitions for Pope Leo and King Charles. The first of the two, entitled apparently 'Letania Falilla,' has the following:—

'Ut domnum apostolicum Leonem in sanctitate et religione conservare digneris, Te rogamus, audi nos:
Ut ei vitam et sanitatem dones, Te rogamus.
Ut domnum Carolum regem conservare digneris, Te rogamus:
Ut ei vitam et sanitatem atque victoriam dones, Te rogamus.
Ut proles regales conservare digneris, Te rogamus;
Ut eis vitam et sanitatem dones, Te rogamus.'

The other, entitled apparently 'Letania Callica,' and intended, it would seem, for use in a school or college, has:—

'Exaudi Deus. R$\bar{P}$.[1] Leoni pape vita.
Exaudi Christe. R$\bar{P}$. Carolo regi vita.
Exaudi Deus pro liberis regalibus vita.
Exaudi Christe exercitui Francorum vita.'

The Litanies are followed by some reference to the Authentic and Plagal musical tones or modes, described as *Autentus Protus*, *Plai Protus*, *Autentus Deuterus*, *Plai*

[1] i.e. 'Responsum.'

Deuterus, &c. Then on the last leaf is a 'Hymnum die dominico,' commencing 'Deus qui caeli luminis satorque lucis,' and on the verso side near the bottom of the page occurs, 'Hymnum ad prima. Post matutinis. Laudibus quos trinitate psallamus psallamus rursus admonet pater verus familias.' The hymn is not concluded, so that the volume is obviously imperfect at the end owing to mutilation.

It must be added that M. Delisle, the learned Director of the National Library at Paris, places this MS. between 795 and 800—accepting the date clearly indicated by internal evidence [1]. The codex, important as it is in relation to the history of the Athanasian Creed, was unknown to Waterland. A collation of the text of that Creed, which is contained in it, will be found in the Appendix.

6. Another Paris MS.—Bibliothèque Nationale, Latin 4858—contains on the verso side of the last leaf a fragment of the Athanasian Creed, the portion from the beginning to the words 'tres aeterni' of the eleventh verse inclusive. This follows without any title the Chronicon of Eusebius, as translated by Jerome, which is the only other document comprised in the volume. The cause of the Creed appearing in this fragmentary condition is obviously nothing but the mutilation of the MS., which originally must in all probability have contained the whole of the formulary. Beyond this it is necessarily impossible to form even a conjecture in regard to the contents of the last leaves.

This is one of the MSS. noticed by Montfaucon in his *Diatribe in Symbolum Quicunque*, and he ascribes it without hesitation to the same epoch as the Vienna Psalter already mentioned belongs to in his judgement—the close of the eighth century [2]. The old printed catalogue

[1] See Swainson, *Nicene and Apostles' Creeds*, &c., p. 354.

[2] Regius codex num. 4908, annorum nongentorum nullum habet titulum

attributes it, but doubtfully, to the ninth century: 'Nono saeculo exaratus videtur.' But the present authorities agree with Montfaucon as to the date. We may therefore safely accept the verdict of that experienced palaeographer. A collation of the text will be found in Appendix E.

7. The Athanasian Creed appears in manuscript collections of canons as well as psalters. My first instance under this head is from a MS. comprising a Gallican collection of canons, assigned by Professor Maassen in his *Bibliotheca Latina iuris canonici* to the ninth century, but probably written, as we shall shortly see, at its commencement. This is also a Paris MS., Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 1451. It begins with a tree of consanguinity. Then comes a notice of the first six Oecumenical Councils. Then on f. 6, verso, a list of the popes is commenced, headed with the title: 'Hic sunt Pontifices sancte Romanae Ecclesiae Beati Petri apostoli.' The duration of each pontificate is specified in years, months, and days: and the first five are Petrus, Linus, Cletus, Clemens, and Aneclitus. The list is concluded on f. 7, verso, the last being: 'XCVII. Adrianus s̄. añ. XXIII. m̄. X. d. XVII.'; or in full: 'Adrianus sedit annos XXIII. menses X. dies XVII.' This was Adrian I, who died on Christmas Day, A.D. 795. Between this and the next line there has been inserted in another hand the following: 'XCVIII. Leo papa.' That this insertion was made after the completion of the codex is evident from the fact of its being thrust in between the lines. And it must have been made before the death of Leo III, the successor of Adrian I, which took place

nullumque auctoris nomen. Aequalis ipsi est, qui memoratur a Lambecio exstatque in Bibliotheca Caesarea Caroli Magni iussu conscriptus, cuius titulus sic habet, *Fides Sancti Athanasii episcopi Alexandrini.*' Montfaucon, *Diatribe* in the Appendix to his edition of St. Athanasius, published at Paris, A.D. 1698. This MS. was numbered 4908 in the old Royal Library of France.

A.D. 816: had it been made after, the duration of his pontificate would have been specified in all probability, as has been done in the case of Adrian and all the other popes on the list. Thus we are led to believe that the MS. was not written later than the year 816; that it was not executed prior to the death of Adrian is obvious from the length of his occupation of the Papal See being stated to a day.

The list of popes is immediately followed by some chronological notes:—

'Ab exordio mundi usque ad diluvium sunt anni duo milia CCXL. et II. A diluvio usque ad nativitatem Abrahe sunt anni DCCCCXLII.

Passum autem dominum nostrum Iesum Christum peractis (*sic*) ab ortu mundi quinque milia CCXX. et VIII. anni.

A passione domini nostri Iesu Christi usque ad sedem beatissimi Marcellini pape Romae anni CCLXXVI. menses VIIII.

De apostolato iam facto Christi martyris Marcellini usque tempus gloriosissimi domni Caroli regis XXV. anni regni eius hoc est usque VIII. Kalendas Apriles sunt anni CCCCXC. et menses III.'

At first I thought that these notes determined the date of the MS., but on further consideration it appears to me that they cannot be taken as proving more than the negative conclusion that it was not written before the epoch indicated by them, which seems to be the eighth of the Kalends of April or the twenty-fifth of March in the year 796, not, as Maassen states, 793. Apparently Maassen, in accordance with the usual computation, placed the commencement of Charlemagne's reign in October 768, when upon the death of his father he succeeded to the kingdom in conjunction with his brother Carloman. But, in the first place, the year 793 falls within the pontificate of Adrian, whose death is virtually recorded, as we have seen, in the list of popes, to which these notes are subjoined: and next, it cannot be made to synchronize with the whole sum of the successive periods which are here stated to have

elapsed from the Creation to the date intended. Thus 5,228 years from the Creation to the Passion + 276 years and nine months from the Passion to the Pontificate of Marcellinus + 490 years and three months from Marcellinus to March twenty-fifth of the twenty-fifth year of the reign of Charlemagne = 5,995 years. And according to the Eusebian chronology, which is followed in these notes, as it was generally in the Middle Ages, and which placed the Nativity of our Blessed Lord in the year 5,199 from the Creation, the year 5995 from the Creation would coincide not with 793 A. D. but with 796. Hence it is clear that Charlemagne's reign is not reckoned here as commencing in 768 A. D. Is there any other computation of his reign which will solve the difficulty? Einhard in his life of Charles relates that upon his brother Carloman's death, with whom he had reigned conjointly, he was constituted sole king with the consent of all the Franks[1]. This took place in December, A. D. 771 : and this the 'Poeta Saxo' in his metrical life of Charles regards as the occasion when the Frank monarchy was conferred upon him by the right of divine authority: accordingly it is placed at the very commencement of his Annals of the acts of Charles[2]. And if Charlemagne's reign is reckoned as commencing in December 771, clearly March twenty-fifth, 796, falls within its twenty-fifth year. We have shown that the year

[1] 'Karolus fratre defuncto consensu omnium Francorum rex constituitur.' *Vita Caroli*, sec. 3 ; see Migne, *Patrol. Latina*, tom. xcvii. p. 29.

[2] 'Salvator mundi, postquam de Virgine nasci
Dignatus, nostri se corporis induit artus,
Evolvit septingentos rota temporis annos,
Et decies septem, sed et unus paene peractus
Insuper annus erat, cum iure monarchia regni
Francorum Carolo divinitus est data magno.'
Poetae Saxonis *Annalium de gestis Caroli Magni libri quinque*, see Migne, *Patrol. Latina*, tom. xcix. p. 685.

796 A. D. harmonizes with the sum of the periods calculated in these chronological notes from the Creation.

On the reverse of the *same leaf*, on the recto side of which these notes appear, the Athanasian Creed commences, introduced by the title: 'Incipit exemplar fidei cht̄ sc̄i Athanasii ep̄i Alexandrine ecclesie. 'It is concluded on the next page, f. 8, recto. The contraction *cht* is clearly for *chatholice* or *chatholicae*, the word being thus spelt in the text of the Creed. The various readings are printed in the Appendix; but one of them I cannot forbear to draw attention to here—it is so interesting and peculiar. Verses 8–10 appear thus: 'Aeternus pater, aeternus filius, aeternus et spiritus sanctus; Increatus pater, increatus filius, increatus et spiritus sanctus; Inmensus pater, inmensus filius, inmensus et spiritus sanctus.' It will be observed that this reading seems to receive support from the two succeeding verses: 'Et tamen non tres aeterni, sed unus aeternus; sicut non tres increati, nec tres inmensi, sed unus increatus, et unus inmensus.' But I have not met with it in any other MS.

Among the other contents of this codex are the Confession of Faith commonly entitled 'Fides Hieronymi,' also a list of the ecclesiastical provinces of Gaul, also a collection of canons and decretal epistles, in course of which other confessions of faith occur—the original Nicene Creed, with its anathema, necessarily included among the acts of the Nicene Council, the confession most commonly described as 'Fides Romanorum' or 'Fides Romanae Ecclesiae,' another called 'Libellus de fide catholica contra omnes hereses Augustini,' and that commonly known as 'Gennadius de dogmaticis ecclesiasticis,' but here, as well as the last mentioned, attributed to Augustine. The latest Council contained in this collection is the Third of Toledo,

A. D. 589, celebrated as the occasion when the Visigothic kingdom of Spain and Gallia Narbonensis abjured Arianism and accepted the Catholic Faith: and the acts of that council are the last document in the volume, but it is incomplete owing to the mutilation of the codex. The latest papal epistle is by Innocent I. The collection may therefore have been compiled at the end of the sixth century or the beginning of the seventh. It is clearly a Gallican collection, and the MS. must have been written in France.

As the history of a MS. is always interesting and sometimes important, it is worth while mentioning that this volume formerly belonged to Colbert's Library; and the name of an earlier owner appears at the bottom of the first page: 'Fuit Nicolai Fabri.' Another memorandum on the verso side of the first leaf, written in a hand of the fifteenth century, points to its ancient, possibly original, home: 'Iste liber est sancti Petri fossatensis.' The Abbey of St. Peter des Fosses or Fossatensis—also called the Abbey of St. Maur des Fosses, because the remains of St. Maur were transferred to it from the Abbey of Glanfeuil in Anjou in the time of Charles the Bald—was situated on the river Marne, at a distance of two leagues from Paris. As it was founded in the middle of the seventh century, the MS. may have been written within its walls.

8. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, No. 3848 B. of the Latin MSS. has been previously referred to, as comprising among its contents two discourses on the Apostles' Creed preached at the 'Traditio Symboli' and the Herovall Collection of Canons, in the first chapter of which it will be remembered the Autun Canon enjoining the recitation of the Athanasian Creed upon the clergy is found. This MS. also produces in extenso the *Quicunque*, introducing

it apparently among several testimonies respecting the Faith from the Fathers between the Sermons and the Collection. The Fathers thus quoted are St. Hilary, St. Ambrose, St. Chrysostom, Theophilus, St. Cyril of Alexandria,—his epistles to Nestorius and Bishop John,—and St. Isidore of Seville, who is, it will be observed, the latest of the number. The title of the *Quicunque* is 'Fides sancti Athanasii episcopi.' A collation of the text will be found in Appendix, Note E. This MS. is assigned to the ninth century by the Catalogue of the Paris MSS., to the beginning of that century by Professor Maassen in his *Bibliotheca Latina iuris canonici*.

9. Psalter of the Emperor Lothair. This Psalter has on its first three leaves portraits of Lothair as the prince in whose honour or at whose request it was written, of David as the inspired author of the Psalms, and of St. Jerome by whom the Gallican or amended version of the Latin Psalter contained in the book was elaborated. Each of these pictures is followed by a set of ten verses. The third of them expressly states that the volume was executed from a motive of deep veneration for the king,—clearly meaning Lothair, who is represented by his picture with all the circumstances of royal dignity, seated upon a throne, wearing a crown and mantle both of gold and studded with jewels, his right hand resting upon a staff or sceptre, his left grasping the hilt of his sword. And the verses which are subjoined to his picture distinctly refer to the most remarkable epoch in his life—the short-lived triumph which by the aid of his brothers Louis and Pippin and of a powerful party among the nobles and bishops he achieved over his father, Louis the Meek, in the year 833. In a national diet or assembly held at Compiègne in October of that year, as sole Emperor or Caesar of the

West, he received the homage of princes and people with the assurances of their fidelity, and ambassadors from the Eastern Emperor came to treat with him. Never afterwards did his sovereignty extend over the vast extent of country which at that time acknowledged his rule. The following are the lines, in which all this is evidently alluded to—it might even be said, described:—

> 'Inclyta Caesareum diffundit fama triumphum [1]
> Hlotharii, celebrat quem maximus ambitus orbis.
> Hunc oriens recolit, mittens veneranter Achivos,
> Qui veniam curvi poscant et foedera pacis,
> Syderis occidui populi sua iura tremiscunt,
> Et tanto gaudent proni se subdere regi [1].'

It is natural to conclude that the MS. was written soon after the events which it thus commemorates, at the end of 833 or beginning of 834, especially as the latter year, before it was far advanced, brought with it a reverse of fortune to Lothair. Popular favour veered round; his brothers, alarmed by the dimensions his power was assuming, changed sides; his father was restored to liberty and reinstated in the empire; the title of Emperor was taken from him and his authority confined within the boundaries of his own kingdom of Italy. It is not at all likely that a Psalter designed apparently to celebrate the triumph of Lothair, an event necessarily full of painful and degrading memories to Louis the Meek, would have been executed and used after the return of the latter to power and within his dominions, nor yet at any time during the remainder of his life, which terminated in 840.

The Psalter itself, like the Vienna Psalter, previously mentioned, is written in letters of gold, an indication of its connexion with some royal personage; and the usual Canticles, which follow, are written in the same ornate

[1] See *Voyage littéraire de deux Bénédictins*, vol. i. p. 137.

style. Among these, according to the account of the *Voyage Littéraire*, are the Te Deum, the Athanasian Creed, the Lord's Prayer and Apostles' Creed, and according to the account of the Palaeographical Society, the Magnificat also. The position of the Athanasian Creed is very unusual, coming before the Lord's Prayer and Apostles' Creed and Magnificat: it is entitled 'Fides Catholica tradita a sancto Athanasio Alexandrino episcopo.' In a later hand, dating as appears from internal evidence between A.D. 908 and 920, are prayers 'pro statu sanctae Dei ecclesiae' and others. At the beginning—also written in a different hand from the Psalms and Canticles – on the inside of the cover is another prayer headed 'Oratio pro vivorum,' which must have been used, if we may judge from its language, by a daughter of Lothair when an inmate of some religious house, the names of her brothers Lothair, Charles, and Louis being mentioned, also of Charles the elder, probably Charles the Bald, among her uncles, as living, and those of Lothair, Hyrmingarde, and Theobert, as departed seemingly. As Louis of Bavaria and Charles, the brothers of Lothair the Emperor, died, the former in 876 and the latter in 877, we have here a clue to the date of this prayer. It supplies obviously an additional indication of the connexion of the volume with Lothair.

This MS. belonged formerly to the Abbey of St. Hubert in the Forest of Ardennes and Diocese of Liége; and in a Chronicle of the Abbey, known as the 'Cantatorium,' of the twelfth century, is described as having been presented to it by Louis le Débonnaire or the Meek, on occasion of the translation of St. Hubert's remains, A.D. 825. Accordingly, this date has been assigned to the codex, though doubtfully, by the Palaeographical Society. But the state-

ment of the Chronicle can only be regarded as legendary, if the encomiastic verses refer, as they clearly do, to events which occurred in 833; nor does it appear likely that a Psalter, in which Lothair is represented as the sole reigning Emperor, would have been compiled at a time when he was merely associated with his father in the imperial dignity. Still the fact of such a tradition existing in the twelfth century proves that even then the Psalter had been the property of St. Hubert's Abbey for a considerable period. It may have been written there. When the two French Benedictines, Martène and Durand, in the course of their literary journey visited the abbey in 1718, they found it still there; and in the delightful narrative of their travels they describe it as the most precious among the manuscript treasures of the abbey, and give an account of it, together with copies of the portrait of Lothair and of several of the documents which it contains, among them the verses which accompany the pictures[1]. The Psalter remained in its ancient home till the French Revolution of the last century, when it was carried off by the Prior, Dom Nicholas Spirlet, and Dom Etienne, together with other treasures of their house. The Prior died on his journey, and Dom Etienne then became possessor of the volume, which he bequeathed to his nephew, of whom it was purchased in or about the year 1875 by Messrs. Ellis and White of New Bond Street. By this firm it was sold to a gentleman who did not wish his name to be known. Thus this valuable and interesting MS., though still extant, is lost to the public; and it cannot but be a subject of regret that the Trustees of the British Museum were unable to secure it for the nation. The Palaeographical Society have however rescued it from total oblivion by

[1] *Voyage littéraire de deux religieux Bénédictins*, vol. i. pp. 135–144.

publishing—it may be presumed through the courtesy of Messrs. Ellis and White—two facsimiles of the handwriting, and another of the portrait of Lothair, with some account of the codex [1].

Waterland was unacquainted with this Psalter, which is of real importance in relation to the history of the Athanasian Creed, his book being written before the publication of the *Voyage Littéraire.*

10. The Psalter commonly described in England of late years as the Utrecht Psalter calls for some notice. For in the first place, though not written in the same costly style as the Lothair and Vienna Psalters, it is still remarkable for the care and labour evidently employed in its execution and decoration, the body of the text both in the Psalms and Canticles being written in rustic capitals,—in this respect I think I may say it is unique among extant manuscript Psalters,—and the Psalms and Canticles being all preceded by illustrative drawings of a peculiar character. And its history is remarkable in connexion with the modern controversies relating to the Athanasian Creed. Archbishop Ussher in the preface to his work *De Symbolo,* published in 1647, mentions that he had seen the MS. in the Cotton Library, that it contained the Athanasian Creed and the Apostles', the latter having as many articles as in modern times; and he judged it, both from the ancient character of the drawings and the somewhat large form of the letters, to be not later than the time of Gregory I [2].

[1] Palaeographical Society, *Facsimiles of Manuscripts,* vol. ii. Plates, 69, 93, 94.

[2] 'Latino-Gallicum illud Psalterium in Bibliotheca Cottoniana vidimus: sicut et alia Latina duo longe maioris antiquitatis; in quibus praeter hymnum hunc (sc. Te Deum) sine ullo authoris nomine Hymni ad Matutinas titulo inscriptum, et Athanasianum habebatur Symbolum, et Apostolicum, totidem omnino quot hodiernum nostrum continens capitula. In priore, quod

And since Ussher's time this Psalter has frequently been appealed to by the learned in proof of the antiquity of the *Quicunque*. But it disappeared mysteriously from the Cotton Library. Waterland says that in his time it was not there, and speaks of it as lost[1]. It appears to have been lent to the Earl of Arundel between the years 1625 and 1631, and not to have been returned at the latter date. Nothing more was heard of it until it transpired not many years since that it was in the Utrecht Library, to which it had been presented by one Ridler in 1718. Professor Westwood saw it there and examined it carefully in 1858. Public attention was invited to it by the late Professor Swainson in 1872, when the controversy respecting the retention of the Athanasian Creed in the Church of England was raging; and its reappearance on the arena was the occasion of eliciting a most noteworthy diversity of opinion among palaeographers in regard to the date when it was written. Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy, an experienced palaeographer and antiquarian, in a report drawn up at the request of Lord Romilly, then Master of the Rolls, confidently maintained, in agreement with Ussher, that the volume belonged to the sixth century, and he adduced two other authorities, Haenel and Baron von Westreenen, in support of his position[2]. To counteract this, Dean Stanley produced a formidable array of opinions in favour of a much later date from other palaeographers, who were also men of the highest eminence in their particular

Gregorii I. tempore non fuisse recentius, tum ex antiquo picturae genere colligitur, tum ex literarum forma grandiuscula, Athanasianum quidem fidei Catholicae . . . alterum vero Symboli Apostolorum praefert titulum.' Ussher, *de Symbolo, Praef.* p. 4.

[1] *History of the Athanasian Creed.* Oxford, 1870, pp. 68, 71.

[2] *The Athanasian Creed in connexion with the Utrecht Psalter,* a Report by Sir T. D. Hardy.

line. Mr. Bond, then Keeper of the Manuscripts in the British Museum, considered 'it impossible to refer the Psalter to an earlier time than the end of the eighth century,' and was 'more disposed to assign it to the ninth.' Sir E. M. Thompson, at the time Assistant Keeper of the Manuscripts in the British Museum, could 'not assign it to an earlier age than the close of the eighth century.' The Rev. H. O. Coxe, Bodleian Librarian, saw 'no reason to conclude that the MS. was written before the commencement of the ninth century.' The Rev. S. S. Lewis, Librarian of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, did 'not feel warranted in assigning it to an earlier date than the ninth century.' Sir Digby Wyatt felt strongly that the Psalter 'was probably done at or about the middle of the eighth century.' Professor Westwood of Oxford referred it 'to the eighth or ninth century[1].' Lastly, the Utrecht Librarian placed the MS. between A.D. 750 and A.D. 850. In the face of this preponderance of palaeographical authority it is impossible any longer to maintain that the Psalter possesses the high antiquity which Ussher attributed to it. And yet if we turn for guidance to the advocates of a later date, their opinions take such a wide range and differ so much that it is difficult to base any definite conclusion upon them. The most definite conclusion we can arrive at seems to be that the Psalter was written either in the eighth or ninth century, and most probably belongs to the first half of the latter.

Nothing certain appears to be known of the history of this MS. prior to its coming into the possession of Sir Robert Cotton. It has been supposed to have been brought by Bertha, the wife of Æthelbert, King of Kent,

[1] *The Utrecht Psalter, Reports on the age of the Manuscript*, with a preface by A. P. Stanley, Dean of Westminster.

from France, and by her to have been bequeathed to the monastery of Reculver, and thence removed to Canterbury. But the evidence for this is of the frailest possible description. Sir E. M. Thompson however is of opinion that it was probably written in the north-east of France. And this receives some confirmation from the fact that the Psalter is of the Gallican version.

The Athanasian Creed occurs in the usual place. After the six usual Old Testament Canticles follow the Benedicite, the Te Deum entitled 'Hymnum ad matutinis,' the Benedictus entitled 'Canticum Zacharie Prophete ad Matutinum,' the Magnificat, the Nunc dimittis entitled 'Canticum Simeonis ad Completorium,' the Gloria in excelsis without any title, the Lord's Prayer according to St. Matthew but without the Doxology, the Apostles' Creed entitled 'Symbolu (*sic*) Apostolorum,' the mark of abbreviation over the *u* in *Symbolum* being probably omitted through inadvertence, and the Athanasian Creed entitled 'Fides Catholicam' (*sic*); and then comes the apocryphal 151st Psalm—a very peculiar arrangement, as it usually follows the 150th Psalm. It is observable that the Canticles here are the same, and in the same order, as in the Vienna Psalter previously noticed, except that the Gloria in excelsis is omitted by the latter from the Canticles and placed among the preliminary documents at the beginning. A collation of the text will be found in the Appendix.

11. The Cotton MS. Galba A. xviii, generally known as King Æthelstan's Psalter, is a very interesting book; and Sir E. M. Thompson's account of it has thrown a flood of light upon its construction and history[1]. This is my

[1] *Catalogue of Ancient Manuscripts in the British Museum*, by E. M. Thompson, Part ii. Latin, p. 12.

authority for the dates to which the several parts of the codex may be assigned.

The MS. originally comprised the Psalter and Canticles only, including of course the Lord's Prayer and Creeds, with a few prefatory documents, and was written on the Continent, probably in Germany, in the ninth century, in Caroline minuscules. That this part was written abroad and in the ninth century is shown not only by the character of the handwriting, but also by the fact that on a leaf at the beginning, what was a flyleaf of the original volume, are noted the obits of 'Karolus piissimus imperator,' 'Pippinus gloriosus rex,' 'Bernhardus gloriosissimus rex,' 'Uvoradus dux,' and 'Himildruda comitissa,' followed by a direction for the due celebration of their memories and a prayer for their eternal rest. Charlemagne died A.D. 814; Pippin his son, King of Italy and of Bavaria and part of Germany, in 810; Bernhard, who succeded to the dominions of his father Pippin, in 817; Uvoradus was 'comes palatii' under Charlemagne, and shared with two others the command of an army sent to quell an insurrection of Saxons A.D. 782[1]. Himildruda was a concubine of the same monarch[2]; and it is not probable that either of the two last-named persons survived Charlemagne long, as he attained to the full age of man: possibly both died before him. Hence we may infer that the MS. was not written later than A.D. 850, as it is not likely that the direction for the solemn observance of the anniversaries of the deaths of the great Emperor, his royal son and grandson, his courtier, and his concubine would have been issued many years after their decease. The Psalter is Gallican and is marked with obeli and asterisks. The usual Old Testa-

[1] Einhardi *Annales*, apud Pertz, vol. i. p. 163.
[2] *Annales Laureshamienses*, apud Pertz, vol. i. p. 35.

ment Canticles are followed by the Benedicite, Benedictus, Magnificat, Nunc dimittis, Te Deum, Gloria in excelsis entitled 'Hymnus in die dominica ad matutinas,' the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed entitled 'Symbolum,' and the Athanasian entitled 'Fides sancti Athanasii Alexandrini.' Professor Westwood in his account of this MS. in his *Palaeographia Sacra* appears to agree with Sir E. M. Thompson with respect to the date of the Psalter with its prefatory matter and Canticles and the locality which produced them. The Canticles here, it may be observed, are the same as in the Utrecht Psalter.

To the MS. as thus originally constituted were added, both at the beginning and end, 'on the spare leaves and on supplemental leaves[1],' some prayers; and these additions, being in Caroline writing, must have been made on the Continent—in the same place no doubt, probably a monastery, where the book was written and first used. After this the volume must have been transmitted to England, where apparently it received yet further additions both at the beginning and end. For at the present day it commences—and this seems to have been the case in Sir Robert Cotton's time also—with a calendar, followed by rules for calculating the seasons, this part being written in an English hand of the tenth century, and immediately preceding the first set of prayers in Caroline writing. And it concludes with some prayers intended to be used with the Psalms and the following documents in Greek, but written in Latin characters, viz. a Litany, the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed, and the Ter-sanctus. This part, like that at the commencement, is in an Anglo-Saxon hand of the tenth century, and it immediately follows the second set of prayers in Caroline writing. All

[1] Thompson, *u. s.*

this is very curious and interesting. The Apostles' Creed, as it appears here, is of a very ancient type. It has been printed by Dr. Heurtley in his *Harmonia Symbolica*.

Two particulars remain to be noticed respecting the Calendar and the rules subjoined to it. That the Calendar was written in the tenth century, not earlier, is clear not only from the character of the writing, but from the fact of its containing the obit of King Alfred, who died A.D. 900. 'Aelfred rex obiit septenis et quoque amandus.' 'King Aelfred, a man likewise to be loved, died on the seventh of the Calends of November.' Next, the mention of the year 703 in the Appendix, so to call it, to the Calendar was for some time regarded as a proof that the whole MS. was written at that date[1]; and it has been a subject of some perplexity, since that position was proved to be untenable by the discovery of King Alfred's obit in the Calendar. But the solution of the difficulty is simple and obvious. The date occurs in a rule given for finding the year A.D. from the Indictions, which is as follows:— 'Si vis nosse quot sint anni ab Incarnatione Domini, scito quot fuerint ordines indictionum, ut puta, V. anno Tyberii cesaris eius XLVI. hos per XV. multiplica fiunt DCXC. adde semper regulares XII. quia IIII. indictionum secundum Dionissium dominus natus est, indictionem quoque cuius volueris ut puta in presenti .I. fiunt DCCIII. isti sunt anni nativitatis domini.' It is obvious that the date A. D. 703 here mentioned is simply the date when the rule was drawn up, being adduced by the author for the purpose of illustration. It proves nothing in regard to the epoch

[1] This was Archbishop Ussher's view; and in a list of contents written on the verso-side of the fly-leaf of the MS. the first note is: 'Calendarium vetustissimum literis Saxonicis cum ciclis ecclesiasticis. Scriptum fuit anno 703, ut apparet in codice.'

at which the volume was executed, beyond the fact that the part in which it appears could not have been written earlier. This rule is found word for word at the commencement of the fourteenth chapter of Bede's work *De Temporibus*, and a few more of the rules contained in our codex are subjoined, slightly abbreviated, which would lead us to suppose that the whole set was probably from his hand. It seems clear from the last chapter (*de sexta aetate*) of that work that it was written, or at any rate concluded, in the year 708 of our era, for it begins with the statement that that number of years of the sixth age were then past[1]; and Bede himself dates the commencement of the sixth age from the Nativity of our Lord[2]. It is remarkable that the appearance of this rule for finding the year A.D. in this work of Bede's should have escaped notice hitherto.

Cotton's ownership of the book is attested by his autograph on the fly-leaf: 'Robertus Cotton Bruceus 1612.' It appears again at the bottom of f. 3 r. The fly-leaf also contains the record of an earlier ownership: 'Psalterium regis Ethelstani emptum per Dominum Thomam, Rectorem de Colbrok, Wynton, 1542.' Sir E. M. Thompson says that Thomas Dakcombe, Rector of St. Mary's Colbrok, Winchester, was also Minor Canon of the cathedral. The church of St. Mary Colbrok has I believe perished, and the parish is absorbed in that of St. Maurice. And with regard to the connexion of the book with King Æthelstan, it is described as having been once his property in the table of contents, which is written on the verso side of the fly-leaf of the MS., and which Sir E. M. Thompson apparently regards as authorized, if not drawn up, by Cotton: 'Liber fuit quondam Æthelstani Regis.' Again,

[1] 'Sexta aetas continet annos praeteritos DCCVIII.'

[2] Liber *de Temporibus*, cap. xvi.

on the back of another earlier miniature—f. 2 of this volume—has been pasted, probably by Sir R. Cotton, a miniature executed at the end of the fifteenth century, and on this was inscribed in gilt letters, now all but illegible, the title, 'Psalterium Æthelstani regis.' These memoranda are our only authorities for the belief that the book belonged at one time to King Æthelstan. Whether in regard to this Cotton simply followed Dakcombe, or not, must be uncertain. He may not, he may have had some other evidence before him. He was not in all respects a good preserver of the ancient character of the manuscripts which he collected, as his habit of putting them in new bindings necessarily involved sometimes the destruction of the old covers, perhaps also the cutting away of leaves; and thus indications and traces and records of their early history would be lost. Then the earlier purchaser, the Rector of Colbrok, must have had some grounds for describing the book as the Psalter of King Æthelstan. What were they? Looking to the date of his purchase and to the fact of his being a clergyman of Winchester, it is natural to suppose that the book had been the property of one of the recently dissolved abbeys in that ancient, royal, Saxon capital, that in describing it as he did he was but re-echoing the title by which it had been known in its former home, and that this title was based upon the memory, preserved in the traditions and written records of the society, of its being originally the gift of Æthelstan. True this is all conjecture, but I trust legitimate and probable conjecture. Sir E. M. Thompson thinks that this Psalter may have been sent by Otho the Great as a present to Æthelstan, whose sister he married, and that thus it may have come into the possession of the latter sovereign; and Professor Westwood expresses himself

more positively to this effect. Otho is known to have sent another volume to England, which also belongs now to the Cotton Collection.

Of course the question concerning the ownership of Æthelstan, interesting as it is, cannot affect in any way the date of the MS. What should be borne in mind in regard to it with reference to our subject, is that originally it consisted only of the Psalter with some preliminary matter and the Canticles, including the Athanasian Creed, and that this was written in the ninth century on the Continent, probably in Germany, the rest of the volume being written in the tenth century, partly abroad and partly in England.

A collation of the text of the *Quicunque* in this MS. will be found in Appendix, Note E.

12. The next MS. copy of the Athanasian Creed, to which I wish to draw attention, is found in a Vatican MS., Pal. 574, containing not a Psalter, but a collection of canons. This codex is assigned by Reifferscheid to the ninth century[1]; and so also it is dated in the authorized catalogue of the Palatine MSS. recently issued[2]. According to the Ballerini, the collection of canons contained in it is Gallican, and was compiled a little before the middle of the sixth century. And to this are subjoined in the same handwriting some additional documents, including in their number the Athanasian Creed with the title written in capital letters, 'Incipit fides catholica beati atanasi episcopi[3].' As this appendix contains no document of

[1] 'Die Römischen Bibliotheken,' von Dr. Aug. Reifferscheid, in *Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften—Philosophisch-Historische Classe*, Band lvi. pp. 493–499.

[2] *Codices Palatini* descripti a Cardinali Pitra, recensuit Henricus Stevenson. Romae, 1886.

[3] *De antiquis collectionibus canonum tractatus* auctoribus Petro et Hiero-

a later date than A. D. 756, the above-mentioned learned canonists are of opinion that it was drawn up in the eighth century. The MS. may therefore be adduced as evidence of the existence of the *Quicunque* in that century, though not written till the ninth.

It may be worth noticing, particularly as the Ballerini have passed it over in silence, that the document immediately preceding the Athanasian Creed is a narrative of the acts of the third Council of Arles, which was held in or about A. D. 455, with respect to a dispute concerning jurisdiction—*grande scandalum* it is called—which had arisen between Theodore Bishop of Friuli on the one hand, and Faustus the Abbot and the brethren of Lerins on the other. The Creed is followed by a Capitulare of the year 756, respecting incestuous marriages, and the interrogations addressed by Augustine of Canterbury to Gregory the Great, with the answers of the latter. But the document which is described by the Ballerini as the last in the volume—an excerpt from the Rule of St. Benedict—is no longer to be found: nor could I find, when I inspected the MS. in 1886, the note 'codex S. Nazarii in Laurissa' which, according to the same authorities, was written on the last leaf. In fact it is evident on examination that since the time of the Ballerini one or more leaves at the end have been wantonly cut away—a striking proof, but I am afraid not a solitary one, how the destruction of ancient documents is continually going on even in large libraries. My chief reason for making mention of this lost note is that it throws light on the earlier history of the MS., showing that it was once the property of the

nymo fratribus Ballerinis, pars ii. cap. x. in Galland's *De vetustis canonum collectionibus dissertationum sylloge*, tom. i; also in Migne, *Patrol. Latina*, tom. lvi.

monastery of St. Nazaire at Lorsch or Lauresham in the diocese of Worms—a monastery which is said to have been unsurpassed as regards the wealth of its manuscripts by any religious house in Germany. Many of these treasures, our codex no doubt among them, went to enrich the Palatine Library at Heidelberg, which was transferred to the Vatican in 1623, being presented by Maximilian Duke of Bavaria to Pope Gregory XV.

The various readings of the Athanasian Creed in this MS., which are very notable, will be found in Appendix, Note E.

13. Denis, in his catalogue of MSS. in the Imperial Library at Vienna, gives an elaborate account of a MS. of the ninth century, containing a dogmatic treatise by Isidore of Seville, and three Confessions of Faith, including the Athanasian Creed[1]. It is numbered 269. The volume commences with Isidore's work addressed to Florentina his sister, in two books. This is followed by the title, 'Incipit deinde (*sic*) catholica Athanasi.' Denis suggests that *deinde* is an error for *de fide*; but possibly the copyist may have omitted the word *fides* inadvertently. Then comes, preceded by a short introduction, the original Nicene Creed, and then a Confession of Faith sometimes, as in the Paris MSS. 2341 and 2076, entitled 'Fides sancti Ambrosii episcopi,' but in Paris 3836, the same manuscript which contains the Trèves fragment of a discourse based on the *Quicunque*, simply headed 'de fide catholica.' Here it has no title. It is as follows: 'Nos patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum unum Deum confitemur. Ita in trinitate perfecta, ut et plenitudo divinitatis sit et unitas potestatis. Nam tres Deos dicit, qui divinitatem separat. Trinitas Pater Deus et Filius Deus et Spiritus Sanctus Deus, et

[1] Denis, *Codices manuscripti theologici Bibliothecae Palatinae Vindobonensis*, Vindobonae, 1793, vol. i. part 1. pp. 962-966.

tres unum sunt. Tres itaque personae, sed una potestas. Ergo diversitas plures facit. Unitas potestatis excludit numeri quantitatem. Quia unitas numerus non est. Sic itaque unus Deus, una fides, unum baptisma. Si quis vero hanc fidem non habet, catholicus non potest dici. Qui catholicam non tenet fidem, alienus est, profanus est, contra veritatem rebellis est.' Immediately after this comes the Athanasian Creed, likewise without title; and that is succeeded by the commentary upon it, commonly attributed to Venantius Fortunatus, in this case, like the preceding documents, having no title. It is incomplete, ending with the words of the nineteenth verse, 'veritate compellimur.' The only other document is a brief tractate concerning the fourfold meaning of Holy Scripture.

Denis adds the following note, which is interesting in reference to the earlier ownership of the manuscript: 'Fol. 2. p. 1 orae inferiori adscriptum: *Liber Hegeñ ecclesie.* Hegenense Collegium Can. Reg. initia sumsit circa an. 1135. Hegenekense Coenobium O. Cist. in Hassia fortasse antiquius fuit. Utriusque tamen aetatem praestans hic codex, ut dictum, longe excedit.'

14. In the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris is a costly Psalter, written for Charles the Bald when king by one Luithard, whose name is recorded in a verse upon the last page. It belonged for a long time to the Dean and Chapter of Metz, and was presented by them in the year 1674 to the minister Colbert, whose library passed eventually to the Bibliothèque Royale. The date of the volume is determined by the petitions in the Litany, which follows the Canticles and Creed. Charles prays:—

'Ut mihi Karolo a te coronato vitam et prosperitatem et victoriam dones:
Ut Hirmindrudim coniugem nostram conservare digneris:
Ut liberos nostros conservare digneris.'

As Charles married Hirmindrudis in 842, and she died in 869, it is clear from the petition that she might be spared to him that the MS. could not have been written earlier than the former year, nor subsequent to the latter. Silvestre considers the petition for his children a formula rather than an expression of date; but if it is interpreted literally, we gather from it that the MS. could not have been written before 846, when Charles' eldest son, Louis le Bègue, was born [1].

The Athanasian Creed occurs in this Psalter in the usual position at the end of the Canticles, and is entitled 'Fides sancti Athanasii.'

15. Another French Psalter, written later in the ninth century, and a book of some importance in reference to its contents as well as the evident care bestowed on its execution, is preserved in the Parker Library at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, the press mark being 272. O. 5. On the top of the first folio is a note in a modern hand: 'hic codex scriptus temporibus Marini et Carlomanni a° Dm̄ 885 ut infra in Litania.' There is some prefatory matter, which is not uncommonly found in Psalters, as in two already mentioned—the Psalter of Charlemagne at Vienna, and the Æthelstan Psalter, viz. the document entitled 'Origo prophetiae David regis,' and commencing 'David filius Iesse,' the preface of St. Jerome to the corrected or Gallican Psalter commencing 'Psalterium Romae dudum,' and the preface to the Psalter, sometimes ascribed to St. Augustine, but really Rufinus' translation of St. Basil's preface commencing 'Canticum psalmorum animas decorat.' The Psalter is of the Gallican version. At the end of the 150th Psalm the following appears in

[1] See *Universal Palaeography* by M. J. B. Silvestre, translated and edited by Sir F. Madden, vol. i. pp. 339–341.

gold uncials: 'Achadeus misericordia dei comes hunc psalterium scribere iussit.' This occurs on the recto side of a leaf, the verso being blank. A long Litany, occupying several leaves, succeeds, in which it may be noted as an indication of locality that among the saints invoked, Remigius, Columbanus, and Abundus are specially honoured, their names being written in gold. Then comes the apocryphal 151st Psalm, but imperfect, beginning 'Pascebam oves patris mei'; then successively the usual Old Testament Canticles, the Benedicite, the Benedictus, the Magnificat, the Nunc dimittis, the Te Deum entitled 'Hymnum die dominico ad matutinas,' the Gloria in excelsis entitled 'Hymnum Angelicum,' the Athanasian Creed entitled 'Fides Catholica,' the Lord's Prayer, and the Apostles' Creed entitled 'Symbolum.' It will be noticed here that the Athanasian Creed is placed before the Lord's Prayer and Apostles' Creed, instead of after them according to the usual order. The Canticles are followed by a large collection of prayers, some in particular for use at the several Hours, and by responsories to be sung throughout the year at the various sacred seasons.

Some of the petitions in the Litany clearly denote its date and the locality which produced it. Thus—

'Ut Marinum Apostolicum in sancta religione conservare digneris:
Ut Karlomannum regem in perpetua prosperitate conservare digneris:
Ut Folconem episcopum cum omni grege sibi commisso in tuo apostolico servitio conservare digneris.'

Marinus died on January 18, 884, having occupied the papal throne a year and twenty days[1]. Carloman, son of Louis II, or the Stammerer, became King of Aquitania and part of Burgundy in 880, and sole King of France on the

[1] *Notitia historica*, apud Mansi, quoted by Migne, *Patrol. Latina*, tom. CXXVI. p. 966.

death of his brother Louis in 882. He died in 884 of a wound received in hunting. Fulco, or Folco, became Bishop or rather Archbishop of Rheims in succession to Hincmar, who died in December, 882. Hence the Litany must have been written in the diocese of Rheims and in the year 883. And hence it would follow that the Psalter also belongs to the same date and locality, were it certain that the Litany was part of the same volume as the Psalter originally. But it is not so. The Litany, coming as it does between the 150th Psalm and the apocryphal 151st, which almost always follows immediately, is apparently an insertion, the normal position for the Litany being after the Canticles, including of course the Creed or Creeds. And what supports this view, is that the leaf containing the initial B of the first Psalm is an insertion, as the Librarian, the Rev. S. S. Lewis, pointed out to me. The 151st Psalm too is imperfect at the commencement, from which it may be inferred that a leaf bearing the title and initial words has been extracted to make way for the Litany. The handwriting also is smaller here than in the leaves immediately preceding and succeeding. Still the handwriting of the Litany corresponds in character with that of the book generally, and the resemblance is particularly marked in the latter part containing the *orationes*. Both would thus appear to have issued from the same scriptorium and to belong to the same epoch. Possibly the Litany was originally annexed at the end, or was intended to be so; but for security was afterwards inserted in the place which it now occupies. However this may be, the volume itself is shown by independent evidence to be of the same date and locality as the Litany. For among the *orationes* for Compline, there is one for King Carloman, who was sole King of France from 882 to 884,

as before mentioned: 'Exaudi Deus Karlomanno regi vita.' Thus the Psalter may be more accurately dated A. D. 883 than A. D. 885, the date assigned to it by the modern note on the first folio. And the fact of the Psalter being written by order of Count Achadeus seems to connect it with Rheims or its neighbourhood, if, as we may reasonably suppose, this Count Achadeus was none other than a Count bearing the same name who, according to Flodoard, was threatened with excommunication by Hincmar in the event of his plundering the property of the Church of Rheims[1]. It will be remembered that Hincmar died in December, 882. That the Psalter was used, as it was no doubt written, in an abbey, we learn from a prayer *pro abbate nostro*.

16. At Bamberg in Bavaria is a Psalter of considerable interest, which for several reasons requires to be noticed. It belongs to the beginning of the tenth century, having been finished in the year 909, as appears from some verses on fol. 11 b. It is a quadruple Psalter, containing the three Latin versions of the Psalter by Jerome, viz. the Gallican, Roman and Hebraic, and in the fourth column the Greek of the LXX written in Latin characters. The Canticles follow, the Te Deum coming after the Apostles' Creed, which is peculiar. The Apostles' Creed is accompanied by a Greek version, and so also is the Te Deum as far as the words 'venerandum tuum.' Then a Litany, the Gloria in excelsis entitled 'Hymnus Angelicus,' and the

[1] 'Achadeo comiti pro rapinis, quas audiebat ab eius hominibus fieri in ipsius comitatu, et pro villa Spantia, qua ille annonam ecclesiae Remensis auferre disponebat, notificans ei quod, si aliquid inde raperet, tam ipsum quam suos excommunicaret et alienos ab omni Christianitate faceret.' This refers to Hincmar. Flodoardi *Historiae Remensis* lib. iii. cap. 26, apud Migne, *Patrol. Latina*, tom. cxxv. p. 249. Flodoard drew the materials of his history, Mabillon says, partly from the archives of the Church of Rheims. He also describes it as a work of the greatest merit.

Nicene Creed entitled 'Fides catholica Niceni concilii,' these three documents being all both in Latin and Greek. The Athanasian Creed closes the volume and has no Greek version, which is noteworthy. It ends with the words 'non confusione substantiae sed,' one or more leaves being lost. The title is 'Fides Catholica a sancto Athanasio episcopo': some variant readings of the text will be found in Appendix E; for these, as for some other particulars respecting this MS., I am indebted to the kindness of the Rev. E. C. S. Gibson, late Principal of the Wells Theological College.

On the modern fly-leaf of a Vatican MS., Pal. 39, a note appears signed 'P. Martinucci,' which refers obviously to this quadruple Psalter and throws some light upon its history: 'Folium 43 huius codicis est extractum ex codice praestantissimo Bibliothecae Bambergensis in Bavaria qui est autographus clarissimi Neugarli episcopi Constantiensis et abbatis Gallensis. In praedicto codice Bambergensi continetur Psalterium quadruplex quattuor columnis distinctum et in quarta columna legitur Psalterium Graecum iuxta LXX, Latino tamen charactere conscriptum. Codex ex abbatia Sangallensi ab Henrico Imperatore Sancto nuncupato Cathedrali Bambergensi donatus fuit et modo inter cimilia eiusdem Cathedralis asservatur.' The verses written on this inserted leaf have been printed by Blanchinius[1]. They commence 'Quos sibi pontifices legit Constantia dives, Praesul et Abba simul,' and go on to describe the four versions of the Bamberg Psalter. Pal. 39, it should be added, is also a Psalter, and among its contents, which are very complete, is the Athanasian Creed: it is assigned in Stevenson's catalogue to the eleventh century, and judging from the saints commemorated in the

[1] *Vindiciae Canonicarum Scripturarum*, Romae, 1740, p. ccli.

Calendar, must have been written in Germany, probably in Bavaria.

17. I must next draw attention to some MSS. containing the Athanasian Creed which were written in England in the tenth century, and which are necessarily important in reference to the early use of the Creed in our own Church and country. The first to be noticed, as it is probably the earliest, is a British Museum MS., Bib. Reg. 2. B. v. The greater part of this volume is occupied by a Psalter, written in the early part of the tenth century and in a distinctly English hand, at one time the property of Archbishop Cranmer, whose autograph—Thomas Cantuariens—appears at the top of its initial page. The autograph of a later owner, Lord Lumley, is written at the bottom of the same page. The Psalter does not commence the book, being preceded by six leaves containing hymns and prayers, which could not have belonged to it originally, inasmuch as they are written in a different and a later hand, believed by Mr. Bond, formerly Keeper of the MSS. in the British Museum, as he stated to me, to be of the eleventh century. Probably these leaves were not united to the Psalter till after Cranmer's time, whose autograph is not found upon them. On the other hand, as the first of them bears the autograph of Lord Lumley, they may have been bound up with it by him. The Psalter is Roman, and it has an interlinear Saxon gloss or version, and marginal notes in Latin. It is worth noting that the apocryphal 151st Psalm is omitted. The Old Testament Canticles are assigned respectively to the various week-days on which they were used, as for instance, 'Canticum Ezechię regis feria ii.' Then follow the Benedicite entitled 'Hymnus trium puerorum in camino cantantium,' Benedictus, Magnificat, Nunc dimittis entitled 'Canticum Symeonis quando

portavit Ihesum Christum in ulnis suis.' Next the Athanasian Creed with the remarkable title, 'Hymnus Athanasii de fide Trinitatis, quem tu concelebrans discutienter intellege.' At the end of the second verse, but written in the margin, occurs the rubric, 'Incipit de fide.' Dr. Swainson considered the position of these words to be very significant, as implying that the two first verses are of a supplementary character, a mere setting of the Creed. But there can be no doubt they were placed where they are simply for convenience sake. It is not uncommon in MSS. to find a word or two, which could not be brought in at the end of the line to which they properly belong, inserted in a vacant space at the end of another line, where of course they are separated from their context. That this was the case here, we have a proof in the fact that in a Salisbury tenth-century Psalter, which we shall very shortly notice, where the Athanasian Creed has the same peculiar title as in this MS., it is immediately followed by these very same words, 'Incipit de fide.' A collation of the text of the Creed will be found in Appendix E. It is accompanied by marginal notes, which bear an obvious connexion with a Commentary upon it, or rather collection of notes, which I printed on a former occasion from a Paris MS. of the beginning of the tenth century[1], and I have now reproduced in Appendix I. After the *Quicunque* comes the Gloria in excelsis, which has also a peculiar title, 'Oratio pura cum laudatione.' It will be noticed that the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed, the Te Deum and the apocryphal 151st Psalm are all absent from this Psalter. All the Canticles, including the *Quicunque* and Gloria in excelsis, have an interlinear Saxon version or gloss.

[1] *Early History of the Athanasian Creed*, by G. D. W. Ommanney, pp. 42, 43, and Appendix to the same volume, pp. 376–386.

18. Lambeth, 427. If this manuscript belongs to the ninth century, the date assigned to it by the catalogue of MSS. at Lambeth, it is the earliest MS. written in England which contains the Athanasian Creed. But Wanley in his account of Anglo-Saxon MSS. places it in the time of Edgar or a little before[1]. And as Edgar came to the throne A.D. 959, it may be fairly set down as belonging to the middle of the tenth century, supposing this opinion to be correct. The MS., which is imperfect at the beginning, commences with the treatise respecting the Psalms, which is frequently found in Psalters among the preliminary documents—Rufinus' translation of St. Basil's preface to the Psalms having for initial words, 'Canticum psalmorum animas decorat.' After a prayer to be used before the recital of the Psalms comes a Calendar, which is apparently an insertion, being written in a different and later hand. Then the Psalter, with an interlinear Saxon version or gloss. It is Gallican, and has the obeli and asterisks. The apocryphal 151st Psalm follows, but without any interlinear Saxon gloss. Then a form of Confession, both in Latin and Saxon, entitled 'Confessio pro peccatis ad Deum.' This is written in a different hand. The Canticles follow in the original hand, first the usual Old Testament Canticles, then successively the Te Deum entitled 'Hymnum ad matutinis diebus dominicis,' Benedicite, Benedictus, Magnificat, the Lord's Prayer entitled 'Oratio Dominica secundum Mattheum,' the Apostles' Creed, Gloria in excelsis entitled 'Canticus angelicus,' and, lastly, the Athanasian Creed entitled 'Fides catholica sancti Athanasii episcopi.' All these have an interlinear

[1] 'Codex membranaceus Eadgari regis Anglo-Saxonum temporibus aut paulo ante exaratus.' Humfredi Wanleii *Librorum septentrionalium Catalogus*, p. 269. It is subjoined to Hickes' *Thesaurus*.

Saxon version or gloss. A Litany is added in a later hand, containing among the saints invoked some English names, as Dunstan, Odilo, Guthlac, Margareta, and some petitions which show the conventual use of the book, viz.

'Ut episcopos et abbates nostros et omnes congregationes illis commissas in sancta religione conservare digneris:
Ut regularibus disciplinis nos instruere digneris, Te rogamus:
Ut locum istum et omnes habitantes in eo visitare et consolari digneris.'

19. A third English Psalter of the tenth century is deposited in the Cathedral Library at Salisbury, numbered 150. It is little, if at all, later than the Lambeth Psalter, the date being indicated not only by the handwriting but by a table of epacts and indictions extending from A.D. 969 to 1006. Hence Sir E. M. Thompson, in the catalogue of the Salisbury MSS., which is his work, assigns it to the second half of the tenth century. The account of this MS. in the second volume of the Palaeographical Society's publications describes it as 'written in Saxon minuscules about A.D. 969.' The Psalter is preceded by a Calendar as well as the table just mentioned: it is Gallican with an interlinear Saxon gloss, and is followed by the 'Pusillus eram' or the apocryphal 151st Psalm, which has no gloss. Then comes a prayer to be used after reciting the Psalter, beginning 'Omnipotens et misericors Deus.' This is marked as the conclusion of the Psalms by the rubric 'Explicit Liber Psalmorum.' Then follow in succession the Benedicite, Magnificat, Benedictus, Te Deum, Nunc dimittis, Gloria in excelsis, the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed, and the Athanasian Creed. All these have an interlinear Saxon version or gloss. It is worthy of notice that although the order of the New Testament Canticles and *Quicunque* and Gloria in excelsis in this Psalter differs from that in the British Museum Psalter, Bib. Reg. 2. B. v,

and although the latter omits the Te Deum, the Lord's Prayer, and Apostles' Creed, while the former contains them, and although further the latter is a Roman and the former a Gallican Psalter, still those Canticles as well as the Athanasian Creed and Gloria in excelsis, which are common to the two books, have in both the same peculiar titles. This is a striking proof that the Gallican and Roman Psalters both existed and were both in use in England in Saxon times; and it also shows a certain connexion between these two books. Possibly they both proceeded from the same scriptorium; or the writer of the Salisbury book may have had before him at once a Gallican Psalter which he followed in the Psalms and a Roman Psalter similar to the British Museum book from whence he derived these peculiar titles of the Benedicite, New Testament Canticles, the *Quicunque*, and Gloria in excelsis. In the MS. before us, as before mentioned, the words 'Incipit de fide' immediately follow the title of the Athanasian Creed, 'Hymnus Athanasii de fide Trinitatis quem tu discutienter intellege.' The two sentences are written together in three lines before the commencement of the Creed. The Athanasian Creed is succeeded by a Litany, which contains petitions similar to those which I quoted from the Lambeth Psalter. The inference of course is that this also was a monastic Psalter. The Litany comprises names of both French and English saints. Among the latter are Ælfeagus, Albanus, Eadmundus, Oswaldus, Cuthbertus, Dunstanus, Guthlacus; and as Ælfeage was martyred in the year 1012, the Litany cannot be earlier than the eleventh century. It appears to have been commenced by the original hand; but this was erased, Sir E. M. Thompson says, and it was recommenced and finished in a hand of the twelfth century.

Some passages from the book of Job are added at the end in handwriting of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

Two facsimiles of this interesting MS., one from the Calendar, the other from the Psalms, are printed in the second volume of the Palaeographical Society's publications, plates 188, 189.

According to the description of the catalogue, which is, as I have already said, by Sir E. M. Thompson, the interlinear gloss from the beginning of the Psalms to the beginning of the Litany is of contemporary date. A note respecting it, which I think worth recording, appears on the fly-leaf, signed 'H. Hatcher, Salisbury, Jan. 1, 1831.' It is as follows: 'The Anglo-Saxon interpretation is not a literal translation, but merely the Anglo-Saxon word answering to the Latin word without any regard to the sense or the structure of the former language.' Similarly our eminent English scholar, Mr. Skeat, remarks: 'The object of the gloss was to enable an Englishman reading to understand it. It is not a translation, nor could it be used independently of the Latin, as the words are out of order; for they follow the Latin order, and do not receive their proper inflexional endings, such as would allow them to form sentences. Yet the meaning is quite clear, and we can hence infer what a translation would have been like[1].' These remarks are of great value as showing the nature and use of the gloss in these Psalters of the tenth century, and also found in Psalters of the succeeding century, as Arundel 60 and Cambridge University Library Ff. 1. 23.

A collation of the text of the *Quicunque* in this MS. will be found in Appendix E.

20. The next copy of the Athanasian Creed I shall refer

[1] *The Creeds of the Church*, by C. A. Swainson, p. 484.

to does not appear in a Psalter, but in a collection of Formularies or Confessions of Faith.

Paris Bibliothèque Nationale, Latin 2341, is a bulky volume comprising apparently three originally distinct parts, but written throughout in handwriting of the same character. It is assigned to the ninth century by the catalogue, but by the present authorities of the MS. department in the Bibliothèque is not considered to be earlier than the tenth. The second part of this volume contains first the 'Tractatus contra quinque haereses' attributed to St. Augustine. Its genuineness is denied by the Benedictine editors of that Father's works, who have in consequence relegated it to their Appendix[1]. Then comes 'Altercatio Athanasii episcopi contra Arrium,' which is edited among the works of Vigilius Tapsensis. This is succeeded by a series of Confessions of Faith preceded by the following list of titles: 'i. Exemplar fidei catholice Niceni concilii. ii. Fides catholica a sanctis patribus exposita. iii. Damnatio blasphemiae Arrii. iiii. Fides catholica dicta a sancto Athanasio episcopo Alexandrino. v. Fides catholica dicta a sancto Iheronimo (*sic*) presbitero. vi. Fides catholica dicta a sancto Gregorio Caesariensis (*sic*) episcopo. vii. Fides catholica ab ortodoxis patribus exposita. viii. Fides catholica sancti Valeriani episcopi. viiii. Fides catholica sancti Gregorii maioris. x. Fides catholica a sanctis patribus exposita. xi. Fides catholica sancti Ambrosii episcopi. xii. Dogma sanctorum patrum trecentorum x. et viii. episcoporum.' The fourth of these is of course the *Quicunque*, which occurs on f. 149 with the title, slightly varied from the above, 'Fides dicta a sancto Athanasio episcopo.' The fifth, the title of which in the heading of its text

[1] Migne, *Patrol. Latina*, tom. xlii. p. 1101.

similarly varies from that which it bears in the above list, *catholica* being omitted, is not, it must be noted, the confession commonly described as 'Hieronymi fides,' but another generally designated 'Damasi Symbolum.' It represents the Holy Spirit as proceeding 'de Patre.' The sixth entitled in the heading of the text 'Exemplar fidei catholicae Gregorii Caesariensis episcopi,' is the Confession of Gregory Thaumaturgus which was translated by Rufinus. The seventh, entitled in the heading of the text 'Exemplar fidei catholice,' is the Confession frequently entitled 'Fides Romanorum' or 'Fides ecclesiae Romanae.' It has much in common with the 'Damasi Symbolum,' but is still a distinct document[1]. The eighth commences 'Audi Israel,' and asserts the equality of the Three Divine Persons. The eleventh, 'Fides catholica sancti Ambrosii episcopi'—previously referred to—is sometimes entitled in MSS. 'Expositio fidei catholicae contra haeresim Arrianam[2],' sometimes 'De fide catholica' as in Paris, Latin, 3836. It begins 'Nos patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum confitemur,' and ends 'Adversus veritatem rebellis.' The last, the title of which is more fully given in the heading of the document 'Dogma sanctorum patrum trecentorum decem et octo episcoporum congregatis (*sic*) aput Niceam Bithiniae,' is none other than the *Liber de ecclesiasticis dogmatibus* commonly attributed to Gennadius, and frequently in MSS. attributed to St. Augustine, but printed in the Appendix to his works by the Benedictine editors, as not being genuine. The title is remarkable, and

[1] For some account of these two Confessions I may be permitted to refer to my work, *Early History of the Athanasian Creed*, pp. 202–212: in the same volume, Appendix H, pp. 398–402, the text of both is printed from Paris MSS.

[2] See Quesnelli, *Dissertatio II de variis fidei libellis*, printed by Galland in *De vetustis Canonum collectionibus dissertationum sylloge*, tom. i. Magontiaci, 1790.

seems to be an amplification of a similar title applied to the same document in another and earlier Paris MS., Latin. 10612: 'Doctrina dogma (*sic*) ecclesiastica secundum Nicenum concilium.' If so, we are led to understand it as intended to imply no more than a doctrinal agreement of this formulary with the Nicene Council. These Confessions or Formularies of Faith are followed in this MS. by several works relating to doctrine and dogma which it is needless to mention in detail.

The same series of Confessions of Faith appears in another Paris MS., No. 2076—of the tenth century. The two MSS. clearly have a close connexion, as they not only share in common these formularies, but other documents also, arranged in the same order. At the same time each has some matter not found in the other. A collation of the text of the Athanasian Creed from Paris, 2075, is supplied in the Appendix, Note E.

21. Vat. 82 is an absolutely unique Psalter. It is so in the first place as regards the text, which is quite peculiar, having been constructed for the occasion, as we learn from the preface, in which the compositor states the principles on which his revision was based, and explains the meaning of certain signs adopted for the purpose of indicating his alterations of the text. His object was to remove what was superfluous, and to insert what was congruous; and in the work of emendation he had been guided by the authority of Greek Psalters, where they were not at variance with Jerome. This Psalter is unique, secondly, in regard to the Canticles, their selection and arrangement, as well as their text. They are entitled 'Cantica prophetarum,' and are as follows: 1. 'Canticum Esaie prophete,' being Isaiah xxvi. verses 9–20 inclusive, beginning 'De nocte vigilat spiritus meus.' 2. 'Canticum seu oratio Annae,' the song

of Hannah. 3. 'Canticum seu oratio Abbacuc prophetae.' 4. 'Canticum Ionah prophetae,' beginning 'Clamavi ad dominum deum meum.' 5. 'Canticum Deuteronomii,' the song of Moses beginning 'Attende caelum et loquar.' 6. 'Canticum Exodi,' the song of Moses beginning 'Cantemus Domino.' 7. 'Canticum beatae Mariae,' the Magnificat. 8. 'Hymnus trium puerorum,' beginning 'Benedictus es domine deus patrum meorum,' ending 'Benedicant te caeli, maria, et omnia quae in eis sunt, et laudabilis et superexaltatus es in saecula.' 9. 'Ymnum trium puerorum,' beginning 'Benedicite omnia opera,' ending 'Hymnum benedicamus et superexaltemus eum in saecula.' 10. 'Hymnum in honore trinitatis,' the Te Deum ending 'gloriam munerari. Per singulos dies benedicimus te, et laudamus nomen tuum in eternum et in saeculum saeculi. Salvum fac populum tuum, domine, et benedic hereditatem tuam. Et rege illos, et extolle eos usque in aeternum. Benedictus es domine deus patrum meorum et laudabilis et gloriosus in saecula saeculorum.' It will be observed that these do not correspond, whether in selection or order, with the ordinary Canticles in Latin Psalters, nor yet with those usually found in the Office of the Eastern Church, which I shall mention by-and-by. But they are all, with the exception I believe of the Song of Moses in Deuteronomy, used in the Ambrosian Office, and the four first are appointed under that rite to be said at Matins on Sunday[1]. The text of the Canticles is no less peculiar than that of the Psalter itself, being constructed apparently upon the same principles, and characterized alike by the various signs of emendation, which are described in the Preface. And lastly, this Psalter is unique as regards the position of the Athanasian Creed. The Te Deum is followed by

[1] See article on *Psalmody* in *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*.

a variety of hymns for the Hours, for the great festivals, for the commemoration of particular saints, of saints in general, and confessors and virgins, for the dedication of a church, for imploring fine weather and rain, and in time of war. And then comes the Athanasian Creed entitled 'Fides catholica quam sanctus Athanasius dictavit.' For a collation of the text I refer to the Appendix. The last documents are 'Exorcismus sancti Ambrosii,' 'Consideratio psalmorum in causis diversis,' apparently a classification of the Psalms according to their subject-matter, and 'Confessio sancti Augustini episcopi.'

The preface to this Psalter has been printed by Vezzosi in his edition of Thomasius's works, the second volume[1]. In the same volume he has also printed the text of some of the Canticles and collations of others. He describes the 128th as 'Psalterii antiquam versionem Origenianis aliisque signis notatam exhibens.'

What was the locality which produced this singular and therefore interesting Psalter? Its obvious unlikeness to Roman and Gallican Psalters clearly forbids us to seek for its home in Southern or Central Italy, or England, or Germany, or Gaul. The compositor expresses a desire to adhere to the custom of his province, which would appear to imply that it possessed a peculiar traditional use of its own. He does not mention the province by name; but it would seem to be identified with that of which Milan was the head and metropolitical Church, by

[1] Thomasii *Opera omnia*, tom. ii., continens Psalterium, recensuit A. F. Vezzosi, Romae, 1747. The preface commences on page xx, with the following foot-note referring to it: 'Nullo praemisso titulo aut inscriptione illud antiquitatis fragmentum legitur in nostro iam indicato Vaticano MS. Idem fragmentum inscriptum *Prologus Psalterii* habemus beneficio amplissimi Cardinalis Passionei ex apographo ipsius cura descripto anno 1723, ex codice x. seculi Bibliothecae Bavaricae.'

the fact of the close relationship of the Canticles as found in this book with those of the Ambrosian rite, and also by the fact of several Milanese saints being commemorated in the hymns. Thus there are hymns in honour of Victor Nabor and Felix, who are described as 'pii Mediolani martyres,' of Nazarius and Celsus also martyrs of Milan, of 'sanctus Dionysius episcopus' and 'sanctus Simplicianus episcopus,' both of whom were early Bishops of Milan, the former before 360 A.D., the latter in 400. It is impossible to assign a precise date to the compilation of this Psalter; but, as the Bavarian MS. from a copy of which Vezzosi printed the preface belonged to the tenth century, it is a necessary inference that the Psalter could not have been compiled subsequently to that epoch, and probably was in existence prior to it. I cannot quote any palaeographical authority in regard to the date of the Vatican MS.; it did not appear to me to be earlier than the tenth century.

22. Vat. 84 is a very complete and magnificent Psalter, according to Vezzosi 'circa x. seculum scriptus[1].' The Psalms are preceded by a variety of documents, embracing 'Sancti Hieronymi epistola ad Sunniam et Fretelam de Psalterio,' 'Prologus Hieronymi Presbyteri ad Paulam et Eustochium,' 'Sermo sancti Hieronymi de Psalterio,' 'Epistola Damasi episcopi urbis Romae ad Hieronymum Presbyterum,' 'Rescriptum eiusdem,' 'Epistola Hieronymi ad Damasum Papam,' 'Dicta sancti Augustini de propria eloquentia Psalterii,' 'Item Sancti Augustini quid sit Psalterium,' 'Item dicta sancti Augustini de virtute Psalmorum' — the preface of St. Basil commencing 'Canticum Psalmorum animas decorat,' 'Consideratio Psalmorum in causis diversis,' 'Exordia vel tituli Psalmorum.' The

[1] See Thomasii *Opera*, Romae, 1747, vol. ii. p. xviii.

Psalms are preceded by a picture of the Lamb bearing the Cross surrounded by four saints. They are of the Roman version with some Gallican readings; and each one has a prologue and is followed by a prayer. After the Psalms, or rather the apocryphal 151st Psalm, come the usual Old Testament Canticles, and then successively the Benedicite, the Te Deum entitled 'Canticum Sanctorum Ambrosii et Augustini,' the Benedictus, the Magnificat entitled 'Canticum beatissimae Genitricis Dei Mariae,' the Nunc dimittis, the Athanasian Creed entitled 'Fides Catholica edita a beato Athanasio episcopo,' the Lord's Prayer, the Gloria in excelsis, the Apostles' Creed entitled 'Simbolum Apostolorum,' the Constantinopolitan Creed with the Filioque entitled very remarkably 'Perfecta credulitas.' All these, including the Old Testament Canticles, are followed by a prayer. Then comes 'Prologus Prudentii de flores (*sic*) Psalmorum,' and then a picture of the Crucifixion, which is followed by the title 'Orationes ad adorandam crucem sive ad deposcenda suffragia sanctorum.' But before the devotions to the saints another series of prayers to be used in connexion with the several Canticles and Creeds, including the *Quicunque vult*, occurs. Among the prayers to the saints the following addressed to St. Benedict calls for notice: 'Obsecro te, beatissime Benedicte dilecte Dei, intercede pro servo tuo abbate et omni hac congregatione et loco isto et pro omni populo Christiano, ut nos omnes hic sub tuo magisterio congregati .... custodiantur (*sic*) in omni religione et sanctitate. Intercede etiam pro me servo tuo, ut purget Deus cor meum et actus meos a cunctis viciis. Tribuat mihi servare cuncta, quae docuisti et custodire sanctae regulae tuae tramitem, quem me servaturum spopondi, ut mee professionis executor effectus merear ad superna celorum gaudia cum

sanctis perpetuum victurus pervenire.' Then follow a prayer of St. Gregory (Pope), prayers for the Hours, and a Litany.

From the prayer quoted above for obedience to the rule of St. Benedict, taken in connexion with the fact of the Psalms belonging to the Roman version and with the names of the saints invoked in the Litany, it is evident that this Psalter must have been used in a Benedictine monastery situated in Central Italy, and not improbably in Rome or its neighbourhood.

A collation of the text of the Athanasian Creed in this MS. also will be found in Appendix E.

23. As the use of the Athanasian Creed in our own country is a subject necessarily of special interest to ourselves, I am unwilling to close my notice of MSS. containing it without drawing attention to a few English Psalters of the eleventh century in which it is found. In the Cambridge University Library is a Psalter described by Wanley, and considered by him to have been written shortly before the Norman Conquest[1]. It is sometimes placed a little earlier. The press mark is Ff. 1. 23. On the inside of the cover of this volume appear the arms of Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal in the reign of Elizabeth, and underneath is written a memorandum of his presentation of the book to the University Library, as follows: 'N. Bacon eques auratus et magni sigilli Angliae custos librum hunc Bibliothecae Cantabrig. dicavit. 1574.' From a note on the fly-leaf, made apparently by Bacon himself, we learn that it was bequeathed to him by Archbishop Parker: 'This booke was bequeathed by the right reverend father Matthewe archbishop of Canterburye to Sir Nicholas Bacon knight, L. Keeper &c.,

[1] Wanleii . . . *catalogus*, p. 152.

who do give the same to the University of Cambridge.' The date therefore assigned to the presentation of the book to the Library must be inaccurate, as Archbishop Parker did not die till May 17, 1575, and his will is dated April 15 in the same year.

The Psalter, it must be noted, is a Roman Psalter, and is accompanied throughout by an interlinear Saxon gloss written in rubric. It is preceded by a picture of David playing on a harp, with Asaph, Eman, Ethan, and Idithun. There is no preliminary matter beyond some 'Orationes et preces ante Psalterium.' Just before the fifty-first Psalm, or the fifty-second according to our own version, occurs another picture—a representation of the Crucifixion: the Blessed Virgin and St. John stand on either side of the cross, and the sun and moon, as is commonly the case, are pourtrayed above. The apocryphal 151st Psalm is omitted. The usual Old Testament Canticles, the Benedicite, the Magnificat, the Benedictus follow in order, all of them without titles, but all accompanied, like the Psalms, by a Saxon gloss. The Te Deum, the Nunc dimittis, the Gloria in excelsis, the Lord's Prayer and Apostles' Creed, which come next, it is remarkable are not glossed, but the last four have their usual titles. The Athanasian Creed, which follows that of the Apostles', has an interlinear Saxon gloss, but no title. This gloss or version of the *Quicunque* was printed by Dr. Swainson in his work on the Creeds[1] from a copy made by Mr. Skeat. A Litany succeeds to the Athanasian Creed, containing invocations to several English saints, in which the usual petition for the Pope is followed immediately by another for 'our Archbishop and the flock committed to him,' and this is in turn followed by another in the usual form for the

[1] pp. 484–486.

religious house where the Litany was used and its inhabitants.

This petition for *our Archbishop* followed by another suitable to a monastic establishment, coupled with the fact of the book having been at one time the property of Archbishop Parker, leads to the inference that either St. Augustine's Abbey, or Christ Church, i. e. the Cathedral Church at Canterbury, which was also it must be remembered a monastery at least from the end of the tenth century, was its birthplace. The circumstance of its being a Roman Psalter would dispose us to think that it may with more probability be assigned to the former. The Cotton MS. Vespasian A. 1, commonly called St. Augustine's Psalter, which formerly belonged to St. Augustine's Abbey, and is believed to have been written there about A.D. 700, is a Roman Psalter. On the other hand, Arundel 155, which certainly had its original home in Christ Church, Canterbury, and was probably written there, is a Gallican Psalter.

A collation of the text of the Athanasian Creed in this MS. is given in Appendix E.

24. The Parker MS. CCCXCI. in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, is also a Psalter, written about the time of the Norman Conquest according to Wanley, who gives the following account of it: 'Codex crassus in 8vo circa annum Domini 1064 exaratus, ut fas est coniicere ex tabulis nonnullis et ex scriptura codicis, qui quondam pertinuit etiam ad ecclesiam Wigorniensem, sicuti fidem facit haec inscriptio super imam partem paginae primae literis recentioribus *Liber sanctae Mariae Wigorniensis ecclesiae per sanctum Oswaldum.*' Then he adds: 'Verba quaedam abrasa quorum loco haec scripsit Iohannes Iocelinus: *Est ementita inscriptio, nam post Oswaldi*

mortem librum fuisse scriptum hinc patet, quod in eo sunt preces dicendae in festo translationis Oswaldi[1].' This description has been borrowed evidently by Nasmith in his catalogue of the Parker MSS., with the two exceptions that he inserts between *codicis* and *qui* the words *cui titulus Portiforium Oswaldi et* and omits *etiam* after *pertinuit*. The title 'Portiforium Oswaldi' Wanley prefixes to his description. The inscription referred to by him appears still at the bottom of the first page of this book. That it never belonged to St. Oswald is clear from the facts that the feast of his translation and also that of Archbishop Ælfeage, whose martyrdom took place A.D. 1012, are mentioned in the Calendar. St. Oswald was Archbishop of York and Bishop of Worcester, and died A.D. 992. He left his mark in the cathedral of the latter city by removing the secular clergy and introducing monks in their place, as Æthelwold did about the same time at Winchester. Jocelin, who notices as stated by Wanley the error of the inscription in implying that the cathedral church at Worcester was indebted to the munificence of St. Oswald for the Psalter, was the Secretary of Archbishop Parker.

The Psalter is preceded by a Calendar, which would appear from the numerous festivals of English saints contained in it to have been compiled in England. The Psalms belong to the Gallican version. In no case are they preceded or followed by a prayer, and some are without a title. They are followed by the apocryphal 151st Psalm. Then follow in succession the usual Old Testament Canticles, the Te Deum, the Benedicite, the Benedictus, the Magnificat, the Gloria in excelsis, the Apostles' Creed, and the Athanasian—all without title.

[1] Wanleii *Librorum Septentrionalium . . . catalogus*, p. 110. It is the second volume in Hickes' *Thesaurus* printed at Oxford, 1705.

After the *Quicunque* a Litany is added containing invocations to numerous English saints, and immediately after the petition for the Pope and all orders in the Church the following: 'Ut episcopum nostrum et gregem sibi commissum; ut congregationes omnium sanctorum in tuo sancto servitio conservare; . . . Ut locum istum et omnes habitantes in eo visitare et consolari digneris te rogamus.' The Litany is written in a different hand apparently from the preceding part. Some hymns follow, in which the original hand seems to be resumed, headed by the title: 'Hymni Ambrosiani per singulas horas secundum constitutionem patris nostri Benedicti.' The book is concluded by a large collection of collects, prayers, capitula, embracing prayers for use in every part and chamber of the monastery.

While it is perfectly clear that the note on the first page is in error in connecting this psalter with St. Oswald, on the other hand there are no grounds whatever for rejecting the testimony therein given that it was 'Liber sanctae Mariae Wigorniensis ecclesiae.' On the contrary it contains much to confirm us in thinking that the cathedral church of Worcester, which was dedicated to St. Mary, and the Benedictine monastery connected with it, were the home where it was written and used. The petitions of the Litany which I have quoted, one being for *our Bishop*, the other the usual formula in a monastery—the hymns for the Hours in accordance with the rule of *our Father Benedict*—the prayers for use in the several parts of the religious house—the feast of the translation of St. Oswald Archbishop, which does not appear to have been generally observed in England, if we may judge from its non-occurrence in the Calendar of the Sarum Breviary—these are all evidences pointing in the same direction.

For a collation of the text of the Athanasian Creed in this MS. also I refer to Appendix E.

25. A third English Psalter of the same epoch as the two last mentioned I am desirous to notice, because its birthplace can be traced to a different locality—a place of greater importance and influence at the time both civilly and ecclesiastically than Worcester or even Canterbury. Arundel 60 is assigned by the Catalogue of the Arundel MSS. in the British Museum to the end of the eleventh century; Wanley is of opinion that it was written during the reign of Edward the Confessor. It begins with a Calendar which is remarkable as containing a great number of festivals of early Winchester bishops or saints or of events connected with them—not only the well-known Winchester bishop and saint, Swithun, but Ælfgytha regina, Hædda episcopus, Rumpaldus confessor, Byrnstanus episcopus: we have also 'Translatio sancti Birini episcopi,' 'Translatio sancti Æþelpoldi episcopi,' and 'Depositio sancti Birini episcopi.' The Psalms are preceded by a picture of the Crucifixion; the Blessed Virgin and St. John stand at the foot of the cross on either side, the sun and the moon are represented above, and our Lord's body is vested from the waist to the knees; the feet too are separately nailed. The Psalms are of the Gallican version, and they are accompanied throughout by an interlinear Saxon gloss or version. The fifty-first Psalm—the fifty-second in our version—is preceded by another picture of the Crucifixion: in this St. Mary and St. John do not appear, and in their places on either side of the cross are what seem to be intended as representations of stems of trees without leaves; the usual symbols of the sun and moon are also wanting; the body of our Lord is bent, and is vested, as in the other case, from the waist to the knees. The picture is

surrounded by a decorated border. Professor Westwood in his *Facsimiles* has given an account of these two pictures and a facsimile of the second. The apocryphal 151st Psalm follows the Psalms: then come the usual Old Testament Canticles, the Benedicite, the Magnificat, the Benedictus, the Te Deum with the remarkable title 'Ymnum sancti Viceti episcopi diebus dominicis ad matutinis,' the Nunc dimittis, the Gloria in excelsis, the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed, and the Athanasian with the title 'Fides Catholica Athanasi Alexandrini.' All these, as well as the Psalms, have an interlinear Saxon gloss or version. A Litany follows containing numerous invocations to English saints: the Welsh saint Congar and the Irish saint Patrick are also among the saints addressed: the name of the latter, it may be added, is found too in the Calendar. After the usual petition for the Pope in the Litany there follows immediately, as might be expected in a Litany used in the royal and capital city of Winchester, a petition for *our King and princes*, and then another for *our Bishop and the flock committed to him*. It is not so in the two last-mentioned Psalters. In the first of these, used at Canterbury, the petition for the Pope is, as we saw, followed immediately by a petition for the Archbishop and his flock, and in the second used at Worcester it is followed immediately by a petition for the Bishop and his flock. After the Litany some prayers are added. The end of the Litany and some of the leaves containing the prayers are written in a different, and apparently rather later, hand from the preceding portion of the book. The last leaf, written in yet another hand, comprises, first notes respecting the six ages of the world, and then a list of West Saxon Bishops: 'Nomina episcoporum occidentalium Saxonum.' These are arranged in two divisions, the first of which

obviously consists of the Bishops of Dorchester, beginning with Birinus and ending with Hædda, both of whose names appear, as has been noticed, in the Calendar of this Psalter. Hædda, Dean Kitchin says [1], migrated to Winchester, carrying with him the bones of St. Birinus: and the 'Translatio' and 'Depositio' of the Apostle of Winchester and first Bishop of Wessex were necessarily famous events in the early annals of the Church of Winchester, and noted in her Calendar. The second division of this list of West-Saxon Bishops after a few words, some of which are illegible but which refer apparently to the transference of the bishopstool to Winchester, commences with Daniel and ends with Walkelin, who became Bishop soon after the accession of William the Conqueror and died A. D. 1098. In this division are found the names of Rumpald, Byrnstan, Aþelpold, which are also in the Calendar. I have mentioned these particulars as clearly connecting the book with Winchester.

And it would be natural to assume that they connect it also with the cathedral church of Winchester, the Old Minster of St. Swithun. But I have noticed a further trace of this connexion, which does not appear to me insignificant. Among the prayers which follow the Litany is a long one addressed to St. Nicholas, who is also commemorated in the Calendar, his name being distinguished by being written in capital letters. A few days after I first inspected this Psalter I happened to visit Winchester Cathedral, and my attention being necessarily drawn to the very interesting Norman font, I was informed that the curious sculptures carved upon it have for their subject the legendary history of that saint. With this evidence of a common cultus before me, the thought was brought home to my mind in a very real manner that the designer of the

[1] *Historic Towns, Winchester*, p. 8.

font and the compositor of the British Museum MS., which had interested me so recently, must have been, if not one and the same person, at any rate members and brethren of the same household—that which formerly had its home beneath the walls of the glorious temple where I was standing, and worshipped at its altars.

It only remains to add, that Professor Westwood in his notice of this book, before alluded to, speaks of the drawings and decorations with which it is enriched being in the style of Winchester volumes.

26. The Bodleian MS., Canonici Patr. Lat. 88, is a very complete Psalter, assigned by the catalogue to the eleventh century, originally used, as it appears, in some Benedictine monastery in Central or Northern Italy, but not in the diocese of Milan. The Psalms are preceded by several documents, including a Calendar, nearly all of which are found also in Vat. 84, previously noticed, but they are not arranged in the same order. It is a Roman Psalter; and each Psalm is accompanied by the proper title, and an exposition and prayer. The apocryphal 151st Psalm follows. Then the usual Old Testament Canticles, each with a note of the day of the week on which it is used, and to each a prayer is appropriated. They are entitled 'Cantica prophetarum.' Then successively the Benedicite, the Benedictus, the Magnificat, the Gloria in excelsis, each likewise with a prayer annexed. Then the Nunc dimittis, the Apostles' Creed, the Constantinopolitan Creed, with the Filioque clause entitled 'Fides patrum,' the Lord's Prayer, the Te Deum, and lastly, the Athanasian Creed with the noteworthy title 'Fides Anathasii episcopi.' After the Athanasian Creed comes the rubric, 'Consumatio psalmodie': so that the Canticles and Lord's Prayer and Creeds are included in the psalmody. The following is

subjoined to the Athanasian Creed, but without any rubric describing it as 'Oratio,' which it may be presumed was omitted inadvertently: 'Domine Deus Omnipotens, qui es trinus in personis et unus in deitate, conditor, nutritor, gubernator, et moderator meus, Te adoro, Te laudo, Te glorifico, Tibi gratias ago, Tibi sit laus et gloria et omnis honor per aeterna et sempiterna saecula saeculorum. Amen.' Similarly the following is subjoined to the Te Deum: 'Te decet laus, Te decet ymnus, Tibi gloria Deo, Patri et Filio cum Sancto Spiritu, in saecula saeculorum. Amen.' It is interesting to note that in the Gloria in excelsis the clause, 'Qui sedes ad dexteram Dei Patris, miserere nobis,' is preceded by the rubric, 'Iacob frater Domini Hierosalymitanus addidit,' and similarly the conclusion 'Quoniam Tu solus sanctus &c.' by the rubric 'Cyrillus Alexandrinus adiunxit.' At the Apostles' Creed the names of the Apostles to whom the several clauses are attributed are added in the margin in rubric. After the rubric 'Consumatio psalmodie' an intercessory prayer follows, and then a prayer preparatory for the Litany. In the Litany it is worthy of notice that among the saints invoked St. Benedict is the only one whose name is distinguished by being written in capitals, and his name is followed by those of Maurus and Placidus, though not written like his in capitals. They were both famous as his disciples. There are petitions similar to those usually found in Litanies for monastic use, of which I have quoted some instances, only the petition immediately succeeding that for the pope is not for our bishop or archbishop as the case might be, but for 'our bishops and abbots and the flocks committed to them'; and there is no petition for king or princes. After the Lord's Prayer occur the versicles: 'Pro pastore nostro: Beatus qui intelligit super egenum et

pauperem. Pro imperatore nostro: Domine, salvum fac imperatorem nostrum. Pro episcopis et abbatibus nostris: Dominus conservet eos et omnes sibi commissos.' The Litany is followed by several prayers for private use to be said after the Psalter; 'Orationes post finitum Psalterium pro semet ipso.' The subjoined is interesting as evidence in addition to that above produced of this being a Benedictine Psalter, and also of the sacramental efficacy attached to the recitation of the Psalter in the middle ages: 'Exaudi me indignum famulum tuum et peccatorem; et per hos psalmos, quos decantavi, da mihi et parentibus meis et omnibus, pro quibus debitor sum exorare, veniam de omnibus peccatis nostris; et concede nobis semper cogitare, loqui, et agere, que placita sunt tibi et nobis expediunt, ut omnes actus nostri in tua dispositione firmentur; et, intercedente beata et gloriosa semperque virgine Dei genitrice Maria et beato Michahele Archangelo et sancto Benedicto cum omnibus sanctis, ab omnibus nos absolve peccatis et a cunctis defende periculis,' &c. *Maria* and *Benedicto* are written in capitals. A marginal note in a different hand from that of the text is added upon the words *cum omnibus sanctis*, as follows: 'sanctissimis Apostolis Bartolomaeo et Iacobo ac gloriosissimo yheronimo (*sic*) et sancto Sebastiano.' The 'Planctus' of St. Isidore concludes the volume.

On the fly-leaf is a note in a modern hand saying that the Litanies are for the Benedictine use, and that from the saints of the Calendar and the Litanies the Psalter appears to have belonged to some monastery of Gaul. That the book was used in a Benedictine monastery is sufficiently clear from the evidence I have adduced from the Litany and prayer at the end, which is confirmed by the appearance of the names *Benedictus* and *Maurus* in the Calendar

in capital letters. But that the monastery where it was used was situated in Gaul is a hypothesis, which is disproved, first by the fact of the Psalms belonging to the Roman version of the Psalter which was not accepted in Gaul, but was used in Italy more or less down to the pontificate of Pius V, also by the supplication in the versicles of the Litany for the Emperor, and lastly by the character of the handwriting, which is distinctly Italian, as I am informed by Mr. Macray and Mr. Madan of the Bodleian Library. And the names of the saints which appear in the Calendar and Litany, as well as the version of the Psalms and the character of the handwriting, point to Italy as the original home of the book; for among them the Italian names have the preponderance, there are but few comparatively belonging to Gaul and Germany, and I believe there is not a single one that is English. The petition for the Emperor would be perfectly consistent and appropriate in a Psalter written in Central or Northern Italy in the eleventh century, especially if written before the pontificate of Gregory VII, considering the relations of the German Emperors to those countries at that epoch [1].

27. Our notice of MSS. may be fitly closed with the mention of one, which is described by M. Batiffol [2] as the oldest manuscript Breviary extant. This book, the property of the Mazarine Library at Paris (Cod. Mazarin. 364), possesses a special interest in reference to the history of our document, showing that, as belonging to the canonical office, it was admitted from the very first into Breviaries. From internal documentary evidence it appears to have been written at the celebrated Benedictine Abbey at Monte Casino in the year 1099; and it is a beautiful

[1] See Hallam's *Middle Ages*, vol. i. pp. 332, 333.

[2] *Histoire du Bréviaire Romain*, Paris, 1893, p. 195.

manuscript, executed in a Lombardic hand, and decorated with rich initial letters and pictures. After the Calendar comes a Psalter followed by the Canticles, Gloria in excelsis, Te Deum, Lord's Prayer, Apostles' Creed, Athanasian Creed and Litanies. For the other contents it may suffice to refer to M. Batiffol's account. This must be the same book which is noticed by Waterland as a Breviary and Psalter for the use of the monks of Monte Casino, mentioned by Pagi and Quesnel. He adds that the title assigned by it to the *Quicunque* is 'Fides Catholica edita ab Athanasio Alexandrinae sedis Episcopo.'

It is needless and would be tedious to notice any more MSS. of the Athanasian Creed. The number of extant copies of it in Latin is very great; and those to which I have drawn attention are but a selection, and must not be regarded as a comprehensive and exhaustive series even for the period which they embrace—from the eighth to the eleventh century. But they sufficiently illustrate the early use and reception of the *Quicunque* in the Western Church. They are found in books of various kinds, collections of Canons, of Formularies of the Faith and Dogmatic treatises, and Psalters; and the Psalters are typical of various countries, Gaul, Germany, Italy and England. At the risk of being tedious I have described in some degree the contents of these books, inherited by us from antiquity, with the view of showing their nature and importance and the position in them of our Creed, and more particularly of tracing, where possible, the age and locality which produced them.

CHAPTER IV.

COMMENTARIES OR EXPOSITIONS.

THE Athanasian Creed in the ancient Western Church was frequently made the subject of comment and exposition for the purpose of instruction in the fundamental truths of the Trinity and Incarnation. These expositions, which seem to have originated in a series of notes upon the text, are often found in manuscript Psalters written by the side of the Creed in a separate column, or in two marginal columns with the Creed in the centre, the several verses being accompanied by their respective comments, but they are also found as distinct documents, especially in collections of dogmatic and doctrinal treatises and expositions.

1. The earliest is probably the Commentary attributed to Venantius Fortunatus, an Italian by birth who migrated into France about the year A.D. 565, and became Bishop of Poictiers late in the sixth century. He must have died very early in the succeeding century, but the exact date of his death is not known. Both Muratori (who was the Librarian of the Ambrosian Library at Milan in the early part of the eighteenth century) and Waterland assign the work without doubt to him, and the latter thinks that the date of it may be fixed with probability about the year 570, or even higher[1]. But there is great diversity of

[1] Muratori, *Anecdota*, vol. ii. p. 331; Waterland, *History of the Athanasian Creed*, pp. 43-45, Oxford edition, 1870.

opinion upon the subject, the authorship of Venantius Fortunatus being denied for instance by the writers of the Literary History of France: it is also denied by the editor of his works, Michael Angelus Luchi, who considers that the style of our Commentary is dissimilar from that generally observable in the writings of Venantius; and recently Professor Heurtley, who at first accepted without hesitation the opinion of Muratori and Waterland, afterwards avouched himself to be 'less satisfied than formerly' upon the point. It must be acknowledged that the evidence for the authorship of Venantius is not conclusive. It rests upon a single MS., and that a MS. not earlier than the eleventh century—with one exception the latest of the MSS. in which the Commentary is found. In that Codex the Commentary is entitled 'Expositio fidei catholicę Fortunati.' There can be no doubt that the *expositio*, not the *fides catholica*, is here referred to as the work of Fortunatus. Even if this were not the obvious sense of the words, it would be sufficiently proved by the fact that the Athanasian Creed is not unfrequently described as 'Fides Catholica' simply: some instances of which have been already noticed. Neither can there be any reasonable doubt that the Fortunatus here intended is Venantius Fortunatus, for in this same volume, which is of great bulk and contains a variety of documents, the Commentary of that author upon the Apostles' Creed also occurs, and that previously, and it is described by the title 'Expositio a Fortunato presbitero conscripta.' *Fortunatus presbiter* is the well-known appellation of Venantius Fortunatus. Thus the testimony of this MS. seems clear enough; but of the other known MSS. of the Commentary not a single one attributes it to Fortunatus, nor indeed to any author. To turn to internal evidence, there is on the one hand a certain resemblance of thought between the

Commentary of Venantius Fortunatus on the Apostles' Creed and our Commentary on that of St. Athanasius, arising probably from their both being drawn in some degree, directly or indirectly, from Rufinus's Commentary on the Apostles' Creed, and there is also in two instances a remarkable coincidence of expression between the two documents, which would suggest that if they were not both by the same hand, one must have been borrowed from the other; and on the other hand, there is at least one important discrepance between the two works, which seems to forbid us regarding them as written by the same person[1].

[1] The pairs of passages containing this verbal resemblance are as follows:—

(1) 'Nec quaeratur quomodo genuit filium? quod et angeli nesciunt, prophetis est incognitum. Unde illud dictum est, *Generationem illius quis enarrabit?* . . . Nec a nobis discutiendus est sed credendus,' &c.—Venantii Fortunati *Expositio Symboli.*

'Nec quaeratur quomodo genuit Filium, quod et angeli nesciunt, prophetis est incognitum, unde eximius propheta Esaias dicit *Generationem eius quis enarrabit?* . . . Nec inenarrabilis et inaestimabilis Deus a servulis suis discutiendus est, sed fideliter credendus.'—*Expositio fidei catholicae* Fortunati.

The Oxford Junius MS. for *genuit Filium* reads *genitus sit,* but the Milan MS. and Paris 1008 read *genuit Filium.*

(2) 'Quod vero Deus maiestatis de Maria in carne natus est, non est sordidatus nascendo de Virgine. . . . Denique sol aut ignis, si lutum inspiciat, quod tetigerit purgat, et se tamen non inquinat.'—Venantii Fortunati *Expositio Symboli.*

'Etsi Deus, Dei filius, nostram luteam et mortalem carnem . . . adsumpsit, se tamen nullatenus inquinavit. . . . Quia si sol aut ignis aliquid immundum tetigerit, quod tangit purgat, et se nullatenus coinquinat.'—*Expositio fidei catholicae* Fortunati.

In both these cases the idea of the two documents seems to be derived originally from Rufinus, but the verbal resemblance between them is far closer than between either of them and that author.

The passages referred to above as presenting an important discrepance are the following:—

'Iudicaturus *vivos et mortuos*: Aliqui dicunt vivos iustos, mortuos vero iniustos; aut certe vivos, quos in corpore invenerit adventus Dominicus, et intelligamus mortuos iam sepultos. Nos tamen vivos et mortuos, hoc est, animas et corpora pariter iudicanda.'—Venantii Fortunati *Expositio Symboli.*

A note in the edition of Venantius printed at Rome in 1786 states that *intelligamus* in the above is omitted by some MSS.

The authorship of the Commentary being thus uncertain cannot be taken as determining the date of its composition. Are there any other criteria by which we may arrive at an approximate conclusion upon the point? In the first place, from the fact of there being known to us six, if not seven, manuscripts of the document belonging to the ninth century —one of them to the early part of it—the inference is unavoidable that it must have existed prior to that century, unless indeed the earliest was the original copy of the author, which there is no reason for believing it to be. And this inference receives a very clear confirmation from a Commentary lately—in 1892—printed for the first time from a MS. at Orléans and attributed by the editor to Theodulf[1], which in two passages, one of which I shall produce *in extenso* by-and-by, evidently borrows from and follows our document. We have here a clear proof that the latter must have been composed prior to the ninth century, inasmuch as the Orléans exposition, even though it be not the work of Theodulf, which is indeed very doubtful, cannot be of a later date, the MS. being assigned to that century by M. Delisle.

Thus external evidence points to the conclusion that the Fortunatus Commentary belongs to a higher antiquity than the ninth century. Internal evidence supplies us with grounds for a nearer approximation to its date, as the late Dr. Heurtley, Margaret Professor of Divinity at Oxford,

And '*Inde venturus iudicare vivos et mortuos.* Vivos dicit eos quos tunc adventus Dominicus in corpore vivendos invenerit, et mortuos iam ante sepultos; et aliter dicit vivos iustos et mortuos peccatores.'—*Expositio Fidei catholicae* Fortunati.

It will be observed that Venantius accepts neither of the alternative interpretations mentioned by the commentator on the Athanasian Creed, as by St. Augustine in several places. In the interpretation which he adopts he follows apparently Rufinus.

[1] *Théodulfe, sa vie et ses œuvres*, par M. Cuissard. Orléans, 1892.

pointed out in an able pamphlet written in 1872[1]. In the first place he argued that the Commentary could not have been written during the period when the doctrine of the double Procession and the heresy of Adoptionism were the prominent subjects of controversy in the Western Church, that is, the early part of the ninth and the close of the preceding century. Had it been composed at that time, in all probability it would have referred to these controversies either by employing the peculiar terminology which they evoked or by dwelling emphatically upon the points at issue. But this is not the case. In regard to the first, the Procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father and the Son is twice stated, 'but only simply and incidentally,' says Dr. Heurtley, 'without one word of vindication or enlargement, such as might assuredly have been expected had any controversy on the subject been on foot.' And this is not all, for the three verses which formulate the relations between the three Divine Persons, including that which declares that 'the Holy Ghost is of the Father and of the Son,' are not quoted at all, nor made the subject of comment. This, I may add, is especially remarkable considering that at this very epoch these same verses were quoted by Theodulf, Bishop of Orleans, in his treatise written by express command of Charlemagne with reference to the controversy in question. True, the commentator may have thus passed over these verses because he had incorporated them in sum and substance in his comment on the fifth verse; nevertheless it is most unlikely, had he constructed his exposition at a time when the question of the Procession was exercising men's minds, that he would have failed to draw attention to the one passage in the

[1] *The Athanasian Creed, reasons for rejecting Mr. Ffoulkes's theory,* by C. A. Heurtley, D.D. Oxford, 1872.

Creed obviously and directly relevant to the point at issue and to make it the subject of remark. The Commentary is also noticeable for its omission of all reference to the Adoptionist controversy. 'No work touching upon the subject of the Incarnation,' says the writer before cited, 'written between 785 and 825, would have avoided reference to it. Yet in Fortunatus's Commentary the reader will search in vain for any trace of those critical expressions—the repudiation of the doctrine that our Lord was in one respect *not the proper* but only *the adopted, nuncupative Son of God*—which one might naturally expect to meet with in writings of the age[1].' It should be added that the controversy respecting the Procession was a subject of discussion at the Council of Gentili held as early as A. D. 767. We are thus led to the conclusion that the Commentary was drawn up at some time previous to the latter part of the eighth century.

These are negative arguments. Dr. Heurtley also draws attention to a positive and 'express indication' contained in the document, 'not indeed of the precise time at which it was written, but of the limit on the later side within which it must have been written. Expounding the clause in ver. 29 of the *Quicunque vult*, "Homo ex substantia matris in saeculo natus," the commentator observes, "Id est, *in isto sexto milliario in quo nunc sumus.*"' Thus we learn that the Commentary was written some time in the sixth period of a thousand years from the Creation; this being unquestionably the meaning of the term *the sixth milliary or millenary*. And this sixth millenary referred to by the commentator must have terminated coincidently with the eighth century of the Christian era. For what system of chronology did the writer follow? Clearly not that based

[1] Heurtley, u. s. p. 13.

upon the Hebrew text of the Old Testament which placed the Nativity of our Blessed Lord in the year of the world 3953, 'completis ab Adam annis 3952,' and therefore before the termination of the fourth millenary, whereas he alludes to it plainly as occurring in the sixth. Then there were the chronologies computed in accordance with the LXX—the Constantinopolitan, used by the Greeks, which assigned the Nativity to the year 5509 from the Creation; the Alexandrian, which assigned it to 5500; and that of Eusebius, which assigned it to 5200. We cannot suppose that the writer of the Commentary followed either the first or second of these systems; had he done so, in either case the Commentary must have been written previous to the sixth century, and such an early date is inadmissible. We must conclude therefore that he followed the Eusebian chronology, as indeed, apart from the reason just stated, appears probable; for this mode of computation was adopted by Orosius in the fifth century, by Bede early in the eighth, and by Western theologians generally in the middle ages.

Upon these grounds Dr. Heurtley asserts that the year 799 A. D. 'is the limit on the later side within which the Commentary must have been written.' And he adds: 'But a writer conscious that he was on the extreme verge of a period would hardly have expressed himself in such a context as that' above cited, 'without some qualifying word indicating its nearly approaching close. St. Augustine in his *De Civitate Dei*, writing' at a considerable distance of time 'from the close of the millenary, qualifies his computation in this way: "Ab ipso primo homine *nondum* sex millia annorum complentur." Elsewhere his language is still more to the point; for discussing the meaning of the thousand years in the Apocalypse, in which

Satan is said to be bound, he assigns this as one explanation, "Quia in ultimis annis mille ista res agitur, id est, *sexto annorum milliario*, tanquam sexto die, *cuius nunc spatia posteriora volvuntur*." Fortunatus says simply: "In isto sexto milliario, *in quo nunc sumus*." ' The following is the conclusion of his argument: 'This note of time then, furnished by Fortunatus himself, is an additional reason,—I do not hesitate to say a conclusive reason,—even assuming the latest possible period for the close of the sixth millenary, for believing his Commentary to have been written earlier than the close of the year 799, and a very probable reason, even on the same assumption, for believing it to have been written considerably earlier; while it is perfectly consistent with the supposition that it may have been written earlier by two or three centuries.'

Before quitting this point it is desirable to notice the clear distinction which exists between the sixth millenary, *sextum milliarium*, and the sixth age, *sexta aetas*, the two terms being sometimes confounded. Some of the Fathers, especially St. Augustine, and after him Bede, divided the whole period of the world's existence into six ages, corresponding with the six days of the Creation, and the six stages of man's life: the first extending from the Creation to Noah, the second from Noah to Abraham, the third from Abraham to David, the fourth from David to the carrying away to Babylon, the fifth from the carrying away to Babylon to the first Advent, the sixth from the Birth of Christ to His last coming at the end of the world. None of these ages consisted of a thousand years: the sixth obviously was of indefinite duration. This was clearly distinct from the sixth milliary or millenary, which had the recognized meaning of the sixth period of a thousand years from the creation of the world, and in this sense it is

alluded to by St. Augustine in the second of the passages above quoted. It was a very familiar expression, because in the belief of the Chiliasts it was the closing period of the world's existence[1]. Mention is occasionally found in documents respecting events which occurred subsequently to the eighth century as taking place in the sixth age. The late Dr. Swainson, confounding the sixth age with the sixth millenary, conceived such passages to be fatal to Dr. Heurtley's argument. But they do not touch it.

The point to which we have been brought by Dr. Heurtley's argument, it must be remembered, is this, that the Commentary was written before the close of the eighth century—very probably a considerable time before, possibly as much as two or three centuries earlier. The question is, how much earlier? I think we may arrive at a closer approximation on this point. In the first place, by a similar argument to that by which Dr. Heurtley has proved it to have been composed before the commencement of the controversies respecting Adoptionism and the Procession of the Holy Spirit, it may be shown also to have been produced before the Monothelete heresy attracted attention. Commencing about the year A. D. 630, this controversy was the prominent, almost absorbing, subject of debate among theologians of the West as well as the East during the remainder of the seventh century, and it had not subsided in the early part of the following century. Had the Commentary been written during that period, it could scarcely have failed to employ the peculiar terminology then in vogue and to refer more or less emphatically to the prevalent error of the age. For there are passages in the Creed which would certainly invite, almost necessitate, such reference. For instance, we have the following

[1] See St. Aug. *Ser.* xciii. vii; also Bede, *De Temporum ratione*, cap. lxvii.

comment upon the verse, 'Who although He be God and man,' &c.: 'Id est, duae substantiae in Christo, Deitas et humanitas, non duae personae, sed una est persona.' While thus asserting the two natures of Christ, the author, had he been writing during the Monothelete controversy, would naturally have gone on, in accordance with the wont of the age, to assert also as a necessary corollary His two wills and operations[1]. Similarly in commenting on the words 'perfect God and perfect man' he would naturally have insisted upon the two wills and two operations as needful to the perfection of His two natures, for this was a current argument of the epoch[2]. Again, when dwelling upon the unity of our Lord's person, as he does in a marked manner, and as he was led to do by the repeated assertions of the doctrine in the Creed, the commentator would have guarded himself against the inference which a Monothelete opponent might have fastened upon him, had the controversy in question been in agitation at the time. But we find nothing of the kind: there is a marked absence throughout the document of any of the critical terms used in reference to Monotheletism, an absolute silence upon the subject. The necessary conclusion is that it was produced before the rise of the controversy. That it emerged after the controversy had passed away, we are precluded from

[1] 'In una persona domini nostri Iesu Christi . . . sicut duas naturas, ita et duas naturales voluntates duasque naturales operationes eius regulariter confitemur.' Confession of Pope Agatho, A. D. 680; Hahn's *Bibliothek der Symbole*, p. 285.

[2] 'Ita quoque et duas naturales voluntates et duas naturales operationes habere, utpote perfectum deum et perfectum hominem, unum eundemque ipsum dominum nostrum Iesum Christum pietatis nos regula perstruit.' Confession of the Synod of Milan, A. D. 680; ibid. p. 181. So also the Confession of the Roman Synod of the same date; ibid. p. 183. From the use not only of these words, but of others as well, in the Athanasian Creed, I cannot avoid the impression that, if not actually before the members of these synods, it must at any rate have been familiar to their minds.

supposing by the reasonings of Dr. Heurtley. The above argument is very much confirmed by the fact which I drew attention to some years since, and which I must again draw attention to now, that not fewer than three commentaries on the Athanasian Creed are extant which contain marked and emphatic references to the Monothelete controversy.

A further reason for believing this Commentary to be earlier than the Monothelete controversy is, that another Commentary, which bears internal evidence of having been composed at the time of that controversy, was in part drawn from it and well-nigh founded upon it as its basis, and consequently must have been of later date. As that will be the next Commentary which will claim consideration, it is needless to dwell upon it here.

Thus there are sufficient grounds, even though we cease to attribute our Commentary to Venantius Fortunatus as its author, for holding it to have been written not later than the early part of the seventh century, possibly at the close of the sixth. There appear to be no grounds for assigning to it a higher antiquity; and we are precluded from doing so if, as seems probable, it has drawn directly in some passages from Venantius's Commentary on the Apostles' Creed, which is believed to have been composed soon after his migration into Gaul in 564 or 565.

The earliest known manuscript of this Commentary is preserved in the Bodleian Library, No. 25 of the Junius MSS., and was assigned by Mr. Coxe, the late Librarian, to the early part of the ninth century. The volume in which it is contained comprises a great variety of documents, and several different handwritings appear in it. Our Commentary commences on p. 108 r., with the title *Expositio in fide Catholica* ; and it is immediately succeeded

by the Profession of Faith, here entitled *Fides Catholica Hieronymi*, and this in turn by two expositions of the Lord's Prayer. These are all in the same hand. A collection of hymns, ending with the Te Deum, follows, also apparently in the same hand, or one very similar; and these, it should be noted, are accompanied by an interlinear German gloss. It is needless to particularize further the contents of the volume. On a blank space of fol. 33 of the Latin and German Vocabulary, which immediately precedes the *Expositio in fide Catholica*, the following dated appeal for the prayers of the readers of the book appears: 'Legentes in hoc libro oretis pro Reverendo domino bartholomeo de andolo cuius industria pene dilapsus renovatus est anno MCCCCLXI.' And on the old vellum flyleaf at the end there is a similar appeal written by the same hand thus: 'Oretis legentes pro domino bartholomeo de andolo morbacensi abbate.' Also on the old vellum flyleaf at the beginning there is in the same handwriting a brief and imperfect list of contents. These inscriptions of the fifteenth century—in all probability written by Abbot Bartholomew himself, for had he been dead at the time some intimation of the fact would have appeared—are very interesting for the light they throw upon the history of the book, acquainting us with its ancient home—the abbey of Murbach or Morbach in Alsace, one of the most considerable abbeys in Germany, and one of great antiquity, having been founded in the year 731. The two corresponding vellum flyleaves on which Abbot Bartholomew's list of contents and his second request for the prayers of his readers are written had evidently formed part of a devotional book of earlier date, as may be judged from the traces of handwriting which they bear, some of them quite legible, and including a portion of the Office

for the Adoration of the Cross. Presumably the leaves were used by him as a covering for the book, which he found in a well-nigh shattered condition and repaired. The list of contents and his request for the prayers of his readers are inserted in the blank spaces between the lines of the earlier handwriting. Bartholomew de Andolo was probably a member of the ancient noble family of Alsace bearing the surname of Andlau, or Andelau, or Andlo, which may have been derived from a synonymous small town and castle situated upon a synonymous river in Alsace[1].

Another manuscript copy, belonging to the ninth century, of this Commentary, but imperfect, for it ends with the nineteenth verse of the Creed 'veritate compellimur,' is contained in a MS. of the Vienna Imperial Library, No. 269 in Denis's *Catalogue of Latin Theological Manuscripts*[2]. It follows immediately the Athanasian Creed without any title. It is unnecessary to repeat here what I have already said respecting the contents of that MS. under the head of MS. copies of the Creed, No. 13. Why the scribe did not complete the Commentary it is of course impossible to divine: but its fragmental condition does not appear to be owing to the mutilation of the book, as another document immediately follows. It may have been simply the result of indolence.

The same fragment is also found in Laud, Codd. Miscel. 234, in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, a MS. of the twelfth century. This, as several other of the Laud MSS., came originally from the monastery of Eberbach or Ebbirbach, near the Neckar in Baden, as we learn from a memorandum on the last leaf: 'Liber sancte Marie virginis in Ebbirbach

[1] See *Universal Lexicon*, Halle, 1732.
[2] Vol. i. Pars i. pp. 962–966.

Deo gracias.' Denis's account of the Vienna MS. just referred to, which is very full and minute, produces the suspicion, I may rather say conviction, that it was the original from which this Laud MS. was in a large measure copied. This appears not only from the fact that all the contents of the former codex, with the exception of the Athanasian Creed, are found also in the latter in the same order, but from a remarkable coincidence of details between the two, and from some peculiarities in the latter which are plainly accounted for upon the above-mentioned hypothesis. The printed catalogue of the Laud MSS. is, I regret to say, very misleading with regard to this particular volume, not only describing wrongly the Athanasian Creed, which it does not contain, as one of its contents, but also omitting all mention of the incomplete copy of our Commentary, which it does contain.

Some years ago I found three copies of our Commentary in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, the first in the Latin MS. 2826 of the end of the ninth century, the second in Latin 17448 of the end of the tenth century, the third in Latin 1008 also of the end of the tenth century. In the first the Exposition commences on f. 142 with the title 'Expositio super fide catholica.' The volume belonged formerly to the Abbey of St. Martial at Limoges. No. 17448 passed into the Royal Library from the Collège de Navarre at Paris. On the flyleaf is a note stating that it is a literal transcript of No. 2826—a statement of which I can confirm the correctness as far as regards the Exposition. The Commentary is the last in order of the contents, commencing on f. 116, the others according to the catalogue being: 'Isidorus de Mysteriis Christi—De concordia veteris et novi Testamenti —Iuliani prognostica—Dialogus de Trinitate—Alcuinus ad Georgium Hierosol., ad Leonem Papam, ad amicos, ad

Karolum imperatorem—Alcuini epitaphium.' In both these MSS. the Commentary is incomplete, terminating with the word 'rationem' of the thirty-eighth verse of the Creed. The third Paris MS., No. 1008, which was in the Colbert collection before it was received into the Royal Library, appears to have been a manual for the use and instruction of priests. It begins with an exposition of the Canon of the Mass. Then follows the canonical 'inquisitio' at episcopal visitations, headed, 'Qualiter requirendi sunt sacerdotes secundum canonicam institutionem.' In this the priest is required to make a statement of his faith, he gives an exposition of the Lord's Prayer and Creed; and next comes the title in uncials, 'De fide catholica,' to which is subjoined, 'Quicunque vult salvus esse ante omnia opus est ut teneat catholicam fidem. Fides dicitur credulitas sive credentia catholica et cetera'—the commencement obviously of our Commentary. Hence a knowledge of it would appear to have been a matter of canonical obligation: then follows an account of the various ecclesiastical orders. The next document is 'Breviarium ex nomine apostolorum'—an account of the several Apostles with reference to their feast-days. The next a dogmatic treatise, 'Opusculum de essentia divinitatis Dei et de invisibilitatem adque inmensitatem eius et suam potentiam.' Next our Commentary *in extenso* from f. 49 to f. 94, introduced by the title, 'Expositio super fidem catholicam.' Next an exhortation to priests commencing 'Fratres karissimi, Spiritus Sanctus per prophetam sacerdotes et levitas et omnes doctores ecclesiae catholicae admonet dicens': it appears to be a cento of texts of Scripture. The last documents are some Penitential Canons and Leidrad's Treatise upon Baptism. In Appendix F to my work *Early History of the Athanasian Creed* I have printed

collations made by me of the text of the Commentary in these three Paris MSS.

In the year 1875 two other manuscript copies of this Commentary were found by the Rev. W. D. Macray of the Bodleian Library in the Library at Bamberg; one of the ninth century or the beginning of the tenth having the press mark A. II. 16, with the title 'Expositio fidei,' the other of the twelfth century with the press-mark Ed. or B. II. 16.

Other manuscript copies, as my friend the Rev. A. E. Burn, Rector of Kynnersley in Shropshire, informs me, are preserved in St. Gall. 27 and 241, both of the ninth century; others again in the Munich Library, in Cod. Lat. 19417 from the Tegernsee Abbey of the ninth century, the title being 'Expositio super fides catholica,' Cod. Lat. 3729 and 14508, both of the tenth, in the latter the title being 'De Fide Catholica,' and Cod. Lat. 14501, of the twelfth. In three of these, viz. St. Gall. 27 and Munich 3729 and 14501, my informant tells me, the Commentary is incomplete.

Another copy is comprised in a MS. of the Ambrosian Library at Milan, marked M. 79. This codex is a large and bulky volume of 252 leaves written in double columns, and it contains a great number and variety of documents. It is ascribed to the eleventh century by a note on the flyleaf, 'Codex seculi XI. sive anno MVII. ut in fine Kalendarii in tabella,' but the latter part could not have been written before the commencement of the twelfth century, as in the list of contents among the documents at the end there are, '46. Concilium Florentinum sub Urbano II. an. 1095'; also '50. Concilium Lateranense sub Paschali an. 1112.' Our Commentary occurs early in the volume, commencing on f. 36 v., and it is the last we may say of a collection of commentaries or expositions, being preceded

by three expositions of the Apostles' Creed,—the first, as already mentioned, entitled 'Expositio a fortunato presbytero conscripta,'—by three of the Lord's Prayer, and by two of the Athanasian Creed, the first with the title 'Expositio fidei catholice,' the second without any title. The title of the exposition, with which we are concerned at present, 'Item expositio fidei catholicę fortunati,' written in rubric, occurs at the end of a line, and the word *fortunati* is written above, apparently because there was no room for it in the same line: it did not strike me as being by a different hand, and the full stop following it, while there is none after *catholicę*, seems to show that it was not a later addition. The Commentary ends on f. 38 v., with the rubric 'Explicit expositio fidei catholice.' The following is immediately subjoined: 'O beata, O gloriosa, O benedicta et amplectenda fides, quae humanum genus sola vivificas, quod sola de diabolo triumphum reportas, quae sola disperatis salvationis ianuam reseras: tu sola terrenos homines cives angelorum facis: tu sola pro Deo peregrinantibus celeste imperium tribuis: tu sola te amantibus portas inferi claudis, et extinctis peccatis eos qui te diligunt suo Creatori perpetuo letaturos coniungis.'

Lastly, Franciscus Antonius Zaccharia met with a copy of this Commentary in a MS. of the fourteenth century at Florence; but no author's name was added. This is mentioned in his *Excursus literarius per Italiam*, p. 307.

The Milan MS. contains two passages from Alcuin and two from Isidore, which are clearly later insertions, none of them being known to occur in any earlier manuscript. The two passages from Alcuin and one of the two from Isidore appear to be found also in the Florence manuscript of the fourteenth century, judging from Zaccharia's collations of the text.

This Commentary, so far as I am aware, was first printed at Frankfort in 1610, in a little book entitled *Manuale Biblicum*, a copy of which may be seen in the Bodleian Library[1]. The exposition is headed by the title, *Euphronii Presbyteri Expositio Fidei Catholicae S. Athanasii.* The anonymous editor says that he transcribed his text from a codex of the St. Gallen monastery. The text follows closely that of the Junius MS. in the Bodleian. This book seems to explain the reference of Pareus in a passage noticed by Waterland[2], where the former quotes some words of our Commentary, as those of 'Euphronius Presbyter in expositione huius Symboli Athanasii.' For my knowledge of this book, as well as for the information above mentioned respecting St. Gallen and Munich manuscripts, I am indebted to the Rev. E. A. Burn. Another edition of the Commentary was produced by Muratori from the Milan MS. in his *Anecdota ex Ambrosianae Bibliothecae codicibus*, Milan, 1679. A combined text from the Milan and Junius MSS., discriminating their several readings, was edited by Waterland in his *Critical History of the Athanasian Creed*, published first in 1723. Waterland, owing to his following Muratori, who was an inaccurate editor, in several particulars misrepresents the Milan text. In 1786 Luchi edited at Rome the works of Venantius Fortunatus, with the Commentary subjoined, Zaccharia's collations of the fourteenth century MS. being added in the notes. This edition of Venantius, together with the appendix, so to speak, containing the Commentary, ascribed to him, has been reprinted in Migne's *Patrologia Latina*,

[1] *Manuale Biblicum sive Enchiridion S.S. Scripturae a Catholicae Apostolicae veteris Ecclesiae Patribus compendiatum et nunc primum ex vetustis membranis MSS. collectum.* 1610, Francofurti, p. 76.

[2] *History of the Athanasian Creed,* chap. iii.

tom. lxxxviii. In our own age and country a transcript of the Bodleian Junius text was printed by the late Professor Swainson in his work on the Creeds, pp. 436–442; and Professor Heurtley has edited the document in accordance substantially with that text in the third edition of his *De fide et Symbolo*.

2. The second Commentary on the Athanasian Creed, to which I wish to draw attention, was edited by me some years ago from a MS. in the Troyes Public Library, together with two other expositions from the same collection and a fourth from the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris [1], and for the convenience of distinction I described it as the Troyes Commentary. As no other printed copy of this important document is extant to the best of my knowledge, and the book in which it appeared may not be met with readily now, I think it better to reprint it in the present volume [2]. The codex Troyes 804 containing it—I believe the only ancient manuscript which is known to contain it—is a thick 4to volume of 243 leaves, written according to the printed catalogue in the ninth or tenth century, but in the opinion of the present Librarian in the latter, intended apparently as a compendium of dogmatic theology for the use of some monastery, and comprising twenty-four documents in all, among which, besides works of St. Augustine, Fulgentius, Theodulf, are the Confession of Faith commonly described as *Fides Hieronymi*, two expositions of the Lord's Prayer, the first being the work of St. Augustine, three expositions of the Apostles' Creed, and of these also the first is by St. Augustine, and two of the *Quicunque* [3]. This MS. prior to the French Revolution belonged to the

[1] *Early History of the Athanasian Creed*, Appendix. [2] Appendix F.
[3] *Catalogue des Manuscrits des Bibliothèques Publiques*, tom. ii. pp. 334–336.

Collège de l'Oratoire at Troyes, into which it passed from the collection of the learned Pithou, who was a native of that place. So it appears from the note: 'De la Bibliothèque du Collège de l'Oratoire de Troyes. Ancien fonds de Pithou.'

The Commentary with which we are concerned at present is the first of the two expositions of the Athanasian Creed, and is entitled *Expositio fidei Catholicae*. Apparently it has for one of its sources the Commentary of Fortunatus so-called. In the earlier portion the connexion is close and obvious, sometimes literal, and this is the case particularly at the commencement. In the latter part, relating to the Incarnation, this is not so obvious; still, a similarity of thought is traceable, and here and there the language of the earlier Commentary crops up in the later. But they are distinct documents, each containing much which is not to be found in the other. A long passage for instance towards the end respecting the identity of the risen body and the last judgement is peculiar to the Troyes Commentary, as well as another concerning Monotheletism which we shall immediately refer to.

In this, as in the preceding case, the authorship being uncertain can afford no clue to the date of the document. External evidence is a guide to a certain extent upon the point, enabling us to fix the limit on the later side of the period within which it must have been composed. Thus we are led to determine this to the eighth century by the fact that the Commentary at present before us, like the previous one, was one of the sources from which the Commentary attributed to Theodulf, lately brought to light, was drawn, this last being certainly a work of the ninth century, not later. For proof that such was the case in two instances I must refer to my notice of the latter

Commentary[1]. But we have a closer indication of date from internal evidence in an emphatic and express repudiation of the Monothelete heresy: and this clearly points to the inference that it was drawn up some time during the prevalence of the controversy on that subject, which commenced soon after the year 630, culminating in the sixth Oecumenical Council in 681, and not ceasing entirely until nearly 720. Then it died away, and the subject of image-worship became for a while the absorbing topic of theological discussion. It has never been revived. The conclusions of the Sixth Council have been tacitly accepted, rather than continually reasserted. The two wills and two operations of our Blessed Lord have not been insisted upon with the same explicitness as His two natures, the latter being assumed to imply the former. Thus Alcuin, who died A. D. 804—the leading theologian of the age of Charlemagne—in his work *De fide S. Trinitatis* is perfectly silent respecting the two wills, although he carefully maintains the verity of the two natures, divine and human, in the unity of our Lord's Person. The compiler of the Troyes Commentary on the other hand, in declaring his faith in the two natures and forms and nativities of Christ, deems it necessary to add that he believes also in the two wills and operations in the unity of His Person: 'Duas quippe in Christo credimus esse naturas duasque formas duasque nativitates, duas etiam voluntates atque operationes in singularitatem personae.' Moreover, he goes on to adduce the Scriptural authorities for the doctrine of the two wills and operations, as well as of the two nativities. This declaration of faith and these arguments, distinctively characteristic of the Monothelete controversy, lead us to believe that the Commentary was compiled during that

[1] See section No. 7 of this chapter.

controversy, and probably when it was at its height—between A.D. 549, when the prevalent heresy was condemned at the Lateran Synod under Martin I, and A.D. 681, when it was finally condemned by the sixth Oecumenical Synod held at Constantinople. We are confirmed in so thinking by the fact that the Oratorian and Bouhier Commentaries—which will be noticed next—employ language drawn from the definition adopted by the last-named synod for the purpose of repudiating the Monothelete hypothesis. Had the Troyes Commentary been composed after that Synod, we may presume it would have done the same. Further, our document contains nothing inconsistent with this conclusion respecting the epoch which produced it in its present form. For it exhibits no traces of the terminology peculiar to the several theological controversies of the two succeeding centuries. At the close of the eighth century and the early part of the ninth the mind of Western Christendom was deeply agitated respecting Adoptionism, and works written at the time, as those of Alcuin for instance, are replete with the subject; but not the faintest notice of it occurs here—we find none of the critical language in common use among theologians of that age. In the middle of the ninth century Predestination was the topic of vehement discussion in Gaul and Germany: had this Commentary, which was probably written in one of those countries, been produced then, we might have expected to find in it the distinctive terms which the debates elicited, especially as the very explicit references to the final condition of the elect and the reprobate would naturally occasion, if not induce, the use of such terms; but they are conspicuous by their absence; the writer contents himself with repudiating the errors of Origenism. The attention of Western theologians was directed to the doctrine of the

Procession of the Holy Spirit contemporaneously with Adoptionism in the latter half of the eighth century and the beginning of the ninth: in our document the doctrine is stated more than once, as held and taught by the Western Church, but it is only stated incidentally and naturally, not dwelt nor enlarged upon nor made the subject of argument or comment or of reference to authorities, as would be the case in a time of controversy upon the subject; no appeal is made in reference to it as there is in reference to the two wills, divine and human, of our Lord.

3. The other Commentary on the Athanasian Creed, contained in the Troyes MS. No. 804, follows immediately after that last noticed, and is introduced by the heading 'Item alia expositio.' It is constructed upon a distinctly different type. The whole Creed is quoted verse by verse, and to each verse a comment is subjoined. This exposition is described by its author as being drawn from earlier sources, and that not only in respect of the matter, but the very language. I have myself been able to verify many of the passages employed in the compilation, and I have no doubt that any person more learned in the Fathers than I can pretend to be would succeed in verifying several more. The sources which I have identified are as follows: St. Augustine, *Tractatus in Iohannis Evangelium*, *De Trinitate*, *De praesentia Dei*, *Lib. con. Maximinum*, *Epis. ad Volusianum*, *De Genesi ad Literam*; Prosper, *Liber sententiarum ex Augustino*; St. Leo, Epistles *ad Flavianum* and *ad Constantinopolitanos*; St. Cyril of Alexandria, Synodical Epistle translated by Dionysius Exiguus; Fulgentius, *Liber de Fide ad Petrum*; Pelagius I, Epistle to Childebert; Vigilius Tapsensis, *Contra Eutychetem* and *De veritate Trinitatis*; *Hieronymi Fides*

so-called; and the Definition of the Sixth Oecumenical Council according to the old Latin translation. St. Augustine's writings are evidently the principal source. The Definition of the Sixth Council seems to be the latest document which was drawn from. There is indeed much resemblance as regards thought and matter, and in a few passages a verbal correspondence, between this Commentary and Alcuin's treatise *De fide SS. Trinitatis*. But this is clearly the consequence of both works being derived from the same sources. Alcuin was not an original writer, and borrowed largely from his predecessors, especially St. Augustine; and in no case is there any reason for supposing that the commentator drew from him directly: on the contrary, it is evident that such was not the fact, as I have pointed out in my notes on the text of the Commentary printed in the Appendix.

As this, like the Troyes Commentary, contains an express repudiation of the Monothelete controversy, the arguments which I adduced for referring the latter document to the period during which the controversy on that subject was carried on as the probable epoch of its production will apply with equal force to the former. Only the former, i. e. the exposition at present under our consideration, must have been constructed subsequently to the Sixth Council, the very language of which it adopts for repudiating the heresy. We may therefore believe it to have been composed some time between A. D. 681, when the Sixth General Council was held, and the close of the Monothelete controversy at the end of the seventh or the commencement of the eighth century.

For convenience sake I shall describe this commentary in future as 'the Oratorian Commentary,' a title which I applied to it when I first published it in memory of the

circumstance that the MS. from which it was printed belonged to the Collège de l'Oratoire at Troyes. It is reprinted in Appendix G of the present volume.

Our document has been also preserved in a MS. of the Vatican Library, having for its press-mark No. 231, lat. Reginensis. From this codex it has been twice edited, first by Pinius in the second volume of his *Liturgia Antiqua Hispanica, Gothica, Isidoriana, Mozarabica, Toletana, Mixta,* printed at Rome in the year 1746; and secondly at a more recent date by Cardinal Mai in his *Scriptorum veterum nova collectio*, tom. ix. p. 369. The former of these editors in regard to the date of the MS. says 'scriptus videtur IX. vel x. saeculo'; the latter places it about the eleventh century, 'ex codice saeculi circiter XI.' Arevalus in his *Isidoriana*, or preface to his edition of *Isidore of Seville*, gives some account of the MS. and assigns it to the tenth century. Professor Jones, of St. Beuno's College, in a pamphlet on the Athanasian Creed published in 1872, stated that in the opinion of Professor Bollig, described by him as 'one of the most learned members of the Society of Jesus and an official writer in the Vatican Library,' that portion of the MS. which contains this Commentary was written in the beginning of the eleventh or in the tenth century. Considering this variety of opinion on the subject we may fairly set the date at the tenth century.

Professor Bollig's opinion was based upon a special examination of the MS., and his mention of 'that portion of the MS. which contains' our Commentary no doubt has reference to the fact of its being clearly distinguished by the handwriting and other circumstances from the first forty leaves of the volume which contain works of Prosper and Cassiodorus, and from the concluding leaves which

comprise the Apocalypse. Probably the three portions did not originally belong to the same book, and were only united together by the modern binder after they reached the Vatican ; so at least it would appear from the Papal arms being stamped upon the binding. The Commentary on the Athanasian Creed is immediately preceded by one on that of the Apostles' commencing 'Quando beatum legimus Paulum,' and it is followed by a short tractate having for its subject 'quomodo intelligendum est illut quod in libro deuteronomium scriptum est ego sum dominus.' In the same portion with it are included also works of Alcuin and Isidore of Seville and an exposition of the Lord's Prayer. The Commentary on the *Quicunque* is introduced without any title, so that the title ascribed to it by Mai, 'Symboli Athanasiani explanatio,' is not found in the MS. From the character of the handwriting, which is described by Arevalus as 'clarus Gallicus,' the book would appear to have been written in Gaul: it may have belonged to the celebrated Abbey of Fleury on the Loire, the original home of many of the MSS. in the Alexandrina or Reginensis collection of which it forms a part. This collection, which was founded by Christina Alexandra, Queen of the Swedes, was added to the Vatican Library in 1690.

Prefixed to our Commentary in the Vatican Reginensis MS. is a short preface by the author, which for more reasons than one deserves special consideration. It is addressed obviously to his Bishop, who, he says, had enjoined him for the benefit of the presbyters of the diocese,—'parrochiae nostrae,'—who were in great want of books, so much so that it was difficult for them to obtain even such as were required for the celebration of Sacraments and Offices, viz. a Psalter, Lectionary and Missal, to draw up in

the words of the holy Fathers—'sanctorum patrum sententiis'—an exposition of that little work of the Faith—'illud fidei opusculum,' the *Quicunque vult* clearly—which was recited in churches here and there, and was studied by the presbyters of the diocese more than other similar works. The exposition thus drawn from the Fathers it was the Bishop's wish that the clergy should be compelled to study; and it would be very helpful in promoting a knowledge of the Faith. The little work of the Faith was ascribed by tradition to the most blessed Athanasius, by whom it was intended to be a bulwark of defence for Catholics against the assaults of Arianism. He—i. e. the author of the Commentary—had always seen it so ascribed in old manuscripts—'in veteribus codicibus'—by the title written at the head. This document is so important that I have thought it desirable to reprint it in Appendix H. It does not appear in the Troyes MS., the scribe having passed it over probably for the sake of brevity as not forming part of the exposition. Its authenticity as the preface to the Oratorian Commentary does not admit of doubt. We have proof of this not only in its being found in the Vatican MS., but also in the fact that the latter part of it, commencing with the words 'Traditur quod a beatissimo Athanasio,' forms the introduction to another Commentary on the Athanasian Creed which was largely drawn from the Oratorian, viz. the Bouhier, the next in order to be noticed.

In this preface there are two particulars which seem to me to add confirmation to the early date assigned by me to the Oratorian Commentary. In the first place, the lamentable state of clerical ignorance and the great scarcity of books necessary for the celebration of Divine Service, which the author describes as existing in his own time and

diocese, indicate a state of things which could not be supposed at all likely to have existed in any country where this Commentary might have been produced during the ninth century, nor yet some years prior to its commencement. Under the fostering care of Charlemagne there was a revival of literature, especially sacred literature, through the wide extent of his dominions; the art of calligraphy was improved, and its practice more largely cultivated. That scarcity of ecclesiastical books which is emphasized in this preface could scarcely have found place in his time nor that of his descendants, when books were multiplied, sometimes written with a high degree of skill and elaboration, as we know by some specimens which have survived the wreck of ages. Moreover, in the ninth century every presbyter was under obligation to provide himself with the necessary books for Divine Service. Thus in the 'Admonitio synodalis,' before mentioned, or episcopal instruction and charge so to speak, which according to Baluze was read once every year to the clergy in Synod either by the bishop in person or by the deacon in his presence, and that universally in Western Christendom, and which in his opinion existed before the time of Pope Leo IV, to whom it is attributed in some MSS.,—but wrongly, as he thinks, being in substance as old, or nearly as old, as the time of St. Boniface or the middle of the eighth century,—every presbyter is ordered to have in his possession a Missal, Lectionary, and Antiphonary[1]. And in the 'Inquisitio,' or, so to speak, episcopal visitation articles of inquiry, the corresponding document to the 'Admonitio,'—inasmuch as it contains the same particulars, only in the form of inquiry

[1] See notes of Baluze upon Regino in Migne, *Patrol. Lat.* tom. cxxxii. pp. 531–534. Also *Admonitio synodalis antiqua* in Appendix ii. to Regino, u. s., pp. 455–458.

instead of direction,—inquiry is made of each presbyter whether he possesses the same books. In the Statutes of Riculfus, Bishop of Soissons in France, late in the ninth century a larger collection of service books is required. What is to be noticed here is first, that if the clergy in the ninth century were under obligation to provide themselves with the books requisite for the celebration of Sacraments and Offices, then the difficulty of doing so could not have been so great as it appears from the preface to the Oratorian Commentary to have been at the time when that document was drawn up. And next it is to be noticed that the Antiphonary was included among the books necessary for presbyters to possess, and which they were therefore under ecclesiastical obligation to provide themselves with in the ninth century, and probably some time before. Had the Oratorian Commentary been composed during that period, the preface would have included that book together with a Missal, Lectionary, and Psalter among the books necessary for the clergy. But no mention is made of it, and the necessary inference is that the Commentary belongs to an earlier epoch. It is remarkable that neither in the 'Admonitio' nor the 'Inquisitio' is there mention of a Psalter as ordered and required together with a Missal, Lectionary, and Antiphonary. Possibly as in these documents the presbyters were ordered and required to recite the Psalter word for word by heart together with the Canticles usually subjoined to it, the express mention of the book, the possession of which was necessary to enable them thus to acquit themselves, was deemed superfluous. That Psalters were plentiful enough in the early part of the ninth century there can be no reasonable doubt. In the Statutes of Riculfus the Psalter and Antiphonary are both mentioned among the books which the clergy were

required to possess. The second particular in this preface which appears to me indicative of an early date is that it speaks of the Athanasian Creed as being at the time recited in churches *here and there* only—in some places and dioceses, not in others; in some districts, perhaps provinces, not in others—if this is the correct meaning of *passim* in mediaeval Latin; whereas we have reason to believe that in Gaul and Germany at least, in one of which countries the Commentary was in all probability composed, the Creed was very generally if not universally used in the service in the early part of the ninth century.

4. The next Commentary which claims consideration is that to which I applied the title for convenience sake of the Bouhier Commentary, from the name of the former owner of the Troyes MS. through which I first became acquainted with the document. This Commentary has a close connexion with the Oratorian, a great part of which is reproduced in it in an abbreviated and condensed form. At the same time it is a distinct document, more than a mere abridgment of the Oratorian exposition, inasmuch as besides the matter derived from that source it contains also much which is not to be found there at all. Such being the relation of these two expositions, as I venture to think I have fully shown upon a former occasion[1], the Bouhier must necessarily be the later, and the commencement of the eighth century may be fixed as the limit before which it could not have been drawn up. On the other hand, as it contains an abstract of the passage in the Oratorian relating to Monotheletism, we are led to believe that it was composed before the memory of the controversy

[1] *Early History of the Athanasian Creed*, by G. D. W. Ommanney, pp. 14-22.

relating to that heresy had died away. Hence the date of the work may with probability be placed between A.D. 710 and A.D. 750.

In this, as in the Oratorian Commentary, the whole of the Creed is quoted successively, each passage being followed by its appropriate note or comment. It is preceded by a short prologue, which commences with the words 'Traditur quod a beatissimo Athanasio,' and is in point of fact the latter part of the Oratorian prologue, the first part being omitted as clearly suitable only to the exposition from which it was originally written.

Our document is found in two MSS. of the Troyes Library. The earliest of these—numbered 1979 in the catalogue—is assigned to the tenth century. From a note written on the flyleaf—'Codex MS. Bibliothecae Buherianae, F. 14, MDCCXXI.'—we learn that it belonged formerly to the collection of the Bouhier family, which was transferred to Troyes from Dijon. It is remarkable that in this codex our Commentary is attributed to St. Augustine by the title which heads it, as follows: 'Incipit expositio sancti Augustini Fidei sancti Athanasii Episcopi in veneratione Sanctissime Trinitatis individuaeque Unitatis omnipotentissimi universitatis Dei.' Whatever may have been the cause which induced the scribe thus to assign the authorship of this Commentary—whether it was that he found it mixed up with genuine works of the great Latin Father, or whether it was owing to its being so deeply impregnated with his teaching, or to its adopting so largely his very language—the fact is notable as tending to confirm our belief that it is a work of the eighth century. It cannot be supposed that he would have attributed a contemporaneous or recent work to a writer who had died five centuries before. The following note in reference to the title appears

in the MS. in the handwriting of a former owner, Bouhier: 'Symbolum fidei sub Athanasii nomine editum . . . sed cuius est ista in hoc symbolum expositio sub S. Augustini larva publicata? Ego facile crediderim illam esse ipsius Vigilii[1].' This conjecture of Bouhier respecting the authorship clearly is not less untenable than the attribution of it by the writer of the MS. The fact of the Commentary containing a passage from the Definition of the Sixth Oecumenical Council is alone a proof that it was not compiled either by Augustine or Vigilius. Besides our document, which occurs first in the order of contents, Troyes 1979 comprises works of Alcuin, Rhabanus Maurus, and St. Augustine. It appears also in another Troyes MS.—No. 1532, assigned to the twelfth century—where it is immediately preceded by 'Incerti explanatio Symboli Apostolici' commencing 'Quando beatum legimus Paulum apostolum' and 'Fides sancti Hieronymi presbyteri,' other contents being 'Sancti Gregorii liber pastoralis,' works of Prosper and St. Augustine, and 'Orosii questiones et responsiones Augustini[2].' It is introduced by the title 'Expositio fidei catholice Sancti Athanasii episcopi.' Both of these are well-written MSS. and in good condition. The latter, like No. 804 in the same library, belonged previously to the French Revolution at the close of the last century to the Collège d'Oratoire at Troyes. A third manuscript copy of the same epoch as the last-mentioned is preserved in the Public Library at St. Omer[3]. In this volume it is interesting to notice that the Commentary is preceded by the same two documents as in Troyes 1532, and it is followed by 'Orosii questiones,' another of the contents of that codex. Another manuscript copy is deposited in the British Museum

[1] *Catalogue des Manuscrits des Bibliothèques publiques*, tom. ii. pp. 810, 811.
[2] Ibid. pp. 644, 645.
[3] Ibid. tom. iii. pp. 302, 303.

—No. 24902 of the Additional MSS. This manuscript, as Sir E. M. Thompson informed me, may be dated about A.D. 1000: he assigns it to the early part of the eleventh century, but thinks it might belong to the tenth: and he believes it to have been written in France. A former owner coincided with this opinion in regard to the date, as appears by the following note on the flyleaf: 'L'écriture me parait être du xie, sinon du xe.' In this codex our document is entitled 'Expositio fidei catholicae,' and it is immediately preceded by the exposition of the Apostles' Creed commencing 'Quando beatum legimus Paulum apostolum,' which is here attributed to St. Augustine by the title 'Explanatio beati Augustini episcopi de Symbolo Apostolico.' It also contains 'Interrogationes Orosii' and works of SS. Augustine, Jerome, Ambrose, Gregory the Great.

It is interesting to notice that the same Commentary on the Apostles' Creed, which is found in three of these four MSS. containing the Bouhier Commentary, is also found in the Vatican MS. Reg. 231, immediately preceding the Oratorian Commentary, from which, as I have pointed out, the Bouhier was largely drawn. What was the cause of this association between the exposition of the Apostles' Creed on the one hand, and the two kindred expositions of the Athanasian on the other, it is of course impossible to say for certain. Possibly all three were compiled in the same monastery. There can be no doubt that the Vatican MS. was written in Gaul, as the MSS. containing the Bouhier appear to have been also. And the Commentary on the Apostles' Creed may have been a work of the same epoch as the Oratorian, or even earlier. For the former has for its subject-matter an early type of the Creed—giving the article on the Incarnation in the form *qui natus est de Spiritu Sancto et Maria virgine*, and passing over the

words *mortuus* and *sanctorum communionem*; from which it may be inferred that it was certainly not drawn up later than the eighth century, and may have been drawn up earlier.

This Commentary I have also thought it desirable to reprint in the present volume [1], the volume in which I published it being now I fear difficult to meet with.

5. Another Commentary, which I have also reproduced in the Appendix [2], was transcribed by me from a MS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris—Latin 1012—assigned by the old printed catalogue to the ninth century, but by Monsieur Delisle to the commencement of the succeeding century. The manuscript belonged formerly to the Abbey of St. Martial at Limoges, and from its contents would appear to have been intended as a manual for the use of priests, for it contains, besides the document under our consideration, 'Expositio ceremoniarum Baptismi,' 'Evangelium cum homilia S. Gregorii Papae,' 'Instructio sacerdotum super sacramenta,' 'Expositio Missae,' 'Expositio super Symbolum,' 'Canon Silvestri Papae,' 'Sermones de Nativitate Domini,' 'Sermo S. Augustini, qui est potius Caesarii,' 'Admonitio B. Gregorii Papae,' 'Sermo exhortatorius,' and 'Homilia S. Augustini episcopi.' The Commentary on the Athanasian Creed follows immediately that upon the Apostles' Creed, and it is introduced by the title, 'Incipit fides chatolica (*sic*) cum exposicione.' Like the two expositions last noticed, it quotes the various verses of the Creed in succession, but as regards its subject-matter differs from them, as also from the Troyes Commentary, entirely, being of a more simple and elementary character. And this greater simplicity may be naturally regarded as an indication of greater antiquity; but in its present form the exposition cannot be prior to the commencement of the

[1] Appendix I. [2] Note J.

seventh century, as it includes a passage from the writings of Gregory the Great who died A. D. 604. Still, many of the notes which it contains may have existed at an earlier date. On the other hand, as the MS. belongs to the beginning of the tenth century, and it is perfectly clear from the corruptions and errors with which the text abounds that it was copied from an earlier codex, it is impossible to suppose that the Commentary was compiled later than the latter part of the ninth century. Thus the commencement of the seventh century and the close of the ninth are the limits on either side of the period within which the compilation of this document must be placed. The text is remarkable for the grammatical peculiarities, or rather barbarisms, found in it, as well as its corruptions: how far the former were due to the copyist, and how far to the author of the document, it is of course impossible to say. But the exposition is itself remarkable and deserving of attention in connexion with the history of the *Quicunque*, apart from this particular copy of it. When I first drew attention to it, I described it as the Paris Commentary for convenience sake, and I shall continue to refer to it by that title. I am not aware of any manuscript copy of it extant besides that at Paris. It only remains to add that the marginal notes to the *Quicunque* in the interesting tenth-century Psalter in the British Museum—Reg. 2. B. v.—which was certainly written in England, were for the most part drawn from this exposition as their source.

In printing this Commentary it has been my endeavour to follow as closely as possible the text of the MS. in all its peculiarities of spelling and diction, but the contractions and punctuation I have not attempted to reproduce. And this has been my rule in regard to the other Commentaries which are printed in the Appendix.

6. In his *Diatribe de Symbolo Quicunque*, which was first published in the second volume of his edition of the works of Athanasius in 1698, Montfaucon printed 'ex codice Bibliothecae sancti Germani a Pratis numero 199 quingentorum circiter annorum' a Commentary on the Athanasian Creed entitled 'Tractatus de Fide Catholica[1].' There cannot be the least doubt that the Latin MS. No. 12020 of the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris is identical with this codex. It is assigned to the twelfth century, and has among its contents the Commentary edited by Montfaucon, and on the first page appears the note *S. Germani a pratis*, showing that the Abbey of St. Germain de Prés was its original home. The other contents of the MS. are some works of Bede and St. Jerome and St. Augustine.

The same Commentary was edited by Pinius in the second volume of his *Liturgia Antiqua Hispanica, Gothica, Isidoriana, Mozarabica, Toletana, Mixta*, published at Rome in 1746. The title he states to be according to the MS. 'Expositio Athasii (*sic*) de fide'; but this is all the information he supplies in regard to the source from which his text was derived. In all probability the MS. was deposited in the Vatican or some other Library at Rome. Our document is printed in the same volume with the Oratorian Commentary, and immediately after it; and hence the late Dr. Swainson inferred that it was contained in the same MS., viz. the Vatican MS. Reg. Alex. 231. That such is not the case I can testify from my own knowledge. Pinius describes these two documents as more precious than gold and jewels.

The following MSS. may also be mentioned as containing our document:—

British Museum, Addit. 18043, of the tenth century—

[1] *S. Athanasii Opera*, tom. ii. p. 735. Paris, 1698.

a Psalter followed by the Canticles of the Old and New Testaments, a Litany, the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed, and lastly the Athanasian Creed, entitled 'Fides Catholica Sancti Athanasii,' with this Commentary. The book belonged originally to the important abbey of Stavelot in the Ardennes near Liége, as appears by a memorandum on the first leaf, 'Liber monasterii Stabulensis,' and another in a later hand on f. 187, 'Psalterium glossatum spectans ad monasterium sancti Remacli Stabulensis.'

Bodleian Library, Laud Lat. 17, a Psalter written in the twelfth century in three columns, the text in the centre, the notes on each side. After the usual Old Testament Canticles the Athanasian Creed follows, entitled 'Fides sancti Athanasii episcopi catholica,' together with the notes forming our Commentary, and next a Litany and Prayers. It is remarkable that there are no New Testament Canticles: the Lord's Prayer, and the Apostles' Creed, and the apocryphal 151st Psalm are also wanting. The volume has been mutilated at the beginning, the commencing words being 'meum et exultavit lingua mea' of the fifteenth Psalm, or sixteenth in our version. It is interesting to notice that this is an English book, as appears from the fact of the Litany containing invocations to English saints, and some legal documents written at the end show that it belonged to the abbey at Cirencester.

A very complete and richly decorated Psalter in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge—bearing the press-mark R. 17. 1—also of the twelfth century, and assigned by Wanley in his description of it to the reign of Stephen[1]. It is a triple Psalter—Gallican, Roman, and Hebraic—with

[1] Humfredi Wanleii . . . *catalogus historico-criticus.* Oxon. 1705, pp. 168, 169.

notes and prefaces and prayers referring to each Psalm. In addition to the Latin marginal notes or comments the Roman Psalter has also an interlinear gloss or version described by Wanley as *Normanno-Saxon*; and the Hebraic Psalter has an interlinear gloss or version described by him as *Normanno-Gallic*. The Psalter is followed by the Canticles, first the usual Old Testament Canticles, and then Canticum trium puerorum, Te Deum, Benedictus, Magnificat, Nunc dimittis, Gloria in excelsis, Pater noster, Symbolum Apostolorum, *Quicunque vult*, and the apocryphal 151st Psalm, all of these being equipped with notes as well as *Normanno-Saxon* and *Normanno-Gallic* glosses or versions. As with the other documents, so in the case of the Athanasian Creed the linguistic versions are written between the lines, the notes in the margin. These notes constitute our Commentary. Neither the Creed nor its Commentary has any title. At the end of the book appears a picture of the monk by whom it was written and decorated—Eadwin of Christ Church or the Cathedral at Canterbury. This then may be believed to have been the original home of the volume. I must add that in the arrangement of the Canticles in the volume as it is at present, there appears at first sight to be great confusion. This, however, is evidently the consequence of a transposition of some of the leaves, and my examination of the book convinced me that they must have stood originally in the order above stated. The same Canticles &c. and in the same order are found in the Utrecht Psalter. The coincidence evidently suggests a connexion between the two Psalters, especially considering the very unusual position assigned in both to the apocryphal 151st Psalm, which almost invariably occurs after the 150th. I doubt if any other instance can be produced of its being placed after

the Canticles. Again, every Psalm and Canticle in both these Psalters is preceded by an illustrative drawing; and the drawings are the same in both, only in the Eadwin Psalter they are better finished and they are coloured. Must it not have been, that when Eadwin the monk wrote and decorated his magnificent book, he had the Utrecht Psalter before him? It is impossible to help thinking so with such evidences before us of a close connexion between the two books.

Balliol College, Oxford, No. 32—assigned to the end of the twelfth century. In this volume the Athanasian Creed with its Commentary immediately follows the usual Old Testament Canticles, which are also accompanied by notes or comments. Neither the Canticles nor Creed have any titles. The documents which precede the Canticles are described by the list of contents written on the modern flyleaf as 'Augustini prologus in Psalmos,' and 'Petrus Cantor Parisiensis in Psalmos.' By a memorandum on the old vellum flyleaf it appears that the book was the gift of William Gray, Bishop of Ely from 1454 to 1478, who was a considerable benefactor to Balliol College. Before his appointment to the bishopric he was the King's Procurator at Rome.

St. John's College, Oxford, No. 101, erroneously printed 31 in Waterland's *Critical History of the Athanasian Creed*, Oxford edition, 1870, p. 50. The MS. is assigned by the Catalogue, which was drawn up by the late Mr. Coxe, to the thirteenth century. The two documents preceding the Athanasian Creed with its gloss or comment are, according to this Catalogue, 'S. Marci evangelium cum glossa instructum,' and 'S. Lucae evangelium quoad capita XIII. priora cum glossa instructum': it is followed by 'Symbolum SS. Apostolorum cum glossa,' 'Expositio in Orationem Dominicam,'

some sermons of St. Augustine, and other documents, the last being 'S. Iohannis evangelium cum glossis. Deficit in cap. VII. verbis *tempus meum nondum impletum est.*' The Athanasian Creed with its gloss or comment commences on folio 127; and that, as well as the Apostles' Creed and Lord's Prayer, with their comments, is written in a different hand from the rest of the volume, and in three columns, the text in the centre, the gloss or notes at the sides, but occasionally inserted between the lines of the text. The *Quicunque* and its comment are introduced without any title, being probably copied from a Psalter. The latter is clearly identical with that which occurs in the MSS. just mentioned, and which was edited by Montfaucon and Pinius.

I am informed by my friend the Rev. A. E. Burn that there is another manuscript copy of our Commentary in the Cathedral Library at York. It has for its press-mark xvi. 7. 4; and is assigned to the beginning of the thirteenth century. This must be the MS. which was seen by Waterland, described by him as a copy of Bruno.

And there is yet another copy, as the same friend informs me, in the Cathedral Library at Durham. This is stated to be of the twefth century.

The Commentary at present under our notice has been hitherto confounded with that which appears in the Psalter drawn up by Bruno, Bishop of Wurzburg. But although the two documents have a general resemblance which proves a mutual connexion, there are numerous and notable diversities between them, by which they may be clearly discriminated. The following difference may be especially mentioned: three passages, clearly drawn from the Commentary of Fortunatus so called, which are found in Bruno, are conspicuous by their absence from our document,

viz. in the note on the first verse, 'Dicitur igitur fides credulitas sive credentia. Catholica universalis dicitur, id est, recta, quam universa Ecclesia tenere debet. Ecclesia vera congregatio Christianorum sive conventus populorum dicitur'; in the note on the thirteenth verse, 'Ergo si omnia potest, quid est quod non potest? Hoc non potest, quod non convenit omnipotenti posse. Falli non potest, quia veritas et sapientia est. Aegrotare aut infirmari non potest, quia sanitas est. Mori non potest, quia immortalis est. Finiri non potest, quia infinitus et perennis est'; and in the note on the seventeenth verse, 'Quia si me interrogaveris quid est Pater, ego respondeo Deus et Dominus; similiter si interrogaveris, quid est Filius, ego dico Deus et Dominus; et si dicis quid est Spiritus Sanctus, ego respondeo Deus et Dominus; et tamen in his tribus personis non tres Deos nec tres Dominos, sed in tribus, sicut iam supra dictum est, unum Deum et Dominum confiteor.' Instead of the last we have, 'De Patre si quis te interrogaverit, responde Deus et Dominus; si autem de Filio, similiter Deus et Dominus; si vero de Spiritu Sancto, indubitanter responde plenum Deum et Dominum esse.' Another important difference between the two documents is the presence in the one under our consideration of a remarkable note defining the meanings severally of *substantia*, *subsistentia*, and *essentia*: this is wanting in Bruno. There are many other variations, some significant, such as could scarcely be considered mere clerical errors.

But notwithstanding these diversities the substantial agreement observable throughout the greater part of the two Commentaries leaves no room to doubt that one must have been drawn from the other. Was this Commentary the source from which Bruno derived his materials, the basis on which he built? Or was the reverse the case?

The British Museum MS. Addit. 18043, which was necessarily unknown to Waterland, being a recent acquisition of our National Library imported from France, and was unnoticed in connexion with the present subject until I drew attention to it a few years ago[1], gives an answer of no uncertain kind to this question. It is a MS. of the tenth century. This is the date assigned to it by the Catalogue; and, as there is every reason to believe, correctly assigned. Sir E. M. Thompson the present Librarian, formerly the Keeper of the MSS., than whom we have no better judge of the date of handwriting in ancient documents, expressed to me a confident opinion to that effect. The MS. being written in the tenth century, it is obvious that the Commentary which it contains must have existed prior, and indeed long prior, to Bruno's Psalter, which was a work of the eleventh century, compiled between the years 1034 and 1045. And the work existing before his time, it is a mere truism to assert that he could not have been the author of it. He simply introduced it in substance into his Psalter, inserting the three passages above cited from the Fortunatus Commentary, omitting the note of definitions which I referred to, and making several alterations of the text. What he did in this instance is in exact accordance with the system which he followed in the construction of the other Commentaries contained in his Psalter. He was not an original writer, but a compiler and manipulator of earlier materials. His Commentaries on the Psalms and the Canticles are compilations of notes gathered from the Fathers; and those on the Lord's Prayer and Apostles' Creed, in the form of question and answer, are borrowed word for word from the eleventh and twelfth chapters of a work entitled *Disputatio Puerorum*, which is placed

[1] *Early History of the Athanasian Creed*, p. 67.

by Frobenius among the doubtful works of Alcuin. Its genuineness is very uncertain; but, whoever was the author of the work, it must have been composed long before the time of Bishop Bruno, being found in a MS. of the ninth century[1].

Another reason for believing that our Commentary was composed considerably before the time of Bruno is, that it was evidently the source, as we shall soon see, from which another Commentary, not compiled later than the tenth century, was partly drawn.

What was the date of the composition of our document, and who was its author? Have we any clue to guide us to any positive conclusions on these points? The mere fact of its being found in a MS. of the tenth century proves that to be the latest period at which it could possibly have been written. The other fact I have mentioned, viz. that it is in part the source of another Commentary which cannot be placed later than that period, clearly forces us to the conclusion that it was itself the work of the ninth century at the latest, probably of the early part of that century. And it bears some internal evidence confirmatory of the conclusion thus arrived at. In its note on the twenty-sixth verse of the Creed it makes use of the following language: 'Necesse est ut incarnationem Domini nostri Iesu Christi fideliter credamus. Quomodo *fideliter? Non adoptivum sed proprium Dei filium*, sicut dixit Apostolus: Proprio Filio suo non pepercit Deus, sed pro nobis omnibus tradidit illum.' This is strictly the terminology prevalent during the Adoptionist controversy which raged with the greatest intensity at the close of the eighth century, but did not entirely cease till about 820 A.D. Thus Paulinus, Bishop of Aquileia, who was one of the

[1] Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, tom. ci. pp. 1097, 1098, 1136, and 1143.

leading opponents of the Adoptionist heresy, in his first book against Felix of Urgel, says: 'Pater . . . non pepercit, sed pro nobis omnibus tradidit illum; quem Apostolus *proprium non adoptivum filium* confitetur.' Then he goes on to quote, as the Commentary does, the passage from the Epistle to the Romans. And he uses similar language in the second book of the same work[1]. The occurrence in the Commentary of a terminology thus distinctively characteristic of the Adoptionist controversy points clearly to the belief that it emerged some time during the prevalence of that controversy. And this seems to be confirmed by the very emphatic manner in which it insists upon the Divinity of the Holy Ghost in one of the passages, which discriminate it from Bruno's Commentary: 'De Patre si quis te interrogaverit quid est in persona, responde Deus et Dominus; si autem de Filio, similiter Deus et Dominus: si vero de Spiritu Sancto, *indubitanter* responde *plenum* Deum et Dominum eum esse.' Alcuin, in his work *de Fide Trinitatis*[2], written at the commencement of the ninth century and dedicated to Charlemagne, employs the very same epithet in reference to the Holy Spirit: 'Spiritus Sanctus, sicut Pater et Filius, *plenus* est Deus et perfectus.' And he goes on to dwell with some stress upon the *plenitudo* of the unity of the Spirit with the Father and the Son, being obviously induced thus to emphasize the point, on account of its connexion with the doctrine of the Procession of the third Person which was, simultaneously with the heresy of Adoptionism, a prominent subject of discussion at the time. There are several other notable similarities, indeed coincidences, of expression between this treatise and

[1] S. Paulini *contra Felicem Urgellitanum* lib. i. cap. 53; also lib. ii. cap. 12. Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, tom. xcix. pp. 410, 432.

[2] Lib. ii. cap. xix. Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, tom. ci. p. 35.

our Commentary, which I abstain from stating at length, and which tend to show that the two documents, if not the productions of the same author, were at any rate the productions of the same epoch. This verbal resemblance would dispose us to think that both proceeded from the same hand, had Alcuin ever been credited with the composition of a Commentary on the Athanasian Creed. But he has not, so far as I am aware. On the other hand, there is ancient authority for ascribing such a work to another leading theologian of the same age, a contemporary of Alcuin, who survived him nearly twenty years, and must have been well acquainted with his treatise upon the Faith of the Trinity, and probably heard it read at the Council of Aix, held in the year 802, which he attended as one of the bishops of Charlemagne's dominions, and may have borrowed from it the terms and phrases which the Commentary shares with it in common, who moreover took an active part in the controversies of the epoch, and, what is especially to our purpose, issued a Capitulare requiring the presbyters of his diocese to learn by heart, and acquire an intelligent knowledge of, the Athanasian as well as the Apostles' Creed [1]. This is Theodulf, Abbot of Fleury and Bishop of Orleans, who in a Catalogue of Abbots of Fleury, described by Baluze as being *ex veteri codice MS. bibliothecae Colbertinae*, is stated to have produced an Exposition of the Creed of Athanasius [2]. Our Commentary has never

[1] See Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, tom. cv. p. 209: 'Vos, O sacerdotes Domini, admonemus, ut Fidem Catholicam et memoriter teneatis et corde intelligatis, hoc est, *Credo, et Quicunque vult salvus esse ante omnia opus est ut teneat Catholicam Fidem.*'

[2] 'Quartus decimus Abbas Theodulfus annos XIX et dimidium, qui a gloriosissimo Imperatore Karolo ex Hesperia propter eruditionis scientiam qua pollebat in Gallias inductus Floriacensibus Abbas et Aurelianensibus datus est Pontifex. Hic itaque, cum, ut diximus, eruditione praecipuus doctrinaque haberetur, explanationem edidit Symboli Athanasii.' *Catalogus Abbatum*

yet been identified with this work, indeed, as I have already said, has been hitherto confounded with the Commentary of Bruno, but considering that it certainly was in existence some time before, and may very probably be assigned to the early part of the ninth century, I venture to think that it may also with great probability be regarded as none other than the exposition drawn up by Theodulf.

The few MSS. of this Commentary which I have mentioned as having fallen under my own notice must not be supposed to form an exhaustive list. Doubtless there are many more extant. It appears to have been of all the Expositions of the Athanasian Creed the most widely circulated and the most generally used in the Middle Ages, and it became the basis of other Commentaries. As I shall have several occasions for referring to it, I propose to describe it for convenience sake as the Stavelot Commentary, from the former home of the earliest known MS. in which it is preserved.

7. Since I wrote the above my attention has been drawn to a Commentary which has been edited for the first time from MS. No. 94 in the Library of Orléans by Monsieur Cuissard, the Sub-Librarian of that city. Together with an Exposition of the Canon of the Mass from the same MS., it is subjoined to a notice by the editor of the Life and writings of Theodulf, and a photograph facsimile of the first page of the codex containing the Commentary is prefixed to the volume as a frontispiece[1]. The Rev. A. E. Burn, to whom I am indebted for my acquaintance

Floriacensium, printed in Baluzzii *Miscellaneorum* liber primus, p. 491. Paris, 1678. Theodulf is the last of the abbots in the list.

[1] *Théodulfe, Évêque d'Orléans, sa vie et ses œuvres*, par Ch. Cuissard, Sous-Bibliothécaire de la ville d'Orléans. Orléans, 1892.

with this Exposition, has also kindly informed me that Monsieur Cuissard has the authority of Mons. Delisle, the Director of the National Library at Paris, for assigning the MS. to the ninth century, and that Mr. Scott of the British Museum, judging from the facsimile in Mons. Cuissard's book, places the date in the tenth century. The title of the document is 'Explanatio fidei catholicae,' but there is no mention of the name of the author or compiler. M. Cuissard has no hesitation in identifying this with the Commentary of Theodulf mentioned in the ancient Catalogue of Abbots of Fleury before referred to, which was edited by Baluze; and in so doing he follows the authors of the *Histoire littéraire de la France*[1]. Apparently he considers the fact of its being found is a MS. which belonged originally to the Abbey of Fleury-on-the-Loire, of which Theodulf was Abbot, a sufficient proof that it was his work[2]. But this clearly cannot be maintained, as it is quite within the bounds of possibility that a Commentary by some other author of the ninth century should have found its way at some time to the library at Fleury. The external evidence for Theodulf's authorship being thus slender, it is natural to turn to the document itself and inquire what support it derives from thence. The Commentary is very brief, ten verses of the Creed having no gloss or note at all, and many of the notes not extending beyond a few words. This, however, proves nothing. What is

[1] See u. s., pp. 73, 74.

[2] At the capture and plunder of Orléans by the Huguenots in 1562 most of the Fleury MSS. fell into the possession of one Daniel, a lawyer of the place; and these treasures eventually reached the Vatican by different routes, some as part of Queen Christina's collection, others as part of the collection of the Prince Palatine. An account of the vicissitudes through which they passed may be seen in Mabillon, *de Liturgia Gallicana*, Praefatio, xii. Some however appear to have been left at Orléans, among them the one which interests us.

more to the point, is that it is a rude and unpolished composition, apparently not the work of a learned and cultured man, such as Theodulf was by reputation, and as for the age in which he lived he would seem to have been from the few works of his at present extant. The terminology also is somewhat different from that used by Theodulf. The Commentary has 'Filius *percepit—accepit—apprehendit* humanitatem.' In the same connexion in the seventh chapter of his treatise *de Ordine Baptismi*, which is in fact an exposition of the Apostles' Creed, Theodulf employs the more usual words *suscipere* and *assumere*. The Commentary has 'Catholica Graecus sermo est *in nostra locutione* universalis,' and again 'Christus *in nostra locutione* unctus.' Theodulf in a similar connexion has *Latine*. What is more notable still, in reference to the Sonship of our Lord the Commentary describes Him as *proprius* Filius simply. In a work by Theodulf, considering the active part which he took in the Adoptionist controversy, we should have expected to find the more distinctive phraseology which the heresy prevalent in his time elicited and by which it was repudiated, such as *Filius proprius*, *non adoptivus*, or the like. And so in fact in his Exposition of the Creed just quoted he speaks of our Lord as 'verum Dei Filium, *non* factum aut *adoptivum*.' Considering all this, I cannot help thinking it very doubtful whether this document was the genuine work of Theodulf; it seems to me that the Stavelot Commentary may be with greater probability ascribed to him, especially as the latter contains the critical terminology condemnatory of Adoptionism, which in the former is conspicuous by its absence.

But whoever was the compiler of this Commentary, whether it was Theodulf or not, its discovery is of impor-

tance and interest in relation to the history of the Athanasian Creed, because it is evidently drawn from not fewer than four of the earlier Commentaries, which we have already noticed, viz. the Fortunatus so-called, the Troyes, the Paris, and the Stavelot. This connexion is proved by the verbal coincidence and resemblance which it bears to all of them, and which is traceable in several instances. And this fact necessarily confirms our belief in the antiquity of these four Expositions. For our document must have been compiled in the ninth century at the latest, considering the date of the MS., which, as I have already said, M. Delisle, no mean authority, has examined and assigned to that century. Besides, it is clear from some palpable and gross errors, which this Orléans copy contains, such as are obviously attributable to the carelessness or ignorance of a copyist, that it was not the autograph of the author or compiler: so that a certain period must have elapsed, though possibly a very brief one, between the composition of the Commentary and the writing of this copy of it. Possibly too it may not have been transcribed from the autograph; and the errors may be due to more than one copyist.

The Oratorian Commentary was, I believe, also a source from which this Commentary was drawn, but not so obviously as the four Commentaries above mentioned, the connexion being traceable in two instances only, though distinctly traceable, whereas in the other four it appears more frequently. The same two passages of the Oratorian Commentary which are thus connected with our document are found also in the Bouhier, being no doubt transferred to the latter from the former. The compiler of our Commentary may have drawn them from either, but probably he drew from the former. In either case he must

have been acquainted with five out of the six Commentaries already noticed, and gathered his materials from them.

In order to show the nature and construction of the Commentary, and how the text has been corrupted by the errors of the copyist or copyists, I subjoin three of the notes, together with their respective sources.

(*a*) *Note upon 'neque substantiam separantes,' ver.* 4.

'Arius... credebat Patrem maiorem quam Filium et Filium minorem quam Patrem et Spiritum Sanctum minissimum (*sic*). Dicebat Patrem quasi aurum, Filium quasi argentum, Spiritum Sanctum quasi aeramentum.'

Troyes Commentary.

'Arrius . . . Filium Dei minorem esse dixit Patri . . . Spiritum autem Sanctum . . . plusquam minorem quam Filium et Patris et Filii ministrum asserunt (*sic*) . . . quasi quosdam gradus impietatis suae in Deum, qui unus est, arbitratus; Patrem scilicet ut aurum, Filium vero quasi argentum, Spiritum autem Sanctum eramentum (*sic*).'

The former of these two passages is clearly drawn with some abbreviation from the latter. The barbarism *minissimum* is one of the copyist's errors, to which I referred as occurring in the Orléans MS. It must have been based on the word *ministrum* of the Troyes Exposition. It could not have been from the hand of the compiler. *Patri* in the Troyes extract can scarcely be regarded as a wrong reading, *e* and *i* being so frequently interchanged; but *asserunt* I should conjecture to be a copyist's error for *asseruit*. The illustration of the Arian hypothesis respecting the Trinity from the three substances of gold, silver and brass, seems to have been derived by the Troyes commentator directly from St. Augustine. See note on the passage in Appendix F.

(*b*) *Note on 'Descendit ad inferos,' ver.* 36.

'Propter hoc ibidem descendit, ut patriarchas et prophetas qui ibidem iniuste detinebantur propter illa orientalia (*sic*) delicta, ut eos liberaret a

The Commentary attributed to Venantius Fortunatus.

'Ut protoplastum Adam et patriarchas et prophetas et omnes iustos, qui pro originali peccato ibidem detinebantur, liberaret. . . . Reliqui, qui

potestate diaboli. Memor sit illius verbi prophetae: *O mors, ero mors tua, morsus tuus ero, inferne.* Partem abstulit, partem reliquit, et postquam pugnavit cum diabolo et pergit illud bellum et exspoliavit infernum.'

supra originale peccato principalia crimina commiserunt, ut adserit Scriptura, in poenali Tartaro remanserunt: sicut in persona Christi dictum est per prophetam: *Ero mors tua, O mors,* id est, morte sua Christus humani generis inimicam mortem interfecit et vitam dedit. *Ero morsus tuus, inferne.* Partem morsit infernum pro parte eorum, quos liberavit: partem reliquit pro parte eorum qui pro principalibus criminibus in tormentis remanserunt.'

Here it may be observed that the note has been formed mainly by the same process of selection and abbreviation as in the former case. The words *propter illa orientalia delicta* are very remarkable: *orientalia* being evidently a copyist's erratum for *originalia*. The compiler probably substituted *propter originalia delicta* or *peccata* for *pro originali peccato*, which appears in the Fortunatus extract. It cannot be supposed that he wrote *orientalia*. The quotation from Hosea xiii. 14 is evidently taken immediately from that passage, and so also are the words which follow—*Partem abstulit, partem reliquit—morsit* being changed into *abstulit* by the compiler, as contrasting more strongly with *reliquit*. These words, which are obscure as they stand in the note, are explained by reference to Fortunatus. And so much of the note as finds no correspondence in the Fortunatus extract may be traced with more or less distinctness to other sources. The word *iniuste*, it may be noticed, has been inserted before *detinebantur*. Considering that the compiler certainly had before him the Troyes Commentary, I cannot help feeling a strong suspicion that this was suggested to his mind by the statement which it contains that the Son of God took upon Him the nature of man for this end, 'ut diabolum

. . . vinceret et prostraret, . . . quatinus et diabolus per iustitiam victus cederet, et, quos *iniuste retinebat*, amitteret.' The reference appears to be to our Lord's descent into hell, as well as His death and burial. And if this was the case, the same passage probably also suggested the allusion towards the close of the note—*pugnavit cum diabolo et pergit*—possibly written originally *peregit—illud bellum*. The final words are clearly either from the Oratorian Commentary or the Bouhier, probably from the former, which borrowed the expression directly from the translation by Dionysius Exiguus of the Synodical Epistle of St. Cyril of Alexandria.

(*c*) *Note on the last verse.*

'*Haec est fides catholica* quam universalis ecclesia cum electis suis corde credit, ore profitetur, et bonis actibus exsequitur. De qua fide, quicunque et ii, qui christiano nomine censentur, quicquam detraxerit aut credere noluerit, procul dubio christianus non erit, sed, intra ecclesiam positus sub nomine christianitatis recte catholicus, ut haereticus reputabitur.'

Troyes Commentary.

'*Haec est fides catholica*, quam universalis ecclesia in electis suis corde credit, ore profitetur, et bonis operibus exequitur. De qua fide quicunque ex his, qui christiano nomine censentur, quicquam detraxerit aut credere noluerit, proculdubio catholicus non erit, sed intra ecclesiam positus sub nomine christianitatis recte catholicus, ut hereticus deputabitur.'

It is plain that this note was drawn entirely from the corresponding passage in the Troyes Commentary. The second sentence has been rendered unintelligible by the substitution of *et ii* for *ex his*—a mistake which a copyist would be very likely to make—and also from the change of *catholicus* after *proculdubio* into *christianus*. Whoever made this change—whether the compiler or a copyist—he seems to have been led into making it by the words *recte catholicus* occurring after *christianitatis*. They are evidently pleonastic, and in all probability formed no part of the original text of the Troyes Commentary. Such an insertion might have been easily made, the manuscript copy

of it at Troyes—the only one I believe known of—being certainly a transcript from an earlier codex.

8. For my knowledge of the next Commentary calling for notice, as being probably the next in date, I am indebted principally to a MS. of the Canonici collection in the Bodleian Library, written, as Mr. Macray and Mr. Madan assure me, in Italy in the thirteenth century—Canonici, Bibl. 30. The volume contains a Psalter with a gloss or comment annexed, written in three columns, the text in the centre, the notes or comment in the marginal columns, and occasionally inserted between the lines of the text. The Psalms are followed by the Old Testament Canticles and the Athanasian Creed, all having likewise a gloss or comment attached, and written in the same manner as the preceding part of the book. The apocryphal 151st Psalm is omitted. The *Quicunque* is followed by the Benedicite and some hymns; but these have no notes and are in a different hand. The Athanasian Creed is entitled 'Fides catholica Athanasii episcopi.' The Commentary upon it or notes is entirely drawn from the Stavelot and Oratorian Commentaries. There is not a single note, I believe, which may not be traced to one or other of these sources. Sometimes, but rarely, a note is partly from the one and partly from the other; and sometimes the original is condensed or abbreviated. The initial words are: 'Hec ratio fidei catholice traditur etiam in veteribus codicibus a beato Athanasio Alexandrino conscripta, et puto quod idcirco tam plano et brevi sermone,' &c. This must be discriminated from the commencement of the Bouhier Commentary, which bears an obvious resemblance to it: 'Traditur quod a beatissimo Athanasio Alexandrine ecclesie antistite istud fidei opusculum sit editum,' &c. The resemblance is owing to the initial notes in both cases

being drawn from the latter part of the preface to the Oratorian Commentary.

Another copy of this Commentary is to be found in the Bodleian MS. Laud, Misc. 40. The book belonged originally to the Benedictine monastery or cathedral at Rochester, as we learn by a memorandum on f. 1, verso: 'Liber de claustro Roffensi per Leonardum monachum.' It contains a large miscellaneous collection of documents, and is apparently divisible into three parts, written by different hands and at different periods. The Athanasian Creed with its comment but without any title, arranged as in the previous case in three columns, occurs in the second part, which, as Mr. Macray tells me, may be assigned to the latter portion of the twelfth century. It commences on f. 107, preceded by a variety of hymns and followed by the Apostles' Creed and Lord's Prayer, both of which have a comment annexed.

A third copy is deposited in the British Museum—Addit. MSS. 10924. The book is a Psalter 'cum glosa ordinaria et interlineari,' written like Canonici 30 in three columns, the text occupying the centre column, and is dated by the Catalogue about the year A. D. 1200—written therefore in the twelfth or thirteenth century. It belonged originally to St. Peter's, Erfurt, as we learn from a rubric at the commencement, 'Psalterium glosatum sancti Petri in Erfordia'—a proof of the wide circulation of this composite Commentary, the first copy that we noticed being Italian, the second English, and now we find a third, which was used in central Germany. Here, as in the Canonici MS., the Athanasian Creed with its comment immediately follows the Old Testament Canticles, the New Testament Canticles being omitted; and it is headed by the title 'Athanasius' simply, of which I do not recollect to have met with another

instance. The volume closes with the *Quicunque*. It is a handsome and decorated codex, but the Commentary contains several omissions and inaccuracies, the results evidently of carelessness on the part of the copyist.

A fourth copy is in a Psalm 'cum glossa,' i. e. with notes or comment, which formerly belonged to the Cathedral at Metz, and is now deposited in the Public Library of that city, numbered 14, and ascribed to the tenth century in the printed Catalogue[1]. The Athanasian Creed, entitled 'Fides Catholica,' occurs with its comment among the Canticles, and is followed by the Nunc Dimittis, Apostles' Creed, Te Deum, and Gloria in excelsis.

A fifth is in a Psalter at Brussels of the twelfth century, numbered 9191 in the Catalogue. I have not seen this nor the Metz Psalter myself, but I have been informed by a friend who has inspected them, the Rev. Dr. Gibson, Vicar of Leeds, that in both the gloss on the *Quicunque* commences with the initial words of the Commentary at present under our notice—a sufficient evidence of its identity.

In Swainson's work, *The Nicene and Apostles' Creeds*, there is mention[2] of a Psalter in the Library at Turin —No. 66—of the thirteenth century containing 'Declaratio Fidei Catholicae' with a gloss. In this case too the Commentary is identified by the initial words.

For the same reason I have no doubt that the three copies of a Commentary which are referred to by Waterland on the authority of Tentzelius[3] as severally preserved in the libraries at Gotha, Basle, and Leipsic, were also copies

[1] *Catalogue des manuscrits des Bibliothèques Publiques*, vol. v. p. 7.

[2] Page 459.

[3] Waterland, *Critical History of the Athanasian Creed*, chap. iii. p. 54. Oxford edition, 1870.

of this Exposition. The Leipsic MS. was described by Tentzel's informant, Joachim Fellen, as belonging to the twelfth century, not later, and written in three columns, like the Bodleian MSS. just mentioned. The title applied by it to the *Quicunque* was 'Fides Anastasii papae.'

The fact of this Commentary being found in a MS. of the tenth century is obviously sufficient proof that it was extant at that epoch and could not have been compiled later.

9. In the Ambrosian Library at Milan my attention was drawn by Dr. Ceriani, the Librarian, with his usual kindness, to a MS. having the press-mark T. 103, which he told me was written at Milan in the tenth century. The first document in this book is an Exposition of the Athanasian Creed, entitled 'Tractatus Catholicae Fidei,' in the form of question and answer, which to my great regret I had not time to examine thoroughly, nor to copy completely. I was able, however, to copy the following passages. First, part of the preface, which is remarkable :—

'INT. Quid est fides? R. Fides est credulitas illarum rerum, quae non videntur, ut illud Apostoli: *Fides est sperandarum* et cet. INT. Quae sunt illae res, quae non videntur? R. Non videtur Pater, non videtur Filius, non videtur Spiritus Sanctus, tamen creduntur. . . . INT. Quis composuit hanc fidem? R. Beatus Athanasius Alexandriae urbis episcopus. INT. Ubi composuit? R. In Niceno concilio urbis Bithiniae. INT. Quando composuit? R. Composuit quando conflictum habuit cum Arrio.'

Also,—

'Deus dicitur a dilectione, quia diligit omnia que creavit et ipse diligitur a sanctis suis: dicitur a timore, quia timetur ab omnibus, adoratur a cunctis. Adoratur quidem a bonis angelis, timetur a malis. Et Deus dicitur a divinitate, quia divinus est et omnia cognoscit, antequam fiunt. Ergo Deus Pater dicitur, quia diligit omnia quae creavit, et quia timetur ab omnibus, adoratur a cunctis, et quia cognoscit omnia antequam fiant.'

Also on the verse commencing 'Unus autem,' where by the way we find the readings *carnem* and *deum* :—

'Quia non est conversa divinitas in carne, sed humanitas assumpta est in

divinitatem. Ista, id est, humanitas est augmentata; illud, id est, divinitas non est minorata. Ista cepit esse quod non erat; illa non desiit esse quod erat.'

Also on the word 'passus':—

'INT. Et fuit semper Patre (*sic*) cum Filio? R. Semper. INT. Et, si semper fuit Pater cum Filio, ergo, quando passus est Filius, passus est Pater? R. Non. INT. Quare non? R. Quia divinitas impassibilis est. INT. Et deseruit aliquando divinitas humanitatem? R. Non: semper enim fuit divinitas cum humanitate, et eam non deseruit etiam nec in ipsa cruce. INT. Ergo patiebatur divinitas? R. Non: humanitas patiebatur, divinitas non; sicut diximus, impassibilis erat. Verbi gratia, elevat homo manum ut percutiat arborem aut lignum cum securi. Verberatus radius solis, sed non patitur. Sic et divinitas impassibilis erat.'

This illustration appears also in Alcuin, *de fide Trinitatis*, lib. iii. cap. xvi.

And on 'Descendit ad inferna':—

'INT. Quomodo descendit ad inferna? R. In anima sola. INT. Et quare descendit? R. Ut eos qui detinebantur ab inferno eriperet.'

The document ends abruptly with the words 'ab inferno eriperet,' which are at the bottom of a page, so that it is imperfect. On the next page is an Exposition of the Lord's Prayer, but the commencement is wanting. Clearly the leaf which originally contained the end of the Exposition of the Athanasian Creed and the commencement of that of the Lord's Prayer is missing. The Exposition of the Lord's Prayer is followed by 'Traditio simboli,' an exposition no doubt of the Apostles' Creed on occasion of that ceremony; and that by an 'Expositio misse canonice.' The book also contains, according to the list of contents written on the flyleaf, 'Manuale Ambrosianum sive Antiphonas.' This it is interesting to notice as connecting the book with Milan and the Ambrosian rite. It is very observable that the preface states that the Creed was composed by St. Athanasius at the Nicene Council, which is an advance upon the tradition as it appears in the preface to the Oratorian Commentary.

The Bodleian MS. Laud, Codd. Latini, 105, contains a Commentary on the Athanasian Creed, which I believe to be identical in substance at least with this Milan Commentary. It is also in the form of question and answer, and is introduced without any title immediately after a similar interrogative Exposition of the Apostles' Creed. A vacant space was left for the rubricated title; but it was never filled up—an omission occasionally noticeable in MSS. These two Commentaries follow immediately after, and are written in the same hand, as a series of Sermons in three books by Bishop Maurice. In addition to these documents, which are first in order, the volume comprises several others which it is unnecessary to specify, written in a variety of hands. The Catalogue assigns a double date to it, the thirteenth century and the twelfth—indicating no doubt that part belongs to the one epoch and part to the other. My belief in the substantial identity of the Commentary on the *Quicunque* in the Milan MS. with that in the Laud MS. is based upon the amount of coincidence which certainly exists between them. All the passages which I copied from the former, and which I have here reproduced with the exception of those from the prologue, which strictly does not belong to the body of the Exposition, are found also in the latter; and it is most unlikely that the coincidence is limited to these passages. Rather the presumption is unavoidable, that, if the two documents were placed before us in their entirety, we should find a similar coincidence pervading them throughout, although possibly there might be variation in some particulars. And this conviction will be strengthened when we meet with a third codex, to be noticed by-and-by, which contains all the passages cited from the Commentary in the Milan MS. including the prologue, and the

whole of that in the Laud MS. We may safely conclude that in the two MSS. we have but different copies of the same Commentary—a Commentary distinct from any hitherto noticed. There appears to be another copy of it in the Vienna Imperial Library, judging from some extracts printed by Dr. Swainson in his book on the Creeds[1]; but I have not been able to identify it in Denis' Catalogue by the number which he assigns to it, 701. Either he has made a mistake or has followed a different mode of numbering.

One or two things remain to be said about the Laud MS. It is a German MS., having belonged originally, in common with several other MSS. of the Laud collection in the Bodleian Library, to St. Mary's Church or Monastery at Eberbach or Ebberbach in Baden. This is notified by a memorandum on one of the blank leaves, 'Liber sancte Marie Virginis in Ebberbach.' In Mr. Coxe's Catalogue the Sermons which precede the two Commentaries on the Creeds are described as 'Mauricii de Soliaco episcopi Parisiensis Sermones'; and if this is correct, the portion of the MS. containing them could scarcely have been written before the thirteenth century, Mauricius de Soliaco having been Bishop of Paris from 1164 to 1196. But the description does not appear to be borne out by the MS., the rubric heading the first sermon being 'Sermo Mauricii episcopi in synodo,' and there is a similar rubric to another sermon. Besides, according to Oudin[2] the sermons of Mauricius de Soliaco are preserved in the Bodleian MS., Digby, 149. and the sermons in that codex are entitled 'Sermones Mauricii episcopi Parisiensis,' &c., and they appear to be different from those in our Laud MS.

[1] Page 454, note.

[2] *Commentarius de scriptoribus ecclesiasticis*, tom. ii. p. 1581. Lipsiae, 1722.

It would seem then that the latter must have been the work of some other Bishop Maurice; and the name was not uncommon. The point, however, is of little or no importance in reference to our subject, as it would not follow from the mere fact of the Commentaries on the Apostles' and Athanasian Creeds being subjoined to the sermons that they were by one and the same author.

10. A Commentary on the Athanasian Creed contained in the MS. 20 of the Boulogne Library—a glossed Psalter executed at the conclusion of the tenth century or very early in the eleventh—here demands notice.

The compiler of this Exposition appears to have used the Stavelot Commentary as the main element in its construction. He evidently follows it throughout, though very freely, frequently adopting its language, but without adhering to it invariably or accurately, omitting much entirely, and introducing also other matter, most of which is apparently original. And in this fact, considering that the manuscript is undoubtedly prior in date to Bruno, we clearly see an additional proof that the Stavelot Commentary existed before, and considerably before, his time; so that it cannot be regarded as identical with his Commentary, much less as founded upon it, the truth being that he used it as the groundwork and main source of his own Exposition.

And our document may be traced to other sources besides that just mentioned. In two instances notes are drawn from the so-called Fortunatus Commentary, one of them being of some length—the remarkable passage relating to the Holy Trinity in which the doctrine is illustrated by analogies observable in natural objects. Another note seems drawn partly from this source, partly from another Exposition. In one instance, if not more, the

Troyes Commentary is borrowed from—in the passage illustrating the Arian doctrine of the Trinity by comparison with the various metals of gold, silver, and brass. It cannot be supposed that these were the only cases where the compiler of our document made use of earlier materials; and no doubt others might be discovered by any one more learned than myself.

One of the plates in the publications of the Palaeographical Society is taken from this MS.[1], and the grounds for assigning the date are stated by the editors as follows: 'At the beginning of the volume are some Latin acrostics, from which it appears that the MS. was written for the Abbey of St. Bertin in St. Omer by the monk Heriveus, in the time of the Abbot Odbertus. The period of the Abbacy of Odbertus is from A. D. 989 to 1008; and in the chartulary of the monastery under the year 1005, mention is made of his having had manuscripts written for him.' It is obvious to remark that it does not follow from the fact of Heriveus being the writer of the manuscript that he was also the compiler of the Commentary on the *Quicunque* which it contains.

For my knowledge of this Commentary I am indebted to the kindness of the friend whose name I have already mentioned more than once in common with similar acts of kindness—the Rev. A. E. Burn, who lent me a copy of it.

11. The true nature of Bruno's Commentary has been already noticed. It is not an original work, but a recension of an earlier Commentary, edited by Bruno as part of his glossed or annotated Psalter, some time between the year 1034 when he became Bishop of Würzburg, and 1045 the year of his death. The distinctive differences by which

[1] Vol. iii. plate 97.

it may be discriminated from the Stavelot Commentary, on which it was based, were also specified [1]. The Psalter was dedicated by its compiler to Kilian, the Irish Apostle and Patron Saint of Würzburg, who was martyred in 689, in the following verses :—

'Sit collega tuae sortis, Pater O Kiliane,
Antistes dono qui te veneratur in isto.'

The Bodleian Library at Oxford possesses two early copies of it, both of the eleventh century, and both well written and richly decorated books in good condition—Rawlinson B. N. 163, and Laud Lat. 96. They are in fact duplicate volumes. Not only are the original contents of both the same, but in other respects—dimensions, character and style of handwriting and decoration, and arrangement—they present a most remarkable and close resemblance, which conveys the impression that they are works of the same epoch and scriptorium, and not improbably executed by the same scribe and the same artist. Both are written in two columns, one containing the text, the other—written in a smaller hand—the comment or gloss, and the columns are of similar dimensions in the two volumes, that in which the text is written comprising invariably I believe twenty-three lines ; the ruling also of the leaves corresponds in both. They must both have been of the same size originally, but at present the Rawlinson MS. is a trifle the smaller of the two, owing evidently to the leaves having been cut away by the modern binder, whereas those of the Laud MS. are untouched. On the verso side of each leaf in the Rawlinson MS. the word *Bruno* is written in capitals at the top, and on the recto *epȳs* ; but this is wanting in the other volume. These two

[1] Section 7 of this chapter.

codices must have been written within fifty years at the utmost of Bruno's death, and may possibly have been copied, at least as regards the Psalter and Canticles, from his autograph, which was deposited at Würzburg; but neither of them can be the autograph itself, inasmuch as both comprise much matter which was not included in that book, and the dedication above cited, by which it was headed, is absent from both.

These two books supply some internal evidence with regard to the domiciles to which they originally belonged and where they were used. From the petitions at the end of the Litany, which follows the Canticles, it appears that they were each used in a monastery. Thus we have: 'Ut istam congregationem in sancta religione conservare digneris'; 'ut pontifices et abbates in tuo sancto servitio confortare digneris'; and 'Oremus pro omni gradu ecclesie —pro pastore nostro—pro rege nostro—pro abbate nostro.' And in the second of the prayers to be used after the recitation of the Psalms intercession is made 'pro salute regis et episcopi nostri et abbate nostro et pro universa congregatione nostra sive pro omnibus qui locum istum honoraverunt elemosinis.' There is some indication of the locality of the monasteries where they were severally used. The prayers to be said after the recital of the Psalms are followed by another series of prayers addressed to the three Divine Persons, and several saints. These, like the Litany and the preceding prayers, are the same in both our MSS., with the exception of one remarkable variation which deserves to be noticed. After the prayer to the Apostles in the Rawlinson MS. is one to St. Quirynus containing the following words: 'Mente et corpore provolutus ante aram in tuo honore, domine, consecratam et tibi, sancte Quiryne, martyr Christi . . . tuum in hac hora levamen orationum

imploro . . . per eum qui solus est omnium delictorum remissor Ihesum Christum,' &c. In the Laud MS. this same prayer occurs in the same position; but instead of being addressed to Quirynus it is addressed to Kilianus. This variation is very striking and clearly points to the conclusion that the Rawlinson MS. must have been used in some monastery where the special cultus of St. Quirynus was observed, and it was observed at the Benedictine Abbey at Tegernsee in Bavaria after the translation of his remains to that place from Rome in the eighth century, whilst on the other hand the Laud MS. was in all probability a manual of devotion at Würzburg where the memory of St. Chilian was had in peculiar veneration and his relics were deposited in the tomb over which the cathedral had been built. This conclusion is confirmed by the fact that the latter volume is one of forty-six Latin MSS. which were 'e Collegio Herbipolensi[1] in Germania sumpti A. D. 1631, cum Suecorum regis exercitus per universam fere Germaniam grassarentur,' and which formed a portion of the first of the munificent gifts with which Archbishop Laud enriched the Bodleian Library[2].

Waterland enumerates ten MSS. of Bruno's Commentary, as he supposes[3]. Of these, No. 2, the Eadwine Psalter at Trinity College, Cambridge; No. 4, Bodleian Laud 17; No. 6, St. John's College, Oxford 101; No. 7, Balliol College, Oxford 32; and No. 9, the St. Germain's MS., now Bibliothèque Nationale Paris Lat. 12020, I have noticed above[4] as copies of the Stavelot Commentary. No. 8, the MS. in the Cathedral Library at York, I have reason to believe is

[1] The College of Würzburg.
[2] Macray's *Annals of the Bodleian Library*, p. 61.
[3] *Critical History of the Athanasian Creed*, pp. 49–51. Oxford, 1870.
[4] Section 6 of this chapter.

also a copy of that Commentary, and I have been informed by my friend the Rev. A. E. Burn that it is so. Waterland wonders at the great variations between the York, the Trinity College, and the St. Germain's MSS.—the others he had not seen himself—and the printed copies of Bruno. But clearly his perplexity was owing to his not perceiving that these MSS. all contain copies of another, though cognate, Commentary. The British Museum MS. Addit. 18043, which was necessarily unknown to him, would have solved his difficulty. There remain four other MSS. mentioned by the same scholar, as copies of Bruno. With respect to No. 10, now Harleian 2953, in the British Museum, which he states to have been copied from Bruno by order of Peutenger, he was certainly misinformed. It is a Psalter written at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and contains the Athanasian Creed in its usual place at the end of the Canticles, but without any gloss or comment. It is interesting for the marginal notes which occur in it of contemporary events, and particularly of the births and deaths of members of the Peutenger family at Augsburg, to whom it belonged. No. 5—Merton College, Oxford, 208—will be noticed by-and-by: the Commentary is drawn partly from the Stavelot Commentary, partly from the Oratorian, and partly from another source. No. 1—the autograph copy of Bruno—in the year 1533 was preserved in the library of the Church of Würzburg, as we learn from the preface of Cochlaeus to his edition; but according to the latest editor of Bruno—Denzinger, who was a Professor of the University of Würzburg—it was well-nigh destroyed, or at any rate so much injured as to be no longer of any use or value, during the Swedish war or in popular tumults in the sixteenth century[1]. No. 3 is our Laud MS. Thus

[1] *Prolegomena* to *S. Brunonis Opera.* Migne, *Patrol. Lat.* tom. cxlii. p. 28.

of the ten MSS. mentioned by Waterland, two only are really copies of Bruno, and of these one has long since perished, or nearly so. The Rawlinson MS. was necessarily unknown to him, having come to light since his time.

There have been several printed editions of Bruno's Psalter, including of course the Athanasian Creed, with his Commentary upon it. The first was printed by Jeorius Reyser, probably in 1480 or about that time. A copy of this book is preserved in the British Museum. It is in folio, printed in two columns, the text in one, the gloss or commentary in a much smaller type in the other; the titles and initial letters of Psalms and Canticles are rubricated. It is without title or colophon or date. The date assigned by the Catalogue, but doubtfully, is 1486: 1480 is the date assigned to the edition by Denzinger, and with more probability. On the flyleaf of the British Museum copy is the following memorandum by a former owner: 'This book is perfect, without title, beginning *corrigendi* and ending *poterit*. It is the first printed edition *typis Reyseri*. No date.' It is added that the book was in its original binding when purchased by the signatory, and he had had it rebound. This is signed 'E. Stanfield, June 22, 1821?' An editorial preface commencing 'Corrigendi emendandique' contains a notable passage with reference to Bishop Bruno: 'Thesaurisans posteris filiis suis memorabilem et sanctum psalmorum librum—ex quo ille impressus est—sumptuose scriptum, quasi hereditatis spiritualis non minimam portionem reliquit. Quod et apostolo nostro beatissimoque civitatis Herbipolensis primo episcopo Chiliano offerens eundem sanctum patronum nostrum versiculis exorat *Sit collega tuae sortis, pater O Kiliane, Antistes dono qui te veneratur in isto*.' This possesses special interest as informing us that Reyser's edition was printed from Bruno's

original copy then preserved at Würzburg. The Athanasian Creed in this book is entitled 'Fides Catholica sancti Athanasii episcopi.' The Commentary upon it I have examined, and it appears to me to contain all the peculiar passages and readings which distinguish Bruno's recension from the Stavelot Commentary. The Bodleian Library possesses three copies of this book, the press-marks being Laud Lat. 33, Auct. M. infra 16, and Auct. M. infra 15.

The second edition was printed by Antony Koberger at Nuremberg in 1494. Of this also there is a copy in the British Museum, and another in the Bodleian. It seems to be a reprint as regards the matter of Reyser's edition, including his preface. It is arranged in three columns, the text occupying the centre, the comment those on each side.

The third was also issued by Koberger at Nuremberg in 1497. There is a copy of this in the Bodleian.

Two editions were produced by Johannes Cochlaeus, the first in 1531 at Würzburg, the second in 1533 at Leipsic. This was reproduced in the *Bibliotheca Magna Patrum* at Cologne in 1618, tom. xi, and again in the *Bibliotheca Maxima Patrum* at Lyons in 1677, tom. xviii.

The latest edition, I believe, is that of Henry Denzinger, Professor of Theology in the University of Würzburg. This is printed in Migne's *Patrologia Latina*, tom. cxlii, and is therefore easily accessible.

12. In the Milan MS. M. 79, assigned to the eleventh century, which I have previously alluded to as containing a copy of the so-called Fortunatus Commentary, there are, immediately preceding it, two other Expositions of the Athanasian Creed. I regret that during my visits to the Ambrosian Library I was unable to examine these documents fully; but I copied a few passages from each. The

first follows immediately three Expositions of the Lord's Prayer, commencing on f. 33, and is introduced by the rubric, 'Expositio fidei catholice.' It is very short and simple, and therefore probably of early origin. Some opinion respecting it may be formed from the two following passages, the commencement '*Quicunque homo vult salvus esse ante omnia* id est super omnia: *opus est ut teneat* id est retineat vel intelligat: *catholicam* id est universalem: *fidem* id est credulitatem'; and the note on the words 'de propriis factis' as follows: 'et erimus tunc reddituri rationem de propriis factis nostris quicquid egimus in hoc saeculo, non solum de factis, sed etiam de pravis et immundis cogitationibus, si non fuerimus ex his per penitentiam et per opera bona exercenda abluti.' The second is much longer, and is introduced without any title, it being considered apparently that the title in the first case applied equally to this Exposition. It is preceded, as is frequently the case, with a prologue on Faith, commencing with the words, 'Fides est illarum rerum, que non videntur, credulitas, ut illud Apostoli; *Est fides sperandarum*,' &c. This very definition occurs, as we have before noticed [1], in the prologue to an interrogative Commentary which is found in another Milan MS.—T. 103. The prologue ends with the following account of the origin of the *Quicunque*: 'Manifestum est hanc fidem, que catholica dicitur, Spiritum Sanctum per hos (*sic*) beati Athanasii Alexandrini episcopi tempore Arrii heresiarchi edidisse, per quam non solum ipsius Arrii sed etiam cunctorum hereticorum perversum dogma destrui posset.' This may be compared with the account in the Oratorian prologue, as well as that just mentioned in Milan T. 103. The description of the Athanasian Creed—'fides que catholica dicitur'—is worthy of

[1] See above, sect. 8.

notice. The exposition strictly speaking begins: '*Quicumque* id est unusquisque: *vult* id est cupit: *salvus esse ante* id est super omnia: *opus est* id est necesse est: *ut teneat* id est manu mentis.' This gloss or note on *ut teneat* is remarkable, especially as it occurs also in an interrogative Commentary in Laud Lat. 105—'*ut teneat* non manu corporis, sed mentis'—a Commentary which I have already noticed [1] as substantially identical with that in Milan T. 103. Further, the doctrine of the Trinity is illustrated in our document by the analogous relations of 'sol, splendor et calor'—an illustration which is also found in the interrogative Commentary in those two MSS. and in a third to which I shall soon draw attention. Lastly, I copied a long passage referring to the categories, which for fear of prolixity I forbear to transcribe at length: suffice it to say that part of it appears to be based upon a passage in the Oratorian Commentary, which is drawn word for word from St. Augustine, while the rest has an evident relation to the fifteenth chapter of the first book of Alcuin, *de Trinitate*. Thus it would seem that the second of these Expositions must have been connected with the interrogative Commentary in the Milan and Laud MSS., the Oratorian Commentary, and Alcuin's Treatise on the Trinity.

13. The British Museum MS. Reg. 8. B. xiv. comprises with a variety of documents an interrogative Commentary on the Athanasian Creed, entitled 'Interrogaciones et responsiones de Fide Catholica super Symbolum beati Athanasii Alexandrinae urbis episcopi.' This document is clearly drawn partly from the Stavelot Commentary cast into the form of question and answer, and partly from the interrogative Commentary in Milan T. 103 and Laud Lat. 105, including the prologue respecting faith and the

[1] See above, sect. 8.

composition of the Creed, which appears in the former MS. only. It contains, I believe, very little which may not be traced to one or other of these sources. The correspondence is literal and distinct. The British Museum volume includes, as I have stated, several other documents written in a variety of hands and at different times. Our document is assigned by the catalogue to the twelfth century: in the judgement also of Sir E. M. Thompson, kindly expressed to me, it was written at that epoch and in England. It commences on fol. 145, recto.

14. At the same time when Dr. Ceriani drew my attention to Milan T. 103, he placed in my hand another MS. containing a Commentary on the Athanasian Creed. It belongs in his opinion to the twelfth century, and has the press-mark I. 152. The Commentary commences on fol. 133, and is entitled 'Expositio fidei catholice.' In this case also I was only able to transcribe a few passages. The first of these is from the prologue: 'Hanc fidem, que catholica dicitur, edidit Athanasius Alexandrine urbis ecclesie episcopus tempore diaconatus sui propter hereticos et maxime propter Arrium.' This is evidently similar to the preface of the second Commentary in Milan M. 79. Two passages seem to be connected with the Exposition in Milan T. 103 and Laud 105, and three appear to be based upon the Fortunatus Commentary. The readings of ver. 33 are deserving of notice: 'Unus autem non *conversatione* divinitatis in carne, sed assumptione humanitatis in deum.' *Conversatione* is notable, as it was originally written in the ancient Bobio MS. now in the Ambrosian Library: it is also the reading of the tenth-century Psalter at Salisbury. The error therefore was one of early date. In all probability the mark of contraction over the *e* in *carne* signifying the omission of the final *m* has been left out

inadvertently, as *deum* is certainly the reading, and the Exposition immediately after adds: 'Domini nostri Ihesu Christi divinitas non est conversa in carnem . . . Ipsa tamen divinitas carnem, id est, humanitatem adsumsit.'

This, like Milan T. 103, before noticed, is peculiarly a book of Milanese Church offices and ritual. Among the contents, as stated in a list written in a modern hand on the flyleaf, are 'Ordo et cerimonie primitivae Mediolanensis ecclesiae per totum annum,' 'De recuperatione Ambrosiani officii facta ab Eugenio,' 'Expositio matutini officii facta a Theodoro Archiepiscopo,' or, according to the more full and correct description of the rubric heading the document, 'Expositio matutini officii Sancte Ambrosiane Mediolanensis hecclesie (*sic*) edita a sancto Feodoro archiepiscopo eiusdem ecclesie.' This is followed by the Commentary on the Athanasian Creed, then comes 'Expositio misse Ambrosiane'; and next 'Expositio Symboli.' The list is headed 'Liber appellatus Beroldus in quo diversa notabilia ecclesiae Mediolanensis continentur.'

It is clear that these two Milan MSS. are of special value, as evidence of the close connexion of the *Quicunque* with the ancient Milanese Church and the Ambrosian rite.

15. Among the works of the celebrated Abelard is a Commentary on the Athanasian Creed, entitled in the printed editions 'Petri Abaelardi expositio fidei in Symbolum Athanasii.' It is easily accessible in Migne's series [1]. It is very short, and passes over in silence by far the greater part of the Creed. It bears the impress of an independent and thoughtful mind; but some of the glosses and notes are obviously drawn from pre-existing Commentaries. That on *neque confundentes* coincides with the Exposition in Laud 105. In the derivation of *persona* the Oratorian

[1] *Patrol. Lat.* tom. clxxvii. pp. 629–632.

Commentary is followed: 'Persona . . . *per se una* dicitur, non rei alii in unam substantiam sociata.' Some of the opinions expressed are worth noting. Those who shall be found alive at Christ's coming shall undergo, it is declared, a momentary death, and their restoration to life will be their resurrection. *Ignem aeternum* is explained thus: 'Summum atque indeficientem cruciatum, sive ille ignis corporeus tantum sit atque materialis, sive quicunque interior animae cruciatus.' As Abelard died A.D. 1142 at the age of sixty-three, the Exposition must obviously be placed in the early part of the twelfth century, probably between A.D. 1110 and 1142.

16. The document which appears among the printed editions of the works of Hildegardis Abbess of St. Rupert near Bingen on the Rhine, with the title 'Explanatio Symboli Sancti Athanasii ad congregationem sororum suarum[1],' is not strictly speaking a Commentary or Exposition of the Athanasian Creed, and I can scarcely suppose that the above title was applied to it by the author. It is rather a discourse of a very wide and comprehensive nature, addressed by Hildegardis to her nuns, in course of which, for the purpose of expounding the doctrines of the Trinity and Incarnation, she employs the language of the *Quicunque*. A great part of the discourse, perhaps the greater part, has no reference to the Creed whatever; but, though it cannot be classed as a Commentary, from which it differs in purpose and construction, it may be adduced in proof of the value attached to the Athanasian Creed at the time as an exposition of the Faith. This document must have been composed after the year 1148, when Hildegardis became Abbess of St. Rupert; she died in 1179 or 1180.

17. No. 1655 of the Phillipps or Middlehill collection—

[1] Migne, *Patrol. Lat.* tom. cxcvii. pp. 1065–1081.

a MS. of the thirteenth century—in addition to other documents contains the Athanasian Creed entitled 'Fides Catholica edita a sancto Athanasio,' with a Commentary. The Commentary is short, and most of the notes are evidently derived from the Fortunatus Commentary; amongst the notes are inserted some quotations from St. Augustine, and one from Rufinus's Exposition of the Creed, not, however, ascribed to Rufinus, but to Jerome.

This is the last document in the volume. The other contents are, 'Tractatus sancti Augustini episcopi a primo Psalmo usque in finem quinquagesimi,' a Commentary from various sources on the rest of the Psalter, 'Proemium magistri Petri super Psalterium,' the usual Old and New Testament Canticles, the Lord's Prayer and Creed, all with a gloss or comment.

This book was given, as we learn from a memorandum at the end, to the Church of St. Vincent at Metz, by Dame Soffia, surnamed Ducelatte, 'pro remedio anime sue,' and of that of her husband and son. From another note on the first page it appears at one time to have belonged to the Jesuits at Paris.

18. The Merton College MS., numbered 208 in Mr. Coxe's Catalogue and assigned by him to the thirteenth century, is a Psalter with gloss or comment, followed by the usual Old Testament Canticles and the Athanasian Creed, all of which have likewise a gloss or comment, but no titles. It is a handsome folio volume. The Psalms with their comment are written in two columns, the Canticles and Creed with their comment in three, the text as usual occupying the centre. The comment on the Psalms is from Augustine and Cassiodorus, in places from Jerome and Ambrose also. The notes, forming the Commentary on the Athanasian Creed, are for the most part either from

the Stavelot Commentary or the Oratorian, in one case from these two combined, but a few notes are from another source.

It is worthy of notice, that while neither the Creed nor its Commentary in this Psalter have any title, the former is distinctly ascribed by the latter to Anastasius, not Athanasius. The first note commences with the words: 'Hic beatus *Anastasius* liberum arbitrium posuit.' The alteration must have been made designedly. The next MS. we shall mention will indicate what Anastasius was probably meant.

The position of the *Quicunque*, occurring as it does immediately after the Old Testament Canticles, the New Testament Canticles, together with the Benedicite, Te Deum, Lord's Prayer and Apostles' Creed being omitted, is also noticeable in this volume. It seems to be not uncommon in glossed Psalters of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, being found, as previously mentioned, in the Bodleian MS. Canonici, Bibl. 30, which contains the Commentary compiled from the Stavelot and Oratorian Commentaries, and in Laud Lat. 17 and Balliol 32, in both of which the Stavelot Commentary appears. This MS. is number 5 in Waterland's list of manuscript copies of Bruno's Commentary. Clearly he was misinformed respecting it.

There are some interesting memoranda in the Merton book of former owners. On the flyleaf there occurs: 'Liber Will. Reed Episcopi Cicestriensis quem emit a venerabili patre Thoma Tryllek Episcopo Roffensi. Oretis igitur pro utroque.' By another note it appears to have been presented to the College by the former bishop 'ad usum sociorum ibidem (i.e. in libraria) studentium cathenandus.' According to Bishop Stubbs' *Registrum*, Thomas

Tryllek was consecrated Bishop of Rochester at Avignon in 1364, and died in 1372; and William Reed was consecrated at the same place Bishop of Chichester in 1368, and died in 1385. Another person, Master Burbathe, Doctor in Theology, and formerly Fellow of the College, is represented as the donor in a note written in a later and different hand on the first leaf. The book would appear therefore to have come into the possession of this second donor by some means notwithstanding the chains in which it had been fast bound in the library.

19. Simon Tornacensis, who was a canon of Tournay and a distinguished teacher of theology in the early part of the thirteenth century, composed a Commentary on the Athanasian Creed which has never been printed, but is extant in the Corpus Christi College, Oxford, MS. No. 250, f. 24 v., of the thirteenth century, and in the Paris Bibliothèque Nationale MS. Latin 18068 of the same century, f. 75 r., also in the Basle MS. B. ix. 6, probably of the fourteenth century. The latter appears from a memorandum at the end to have belonged formerly to the Friars Preachers or Dominicans at Basle. Other manuscript copies of it at Paris, Bruges, and Villers in Brabant are mentioned by Oudin[1]. It is a long and elaborate Exposition. The prologue commences: 'Apud Aristotelem argumentum est ratio faciens fidem, apud Christum argumentum est fides faciens rationem.' The comment proper begins: '*Quicunque, &c.*, de quacunque gente, quacunque conditione, quocunque sexu, non enim Deus ob praerogativam gentis vel conditionis vel sexus istum respicit, vel ob vilitatem illorum illum despicit, sed in omni gente, conditione, sexu, qui timet Deum acceptus est illi.'

A very remarkable feature in this document is that it

[1] *De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis*, tom. iii. pp. 26–33. Lipsiae, 1722.

distinctly and repeatedly ascribes the Creed to Pope Anastasius, not Athanasius. Thus in the prologue Pope Anastasius is stated to have gathered together, and that in a synod of prelates—'multitudine praesidum convocata'—into a compendious formula described as 'symbolum' the articles of the Christian religion and the heresies opposed to them. And this Pope Anastasius would seem to have been the first Pope of the name (whose pontificate lasted from 398 to 402), as in his time the heresies of Arius, Sabellius, Pelagius, Eutices, and Nestorius had sprung up and spread abroad. And again and again in the course of the Exposition Anastasius, never I think Athanasius, is referred to as the author. For instance, we find 'Una Anastasii intentio est in hoc simbolo simplicitatem fidelium in articulis nostre religionis instruere ad electionem.' The colophon is to the same effect: 'Explicit feliciter expositio super symbolum Beati Anastasii.' Neither in the Oxford MS. nor the Basle has the Commentary any title at the beginning.

It may be interesting to mention that in commenting on the Incarnation Simon clearly intimates his belief that the Blessed Virgin was not exempt from the taint of original sin.

20. The Commentary of Alexander Necham, sometimes called 'Alexander de Sancto Albano' because he was a native of St. Alban's, is a work of the same epoch; it must have been composed either at the close of the twelfth century or the beginning of the thirteenth, as the author died A.D. 1217. It has never been printed: but it is preserved in a British Museum MS. of the thirteenth century—Harl. 3133, f. 92, and in two Bodleian MSS. of the same century—Bodl. 284 and Auct. D. 2. 9. The two latter are both Psalters with a gloss or comment. In Bodl. 284 the Athanasian Creed with its gloss or Commentary

follows the Psalms immediately, as there are no Canticles; in the other Oxford MS. it follows the Old Testament Canticles, which, like the Psalms and the Creed, are accompanied by a comment. In the first-named Oxford MS. the Commentary on the *Quicunque* is without title or colophon, in the other it has the title 'Expositio fidei catholice a magistro Alexandro edita,' and in the British Museum MS. it has no title, but the following colophon: 'Explicit fides catholica Atanasii (*sic*) episcopi exposita a magistro Alexandro de sancto Albano.' The British Museum MS. I may add is not a Psalter: it contains homilies from the Fathers upon the Gospels for Sundays and festivals, and our document comes at the end of the volume, written in a different hand from the preceding contents.

This also is a long and elaborate Commentary, written with all the dialectical subtlety and refinement characteristic of the Schoolmen. The prologue commences, 'Caput aquile visum ab Ezekiele eminentius erat ceteris tribus capitibus,' and it ends, 'In commendacione ergo orthodoxe et catholice fidei hereses extirpare et eradicare intendit Atanasius (*sic*) in hoc simbolo dicens.' Thus the Creed is distinctly ascribed to Athanasius. The Exposition proper begins, '*Quicunque vult salvus esse, &c.* Hec est enim victoria que vincit mundum fides nostra. Signanter dicit *vult* et non dicit quicunque salvus erit, quia parvulus baptizatus, si decedat, sic salvatur et non *vult salvus esse*.' It is a notable peculiarity of Necham's Commentary that to a large extent it is a comment upon another comment, which is quoted not fewer than thirty times, I think, the several quotations being examined, discussed, and explained. In eleven cases the Commentary thus quoted and expounded is indicated by its title, viz. 'Notetur *glosa scholastica* que dicit,' &c. It was so called, I presume, from

being used as a manual of instruction in the schools. In other cases the particular note or comment is simply described as 'glosa,' or 'glosa interlinearis' or 'marginalis,' according as it was written between the lines of the text or in one of the marginal columns. The term 'glosa marginalis volatilis' or 'glosa volatilis' also occurs in one or two cases, referring I presume to an additional marginal column besides the two ordinarily found on either side of that containing the text—this fourth column being sometimes resorted to for convenience when the notes were numerous. This 'glosa scolastica' was evidently a compilation drawn from earlier Commentaries and the Fathers. Thus of the thirty passages quoted fifteen are from the Stavelot Commentary, one from the Bouhier, four from that attributed to Fortunatus (but these probably were drawn directly from the Exposition found in the Phillips MS. 1655, in which they all appear), four are from St. Augustine, one apparently from Alcuin: the remaining five I am not able to trace to their sources. Of the four passages drawn from St. Augustine I should say that three are expressly stated to be so; the fourth is probably taken directly from the Phillips Commentary. These evidences of a Commentary on the Athanasian Creed, which must have been current in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and widely used, have hitherto escaped the notice of modern scholars.

In the Oxford MS. Bodl. 284, immediately after the Commentary of Alexander Necham, another Exposition of the Athanasian Creed commences. It is imperfect, ending at the seventeenth verse, *Quia sicut singillatim*; and this is not owing to any mutilation of the book, which is complete and in good condition; evidently it was never finished. Like the Commentary which it follows it has neither title nor colophon, and consequently its authorship

must be uncertain; but whoever composed it must have had Necham's Commentary before him, which in the commencement of the prologue it evidently follows; in fact, the initial words are the same in both. It also resembles Necham's Commentary in ascribing the *Quicunque* to Athanasius and in quoting the 'glosa scolastica,' which it does four times. Three of these quotations clearly have the Stavelot Commentary for their source, and in two of the three the words introducing the quotation expressly mention the 'glosa scolastica' as the document quoted—'in glosa scolastica dicitur'; but in the words introducing the third the document quoted from is described as 'glosa Anselmi.' The Anselm thus clearly accredited with the compilation of the 'glosa scolastica' must have been the Dean of Laon, who flourished about A.D. 1100 and died in 1117. Nothing can be more probable than that he should have compiled this 'glosa' or Commentary on the Athanasian Creed, inasmuch as he was the author of a similar work on the Old and New Testaments, and another of the same nature on the Psalter has been attributed to him [1].

The MS. Bodl. 284 appears to have been written at the abbey of Cirencester, of which Necham was abbot from 1213 to 1217, for the word *Cirencestrie* has been written in the same hand as the text of the book at the top of the first page, and is quite legible, though an attempt has been made to erase it; and the same word written by the original hand is found elsewhere in the book in a similar position, particularly on f. 294. This circumstance, considered in connexion with the marked resemblance which in some particulars the unfinished Commentary before-

[1] 'Glossaturam super Psalterium et epistolas Pauli ab Anselmo per glossulas interlineantes marginalesque distinctam,' quoted in Ducange's Glossary under the word 'Glosa' from *Vita Anastasii IV*, apud Murat. tom. iii. p. 440.

mentioned bears to that of Necham which it follows points to the conclusion as probable that the former as well as the latter was compiled by him, or at any rate if not by him, by one of the canons of his house. Cirencester Abbey was a house of regular Augustinian canons.

Oudin describes Alexander Necham as 'Philosophus eximius, eruditionis profundae Theologus, Rhetor ac Poëta suo tempore insignis,' and then proceeds with an account of his life, which is extremely inaccurate. Having stated that Necham taught publicly in Paris about the year 1180, he adds that after his return to England he was made 'Cicestriensis Canonicus ut constat ex MS. codice Sancti Germani Parisiensis [1].' And subsequently he quotes the words of the St. Germain's MS., which are his authority for this assertion: 'Liber magistri Alexandri Canonici Cirecestrensis.' Clearly this represents him not as a canon of Chichester, 'Canonicus Cicestrensis,' but as a canon of Cirencestre. Probably in the MS. there was a mark of contraction over the first *e*, denoting the omission of the *n* after it. Evidently Oudin did not know of such a place as Cirencestre or Cirencester; hence his mistake. Then he continues: 'Unde,' i.e. from Chichester, 'Excestriam se conferens factus in eadem ecclesia Canonicus regularis divi Augustini, anno tandem 1215 eiusdem ecclesiae Abbas constitutus est.' In thus representing Necham as first an Augustinian canon regular and afterwards abbot of Exeter, Oudin appears to have been misled by Bale [2]. Cave also, strange to say, has fallen into the same mistake, for mistake it obviously is, inasmuch as there never were canons regular nor abbot nor abbey at Exeter. The canons there were secular canons, and at the time were without a dean, the

[1] Oudin, *De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis*, tom. iii. pp. 4–8.

[2] *Scriptorum Britanniae centuria tertia.* Basiliae, 1559, p. 274.

deanery not having been instituted until 1225. The truth appears to be that Necham first became a canon regular of the Augustinian abbey of Cirencester and was subsequently elected abbot. Tanner dates his appointment to the abbacy in 1215, Dugdale in 1213. According to the latter he died in 1217 [1].

21. The next Commentary calling for attention seems hitherto to have escaped notice altogether. It was written by a contemporary of the last-mentioned commentator, as would appear probable, and one bearing a very similar name. A copy of it is preserved in the Bodleian thirteenth-century MS., Rawlinson C. 67, a book which originally belonged to Hereford Cathedral, and before it passed into the Rawlinson collection must have been for a time in the ownership of Hearne the antiquary, as appears by a memorandum on the flyleaf: 'Suum cuique, Tho. Hearne, Aug. 19, 1731. Bought of Mr. Fletcher of Oxford, Bookseller.'

The title, on f. 86, is 'Expositio simboli Athanasii episcopi secundum Magistrum Alexandrum nequam.' The preface commences: 'Dicit Apostolus, Fides est fundamentum, quod immutari non potest. Fides ista valde necessaria est nobis in conflictu adversus varios hostes, sed illud egregii versificatoris, Prima petit campum dubia sub sorte duelli.' It ends: 'Tres autem sunt simboli vel simbola. Est autem simbolum apostolorum sive laicorum; et simbolum niceni concilii, quod est simbolum misse; est et simbolum Athanasii episcopi quod cantatur in hora prima, et quia plenius et perfectius continetur fides in illo simbolo, ideo de illo primo dicendum.' The first note commences: 'Opus est ut quicunque vult salvus esse; id est, quicunque desiderat salutem corporis et anime, quia duplex salus hic notatur,

[1] *Monasticon*, vol. vi. p. 176.

scilicet salus corporis et anime. Et utraque est duplex. Est enim salus anime temporalis et eternalis. Temporalis est virtus ; quia, sicut peccatum est mors anime, ita virtus est salus anime. Salus eternalis est vita eterna. Et utraque est affectanda.'

This Commentary being perfectly different from the preceding, it is natural to suppose that the two works are by different authors. But owing presumably to the resemblance of their names, and possibly also to their being contemporaries, the authors have been confounded by those whom we rely upon for information respecting them, particularly Bale, Cave, Tanner, and Oudin. The confusion appears to have originated at an early period, for Bale produces a quotation 'ex catalogo Bostoni Buriensis [1],' in which it will be observed that the writer exercises his ingenuity in accounting for the imaginary fact of the two names having belonged to the same person. It is as follows: 'Alexander nequam . . . simul in sancto Albano monachatum petiit atque ad abbatem ita scripsit : Si vis, veniam ; sin autem, tu autem. Respondit Abbas : Si bonus sis, venias ; si nequam, nequaquam. Et ita indignatus, cognomine in Neckam mutato, se transtulit Excestriam, ubi multa scripsit.' And we learn from the same source that he died at Worcester 'in quodam itinere,' and was buried there 'in claustro monachorum,' the following epitaph being placed over his grave :—

> 'Eclipsin patitur sapientia, sol sepelitur,
> Cui si par unus, minus esset flebile funus.
> Vir bene discretus, et in omni more facetus,
> Dictus erat nequam, vitam duxit tamen aequam.'

Hence it seems clear that Necham or Neckam and Nequam were different persons, and that the latter died at Worcester

[1] *Scriptorum Britanniae centuria tertia,* Appendix. Boston flourished at the commencement of the fifteenth century.

or in its neighbourhood, and was buried in the cathedral cloister there. By some authorities however, which are quoted by Tanner[1], the former is said to have died and been buried at Worcester, the confusion between the names being no doubt the cause of the error. There seems good reason for believing that Nequam was connected with Exeter, and if so he must have been a canon of the cathedral, unless he was a monk at one of the religious houses of that city, either the Benedictine Priory of St. Nicholas, which was a cell to Battle Abbey, or the Cluniac Priory of St. James, which was a cell to St. Peter's, Cluny; but his name does not appear in the lists of priors of either house in Dugdale. Tanner mentions several MSS. containing works by Nequam, and in all probability he was the author of some among the numerous works ascribed by Bale to Necham. If Nequam was a canon of Exeter this might have given occasion to the supposition that Necham became a canon regular there, the two names being confounded.

22. The celebrated schoolman Alexander Hales, who flourished a little later than Simon Tornacensis and Alexander Necham, but in the first half of the thirteenth century, was the author of an important Commentary on the Athanasian Creed. He also composed Commentaries on the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds: and the three Commentaries appear in his *Summa Theologiae*, which was printed at Cologne in 1622, pars iii. quaestio lxix. membr. 2. They are also extant in the Bodleian Laud MS. Misc. 493, which is assigned by the Catalogue to the end of the thirteenth century, but is considered by Mr. Macray to belong to the first half of the following century. These documents are not ascribed to any author by the MS. The first is headed,

[1] *Bibliotheca* sub nomine Necham.

'Expositio Symboli Apostolorum'; the second, 'Symbolum sanctorum patrum'; the third, 'Hic tractatur de symbolo sancti Anastasii.' The catalogue describes them thus: 'Expositio Symbolorum Apostolorum, SS. Patrum, et S. Athanasii ex Hugone et Ricardo de S. Victore.' On what grounds Mr. Coxe attributed them to these authors it is difficult to understand. Apparently his eye lighted upon the rubric *ex Ricardo de sco Victore* introducing a quotation towards the beginning of the Exposition of the Apostles' Creed.

The Commentary on the *Quicunque* begins on f. 75 v. of the MS. The colophon as well as the rubric at the commencement ascribes the authorship to Anastasius: 'Explicit expositio symboli Anastasii.' It is also called 'Symbolum sancti Anastasii' in the opening sentence of the Commentary, and 'Symbolum Anastasii' twice in that upon the Apostles' Creed: once—in the Commentary on the Nicene Creed—it is entitled 'Symbolum Athanasii.' The exposition commences: 'Determinato de symbolo in duabus distinctionibus restat expositio symboli sancti Anastasii. Divisa est in tres partes prohemium tractatum epylogum.' The 'prohemium' includes the two initial verses of the Creed. After commenting upon these the Exposition continues: 'Sequitur tractatus *Fides autem catholica haec est*, et dividitur in duas partes, i° distribuuntur ea que describenda sunt de deitate, ii° ea que credenda sunt de humanitate.' The last verse is the 'epylogum.' This Commentary does not, like most others, consist of a series of glosses and notes; the method rather is to state the various points of the subject-matter of the text as they successively present themselves, and discuss them. It is worth noting that two long passages condemning the several heresies respecting the Trinity and the Incarnation are

quoted as the words of St. Augustine, but really they are both from the *Liber de dogmatibus ecclesiasticis* commonly attributed to Gennadius, which in the Middle Ages was believed to be the work of the great Latin Father, and was cited as his. Once the 'glosa' is quoted.

This MS. belonged formerly to the Carthusians at Mayence, as appears from a memorandum at the bottom of the first page, 'Liber Carthusiensium prope Magunciam,' and another at the top of the last page, 'Codex Cartusiensium Maguncie.'

Another Laud MS.—No. 12, *Codices Miscellanei*, of the fifteenth century—also contains a copy of Hales's Commentaries. They commence on f. 107. The author is expressly mentioned in the introductory words, 'De distinctione et expositione articulorum fidei secundum Alexandrum de Hallis in fine sui tercii,' and again in the colophon after the Athanasian Creed, 'Explicit expositio trium simbolorum fidei catholice secundum magistrum Alexandrum de Hallis in fine sui tercii.' The *Quicunque* is headed 'De simbolo Athanasii,' and in every instance, I believe, where it is referred to, is ascribed to him, not to Anastasius.

23. Several works in Latin, by Richard Rolle of Hampole, were printed at Cologne in 1536, and among them Commentaries on the Lord's Prayer, Apostles' Creed, and Athanasian Creed[1]. The Commentary on the Athanasian Creed, preceded by that on the Apostles' Creed, was reprinted in 1627 in the *Bibliotheca Maxima Patrum*[2]. It is entitled 'Symboli Athanasiani expositio clarissima per D. Richardum Pampolitanum eremitam.' Probably it

[1] 'D. Richardi Pampolitani Anglo-Saxonis Eremitae . . . *in Psalterium Davidicum atque alia quaedam sacrae scripturae monumenta . . . pia enarratio.* Coloniae, MDXXXVI.' There is a copy in the British Museum, once the property of Archbishop Cranmer, whose autograph appears on the first page.

[2] Tom. xxvi. p. 624.

formed originally part of a Psalter with a gloss or comment, for among Hampole's works in Latin in the Cologne book are Commentaries on the Psalms and the Old Testament Canticles usually found in Psalters, and these bear internal evidence of genuineness.

Richard Rolle was a famous preacher and venerated hermit in Yorkshire during the former part of the fourteenth century. He died at Hampole, near Doncaster, in 1349. Wharton, Tanner, and others say that he was an Augustinian friar[1].

This Commentary is clearly drawn from the Commentary noticed in section 8 of this chapter, which commences with the words 'Haec ratio fidei catholicae,' and of which a copy is preserved in the Bodleian MS., Canonici, Bibl. 30. The former contains nothing I believe which is not to be found in the latter. There are two differences discriminating one from the other. First, the two commencing notes in the latter are transposed in the former, which consequently begins not with the words 'Haec ratio,' &c., but with the words 'Hic beatus Athanasius liberum arbitrium,' &c. And, secondly, all the Oratorian notes on the Creed between the fourth and thirtieth verses exclusive which appear in the latter Commentary are omitted in the former. The Commentary contained in the Canonici MS., it will be recollected, is a compilation of notes from the Stavelot and Oratorian Commentaries. Waterland was somewhat perplexed by the resemblance which he found to exist between the Commentary of Hampole and one in a MS. at Leipsic belonging to the twelfth century: and this led him to doubt the authorship of Hampole[2]. The Canonici MS.,

[1] See introduction to the Rev. H. R. Bramley's edition of Rolle's Psalter. Oxford, 1884.

[2] See Waterland's *History of the Athanasian Creed,* chap. iii. p. 54, note. Oxford edition, 1870.

which was necessarily unknown to that scholar, and which doubtless contains the same Commentary as the Leipsic MS. and the others mentioned by him, solves the difficulty, for it shows that Hampole's Commentary, though not an original work, is still attributable to him, as his recension and abridgement of the Commentary preserved in those MSS.

A Commentary which appears in a MS. of Magdalen College, Oxford, numbered 115 in Mr. Coxe's Catalogue and assigned by him to the beginning of the fifteenth century, was supposed by Waterland to be none other than Hampole's Commentary[1]. This, however, is certainly not the case. The two documents have much matter in common, which is derived, I believe, immediately from the Commentary in the Canonici MS. as its source. But they are not the same. On the contrary they differ in several particulars. Firstly, they commence differently; the former, 'Hec ratio fidei catholice'; the latter, 'Hic beatus Athanasius.' Next, the Oratorian notes or glosses between the fourth verse *Neque confundentes* and the thirtieth *aequalis*, which are omitted, as before mentioned, in the latter, are found in the former. Thirdly, some of the Stavelot notes which occur in the latter do not occur in the former. Lastly, the former contains a note respecting the Holy Spirit drawn apparently from Alcuin *de Trinitate*, which does not appear in the latter. With the exception of this note from Alcuin, the former, I may add, seems to me drawn entirely from the Canonici Commentary. The latter is entirely, as previously noticed, from that source. This Commentary in the Magdalen College MS. is not ascribed to any author. It commences on f. 170 r. without any title: at the end a note is added stating that it was

[1] Waterland's *History of the Athanasian Creed*, chap. iii. pp. 55, 56.

copied from *an ancient book*, as follows: 'Hec sunt scripta a quodam antiquo libro.' From which we may probably infer that it was of an earlier date than the Commentary of Hampole, who died little more than half a century before the MS. was written. It is erroneously attributed by the Catalogue to Johannes Januensis or de Balbis. Thus, according to Waterland, the title ascribed to it by the old Catalogue was 'Expositio in Symbolum Athanasianum per Ianuensem.' And Mr. Coxe has repeated and endorsed the mistake by his description, to wit, 'Expositio in Symbolum S. Athanasii ex Iohannis de Balbis Catholico excerpta.' The occasion of the mistake is not far to seek. Subjoined to the Exposition is an extract from the Catholicon or Dictionary of Johannes de Balbis, or Januensis, respecting the three Creeds; and the source from which this is derived is indicated in the following words, which are added immediately after: 'Hec Ianuensis in suo Catholicon in verbo symbolum.' To any one examining the MS. with the slightest care it must be obvious that these words do not refer to the Exposition or Commentary, but solely to the passage from the Catholicon.

24. In the latter part of the fourteenth century the Wycliffe movement produced, as might be expected, a Commentary in English upon the Athanasian Creed. This Commentary, attributable either to Wyclif or one of his followers, for there seems to be no certain evidence that it was Wyclif's own work, is found together with an English translation or version of the Creed, doubtless by the same hand, in several manuscript Psalters, subjoined among the Canticles to Hampole's translation of the Psalter and Commentary upon it, the Canticles both of the Old and New Testament being also accompanied by a version and Commentary in English. Of these Psalters

there are as many as four in the Bodleian Library—Bodl. 288, 877, and 953, and Laud Misc. 448. The first two of these, in the opinion of the Rev. W. D. Macray of the Bodleian Library, belong to the early part of the fifteenth century—about 1410; the third is shown to be of the same epoch by the fact of the words 'Liber domini Thome Seignour de Berkeley' appearing in the decorated border of the first page of the Psalms, the inference from which is that the book was written for Thomas fifth Lord of Berkeley, who died in 1416; it is also connected with him by the obits of his wife and mother inserted in the Calendar; and a mitre, the crest of the Berkeley family, is painted at the foot of the same page where his name appears, and again within the large C of *Confitebor*, the initial word of the first Canticle. It is a well-written and handsome volume. The fourth of these Psalters is assigned to the fifteenth century by Mr. Coxe's Catalogue. Another is in the British Museum, Harl. MS. 1806, written about 1430; another in the Parker Library at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, written about 1420; from a memorandum on the second leaf it appears to have belonged originally to John Colman, Abbot of Lewes. There may be also other manuscript copies of Hampole's Psalter containing the Wycliffite comment on the Athanasian Creed; these that I mention I have seen. From Waterland's description of a MS. belonging to Trinity College, Cambridge, it would appear to be a book of this class. Its number in the Catalogue, as I judge from the list of the MSS. of Hampole in Forshall and Madden, is 171.

As regards the text of these Psalters, the same arrangement is found in all. Each verse is exhibited in Latin and is immediately followed by its version in English, which is generally underscored by a red line, and then is added the

postil or comment. And this method is maintained throughout the Canticles, including the Athanasian Creed as well as the Psalms. But the order of the New Testament Canticles so-called differs considerably. In Bodl. 288 and 877 they occur thus, Magnificat, Te Deum, Benedictus, Nunc dimittis, Benedicite, Quicunque vult; in Bodl. 953 and Harl. 1806 thus, Te Deum, Benedicite, Benedictus, Magnificat, Nunc dimittis, Quicunque vult; in Laud Misc. 448 and Parker E. 1. 387 thus, Te Deum, Benedictus, Nunc dimittis, Benedicite, Quicunque vult, Magnificat; in the last MS. the Magnificat is followed by a Litany. In all the Psalters the Old Testament Canticles appear in their usual, and consequently the same, order. I may add that Hampole's Prologue to the Psalter in English is found in all, but the apocryphal 151st Psalm is conspicuous by its absence.

There is obviously an apparent anomaly in this Wycliffite Exposition and version of the Athanasian Creed being subjoined to the Psalter of Rolle of Hampole, considering that the two documents were the issues of different schools of thought. How is this to be accounted for? In the Bodleian Library is a MS., Laud Misc. 286, which serves as a key for solving the mystery of this seemingly ill-consorted union and sheds a flood of light upon the above-mentioned Psalters. It is a copy of Hampole's glossed English Psalter with the six Old Testament Canticles and the Magnificat annexed but nothing else, and was written in the reign of Henry the Sixth. At the commencement of the book, written by the same hand as the rest of the volume, are a set of verses respecting the Psalter in general and Hampole's Psalter in particular, in which, to quote the Preface of Forshall and Madden to their edition of Wyclif's Bible (vol. i. Preface, p. v), 'the writer states that the work' (i.e. Hampole's Psalter) 'was undertaken at the request of

dame Margaret Kirkby, a recluse probably at Hampole; that the autograph copy of the author was still remaining at the nunnery attached by chains to his tomb; that the writer's was a faithful transcript from the original, and that many copies in ordinary use had been corrupted by the Lollards.'

The lines referring to our subject are as follows:—

'Therefore a worthy holy man cald Richard Hampole,
Whom the Lord that all thingus can leryd (i. e. taught) lely (truly) on his scole,
Glosed the Sauter that sues (follows) here in Englyche tong sykerly
At a worthy recluse prayer cald Dame Merget Kyrkby.
This same Sauter in all degre is the self in sothnes,
That li3t at Hampole in surte, at Richards own berynes,
That he wrote with his hondes to Dame Merget Kyrkby,
And ther it ly3t in cheyn bondes in the same nonery.
In Yorkshire this nonery ys, who so desires it to know,
Hym thar no way go omys, thes ben the places all on row,
Hampole the nonery hy3t (called) betwene Dancastir and Pount-freyt,
This is the way to mannys sy3t, even strey3th without deseyt.'

. . . . . .

'Copyed has this Sauter ben of yvel men of Lollardry,
And afturward hit has been sene, ympyed (filled) in with eresy.
Thei seyden then to leude foles, that it shuld be al entir,
A blessed boke of hur scoles, of Rychard Hampole the Sauter.
This lie thei seyd to make theim lene on her scole thoro sotelte.'

From these lines it may be inferred that Hampole's Psalter was an incomplete work, containing nothing but the Psalter itself, the six usual Old Testament Canticles, and the Magnificat, with their respective versions and comments in English, these being the contents of Laud 286, which the writer describes as the exact counterpart—*in all degre the self in sothnes*—of the autograph copy of Hampole, which was at the time in the nunnery at Hampole, the burial-place of the good man, secured by chains in accordance with the custom of the age. For there is no appearance of the Laud codex being imperfect owing to mutilation; no reason to suppose that it ever contained more than it does at present: on the contrary it does not seem to have

lost a single leaf; the Magnificat closes in the middle of the second column of the final page—the book being written in two columns—and it is followed by the rubric, 'Explicit Canticum Mar. Matris dñi nr̄i ihū cristi.' And this conclusion that the Psalter of Hampole was incomplete ending with the Magnificat is confirmed by the fact that the MS. of it belonging to Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, which is the earliest MS. extant of the book, being assigned to the close of the fourteenth century, ends also with the Magnificat: it has no other New Testament or Ecclesiastical Canticle, and comprises the same contents as Laud 286. It cannot be supposed that Hampole designedly left his Psalter thus incomplete. No doubt he was prevented finishing it by some unavoidable cause, possibly failure of health. This incompleteness would naturally create the sense of a need. In proportion as people valued the work of Hampole as enabling them to make an intelligent and profitable use of the Psalms and some of the Canticles sung in the Offices of the Church, they would desire that it should be completed by a supplement, so to speak, containing the Canticles not included in it, viz. the Te Deum, Benedictus, Nunc dimittis, Benedicite, and Quicunque vult, and constructed upon the same model, each Canticle having its prologue and version and comment in the vernacular. Wyclif or one of his followers, it would appear, resolved to supply the desideratum; and the result is seen in the composite Psalter, of which we have copies in the above-mentioned MSS., and which, if we may judge from the number of copies—several written in different dialects—even now existing, must have obtained a large circulation throughout the country. Whoever was the compiler, it is clear from the MSS. Laud Lat. 448 and Bodleian 953 that he transferred Hampole's work into his

book with little alteration, if any: his text, as it appears in Laud 286 and Mr. Bramley's edition, is simply reproduced in them, saving that a word here and there is transposed or altered, one more common and better understood being substituted for another that was rare and perhaps obsolete. 'Copyed has this Sauter ben of yvel men of Lollardry.' But subsequently it was much altered and interpolated in places by revisers and copyists, as may be seen in Bodleian MSS. 288 and 877. To these and the like copies possibly the writer of the lines in Laud 286 refers when he adds: 'And afturward hit was sene ympied in with cresy.' I have been guided in some degree to this account of the glossed Psalter in the above-named MSS. by the Preface of Mr. Arnold to the Canticles with their versions and commentaries edited by him from Bodl. 288[1]. After referring to the Laud MS. Lat. 286 as the key to the solution of the question how far the Psalter is attributable to Hampole and how far to Wyclif, he adds that the Laud MS. 'containing only seven Canticles,' viz. the six Old Testament Canticles and the Magnificat, 'has not a single word that might not have been written by Hampole.' Then with regard to Bodl. 288 he continues, that 'containing twelve Canticles' it 'has in it, especially in the Commentary on the Benedictus, passages which only Wyclif or one of his disciples could have composed.' And the conclusion which he arrives at from these premisses he states to be, 'that in this Commentary on the Canticles'—that clearly in Bodl. 288—'we have down to the end of the seventh Canticle a genuine work of Hampole, retouched in several MSS. by a Lollard hand, but that the five remaining Canticles are a later addition made either by

[1] *Select English Works of John Wyclif*, edited by Thomas Arnold, vol. iii. p. 4.

Wyclif himself or by his school.' By 'the five remaining Canticles' Mr. Arnold evidently means the Te Deum, Benedictus, Nunc dimittis, Benedicite, and Quicunque vult, the seventh being no less clearly the Magnificat, which in Bodl. 288, as I have before noticed, immediately follows the six Old Testament Canticles. The obvious conclusion to be drawn from all this with respect to our Commentary is that it is entirely a Wycliffite work, and is in no degree attributable to Richard Rolle of Hampole.

Our Commentary with its cognate version of the Athanasian Creed is found in another Bodleian MS.—Douce 258, of the fifteenth century; and it deserves particular attention, as another instance of the apparent anomaly which we noticed in the Psalter just referred to, viz. the subjoining of Wycliffite work to that of Hampole. The MS. is mutilated, some leaves being lost at the end, some probably at the beginning, and some certainly in other places. The first document at present is the 119th Psalm—as numbered in our Prayer Book, but in the Vulgate it is the 118th—in the English version of Hampole with his comment. This is followed by Psalms 139 and 22 to 31 inclusive, all also in the version of Hampole with his comment. These are also of course numbered differently in the Vulgate, each being numbered one below its number in the Anglican version: our Psalm 139 is in the Vulgate 138, and so on. I should add that the English version of the 24th Psalm and the comment upon it are omitted from the text; but the omission is clearly accidental, the Latin initial words 'Domini est terra' being as usual written in the text, and a note added in the margin stating that this Psalm would be found at the end of the book. It must therefore have been written on one of the leaves at the end, which have been torn away. The version and Exposition

of the 31st Psalm are not finished, ending at the sixth verse. After this on f. 39 the Athanasian Creed commences, each verse in Latin being followed by its Wycliffite version and comment. But at present it is imperfect owing to the mutilation of the volume, the last words on f. 45 v. being 'but if crist were wyth the fa,' which occur in the comment on verse 31 beginning 'aequalis Patri.' This is followed on the next page—f. 46 r.—by part of the Gospel for Christmas Day in the later Wycliffite version, beginning 'owne thingis and hise resseveden,' and ending 'ful of grace and treuthe'; so that it is plain that one or more leaves have been lost here. The other documents are the Gospels for Easter Day, Ascension Eve, Ascension Day, and Saint Thomas' Day, the Epistles of St. James, the two Epistles of St. Peter, the first and second Epistles of St. John, and part of his third Epistle, ending with the word 'witnessynge' in the sixth verse. They are all in the last Wycliffite version. Of course in its perfect condition the volume contained also the remainder of the third of St. John and the Epistle of St. Jude, as is evident from a prologue to the seven general Epistles, and also Hampole's version and Exposition of the 24th Psalm omitted in their proper place. It is worthy of notice that all the Psalms in this volume were used in the services of the Church; and this was no doubt the reason of their selection. Part of the 119th Psalm according to the use of Sarum was recited at Prime immediately before the Athanasian Creed, and the rest at the hours of Terce and Sext and Nones; the 22nd to the 26th inclusive were also said at Prime, the 27th to the 31st inclusive at Matins on Mondays, and the 139th at Vespers on Fridays. Originally in all probability other Psalms were comprised.

I have been particular in specifying the contents of this

MS. in order to show that it is a copy of a book similar in design and method of construction to the Psalter previously noticed. As in the latter the Wycliffites annexed five Canticles (including the Athanasian Creed) with a vernacular version and Commentary of their own to the Psalter of Hampole, so in this book they annexed the Creed together with their own version and Exposition of it, and their own versions of the Gospels for some of the chief festivals and of the general Epistles to his version and Exposition of some of the Psalms used in the daily Office. Both books were clearly designed to meet the want, which must have been urgent at the time, of manuals in the vernacular adapted to assist the people in joining devoutly and intelligently in the Services of the Church. There was nothing therefore exceptional in the Wycliffites supplementing Hampole's Psalter with works of their own. Nor need we suppose, with the writer of the lines in Laud 286, that they did so for the purpose of fathering their tenets upon Hampole. Probably the course they adopted was the necessary result of circumstances. Hampole's Psalter was in possession of the ground; it was a useful and popular book; moreover it was not prohibited by the ecclesiastical authorities. They had nothing to substitute for it; and therefore to utilize and supplement it, as occasion required, was their only alternative. At the same time they must have had sufficient sagacity to perceive that this would be the most likely means of disseminating their own writings and their peculiar tenets.

In a British Museum MS. — Addit. 10046, of the fifteenth century—our Commentary and version are subjoined to a Psalter, which is distinctly different from that previously mentioned. The Psalms are in English as well as Latin, the version being the later one of Wyclif, but

they are preceded by Hampole's English Prologue. They have no comment. All the Canticles, with the exception of the *Quicunque vult*, are also without any comment. The Old Testament Canticles, like the Psalms, have the later Wycliffite version, and so too the Benedictus and Nunc dimittis: but it is notable that in the Magnificat Hampole's version is followed generally, with a few readings adopted from Wyclif.

Lastly, in the Bodleian MS. Laud Misc. 174, of the fifteenth century, is an instance of our Commentary and the version always associated with it appearing in a collection of works of practical piety and devotional reading. In this volume it is immediately preceded by the Benedicite with its Wycliffite version and Exposition. These two documents, it will be remembered, occur in the same order in Bodl. 288 and 877, Laud Misc. 448, Parker E. 1. 387, and I may add also Magd. Coll. Oxford 72. Here they are preceded by 'a metrical paraphrase of the seven Penitential Psalms with prologue by Hampole,' as stated by the Catalogue; and they are followed by 'the lyf of Oure lady Seynt Marye,' a meditation by Bonaventura on our Lord's Passion and Descent into Hell to be read at different Hours, 'a short rule of lyf for ich man in general and for prestis and lordis in special,' rules for confession of sin, a meditation of St. Anselm, and three documents assigned to Hampole—an exposition of Psalm xxxvi. 20, a meditation or instruction on the Day of Judgement, and 'the myrrour of synners.' Thus our document was circulated in books for private reading and devotion as well as in those intended to assist persons in the Church Services.

This Wycliffite Commentary with the version attaching is edited by Mr. Arnold from Bodl. 288 in the third volume

of his edition of Wyclif's select works[1], together with the other Canticles and their versions and commentaries. It should be remembered, however, that he does not attribute the versions and expositions of the Old Testament Canticles to Wyclif or his school: indeed they cannot be of Wycliffite authorship, as they are found in Laud Misc. 286, and must therefore be the work of Hampole, but in Bodl. 288 and 877 they have received interpolations, which do not appear in other MSS.

I subjoin some characteristic passages of the Commentary from Addit. 10046, the text of which I believe agrees materially with the texts of the other MSS. Indeed the differences between them appear to be such only as may be accounted for by the variations of dialects and the errors of copyists.

The Prologue is remarkable: 'It is seid comunli that ther ben thre credis; the firste is of apostlis that men knowen comynli; the tothir[2] is the crede of the chyrche that declareth the formere crede; this thridde[3] crede is of the trynytie, the which is songen as a salm and was maad in greke speche of oon[4] that is clepid[5] attanasy, and aftir turnyd to latyn and sundel[6] amendid and ordeyned to be seid at the firste our[7]. This psalme tellith moche of the trinytie, and it is no nede here[8] to knowe it, syth a man may be saved if that he bileveth in god and hope that god wole teche him aftirward that is nedful, and so men seien comunly. Men bileven in two maneris, summe bileven expresly that ther is but o[9] god and summe bileven confuseli: houever god wole that thei trowe, and if thei lyven on othere side riȝtly as god wole that thei lyven, thei ben

[1] pp. 71–81. [2] i. e. the other or second. [3] third. [4] one. [5] called. [6] partly. [7] hour. [8] Before 'here' Harl. 1806 inserts 'iche man.' [9] Clearly for *oon*, or one.

in good wey for to come aftir to blisse, for our crede schulde be medlyd[1] with love and bileve.'

The following is the comment on the first verse: 'ffor ther bi is a man saved and it semeth not ynow[2] men to seie bi word that thei bileven fully as holy chirche bileveth, for thus sein peynyms[3] and many out of bileve, sith men seien comynle that thei han al siche bileve: and so love and good lyf ben nedful to ri3t bileve. And god forbede that men bileven that ech man[4] schal be savid mut[5] trowe expresly ech word that here is seid; for fewe or noon[6] ben in that staat or grekis or latyns, and 3it to us failith englische to telle that litel that we bileven; ffor bileve is of truthe that is before our langagis, and, as we seien, god giveth bileve bothe to children and to men, al if[7] thei ben not of power to lerne bileve of ther britheren.'

Part of the comment on verse 21, 'the Son is of the Father,' is as follows: 'And heere clerkis moten wake her wittis and understonde two birthis, the firste is not makyng of thing but cause ther of with outen ende. And if the sunne were nevere maad as erroure of clerkis hath ofte seid, 3it this sunne wolde cause his li3t ethir[8] with inne ethir[9] with out, so the first persoone bryngith forth the secunde persone; as god, for power to knowe himself, knoweth himself fully.'

With the above, particularly the words 'god for power to knowe himself,' &c., it may be of interest to compare the following from Wyclif's *Trialogus*, which, as it was written at the close of his life, may be taken to represent

[1] mixed. [2] enough.
[3] Laud 448 and other MSS. read 'paynyms,' i. e. pagans.
[4] After 'man' Harleian 1806 and other MSS. add 'that.'
[5] Harleian 1806 reads 'mot,' other MSS. 'mote,' i. e. must.
[6] none. [7] although. [8] Bodl. 877 reads 'either.'
[9] Bodl. 877 reads 'or.'

his mature opinions: 'Cum sit deducibile quod Deus sit actus purus, infinitissime intellectivus, certum est, quod *habet potentiam ad se* et ad alia *cognoscendum*, et illa potentia dicitur Deus Pater. Et, quantum *potest se ipsum cognoscere, tantum necessario cognoscit*, et illa notitia dicitur Deus Filius[1].'

The comment on the last verse is also notable: 'And, alȝif this crede acorde unto prestis, netheles the hiȝer prelatis as popis cardinalis and bischopis schulde more speciali kunne this crede and teche it to men undir hem.'

When Wyclif shortly before his death was cited to the court of Rome, in his reply he said, 'I suppose over this that the pope be most oblished to the keping of the gospel among men that liven here. For the pope is highest vicar that Christ has here in erth[2].'

25. At the end of the Commentary of Dionysius Carthusianus on the Psalms and Canticles, printed at Cologne in 1534, is subjoined a long Exposition of the Athanasian Creed attributed to the same writer. The editor implies that its genuineness might be disputed, but affirms that it was the work, if not of Dionysius himself, of some person who was a member of the order to which he belonged, and also a diligent student of his writings. Dionysius was a voluminous writer, and was honoured with the designation of 'The Exstatic Doctor': he is sometimes surnamed Ryckel from his birthplace, which was situated in the Diocese of Liége: he died in 1471.

26. Another Commentary of the fifteenth century—that of Petrus de Osoma, called also Oxamensis or Uxamensis from his birthplace Oxoma, now Osma, in Spain—is noticed by Waterland, who had met with a printed copy of it.

[1] Wiclif, *Trialogus*, lib. i. cap. 6. Oxon. 1869.
[2] Hardwick's *Church History*, p. 411, note.

A copy of the same book is now in the Bodleian Library. The Exposition is entitled 'Commentaria magistri Petri de Osoma in simbolum *Quicunque vult salvus esse*.' In the prologue Athanasius is stated to have composed the Creed when he was in exile at Trèves in the year 350; and it is asserted that this is proved by the chronicles of the Emperors and Popes and the legend of St. Athanasius. It is described as having for its design to oppose the impiety of heretics, especially of Arians; and it is added that it was sung in the choir as a psalm, and on that account was called a psalm. It is here, as in the Commentary of Alexander Hales, divided into three parts, the 'prohemium' contained in the first and second verses, the 'tractatus,' and the concluding verse. In the Exposition 'persona' is defined to be 'quod in natura rationali distincte subsistit.' Frequent reference is made to St. Thomas, viz. Aquinas, and there is frequent mention of St. Athanasius as the author. The colophon is as follows: 'Commentaria magistri Petri de Osma in simbolum *Quicunque vult salvus esse* finiunt feliciter: impressaque parisius (*sic*) per Udalricum cognomento Gering.' This points to the close of the fifteenth century, when Gering carried on the printing business at Paris, as the probable date of the publication of the book. We are furnished by Fabricius[1] with some particulars respecting Peter de Osma. He was Professor of Theology and a Canon of Salamanca, and in 1479 wrote a book upon the subject of Confession, which exposed him to the imputation of false doctrine. His case being tried by the Archbishop of Toledo, Alphonsus Camillus, in a Synod held at Alcala, he was anathematized and his book was condemned by the Pope to be burnt.

[1] *Bibliotheca Latina mediae et infimae aetatis.*

Upon this he made a formal abjuration of the opinions imputed to him, submitted himself to the judgement of the Archbishop, and declared his acceptance of the faith held by the Pope. He is described by Antonius Nebrissensis as the *facile princeps* of his age in every kind of learning.

27. Another Spanish theologian of the fifteenth century is stated by Fabricius and Cave to have composed a Commentary on the Athanasian Creed. Jacobus Perez de Valentia, an Augustinian, was made in 1468 titular Bishop of Neapolis in Thrace 'sive Christopolitanus,' and suffragan to Roderic Borgia, who was then Cardinal and Bishop of Carthagena and Portus as well as Valentia, and was afterwards, in 1492, advanced to the Papal throne under the title of Alexander VI. The latter was a native of Valentia. Perez died in 1492. He wrote a very elaborate and copious Commentary on the Psalms and Canticles, and dedicated it to Borgia, whom he described in the dedicatory address as 'Ecclesiae Valentinae praesul, cuius vices ego, licet immeritus, gero.' This work passed through several editions, for it was first printed at Lyons in 1499, and in the sixteenth century was printed again and again at Paris and Lyons and Venice. Of these the Bodleian Library contains a copy of the Paris edition of 1509 by Johannes Petit and Badius Ascensius; and the British Museum has three copies, the first belonging to another edition by Petit and Ascensius dated 1518, the second to an edition published at Paris by Nicolaus de pratis in 1521, and the third to an edition printed by Francis Regnault at Paris in 1533. In all four copies I searched in vain for the Commentary on the Athanasian Creed, expecting to find it in the usual place subjoined to the Commentary on the Canticles, especially as Fabricius and Cave both mention

it in that connexion[1]. As it seems highly improbable that these authorities would have asserted without good reason that Perez was the author of a Commentary on the *Quicunque*, I presume either that it is printed in other editions of his Psalter which I have not seen, or that it was composed by him as a separate work, distinct from his Commentary on the Psalms and Canticles.

In concluding these notices of the Commentaries on the Athanasian Creed, it seems to me desirable to draw attention to some circumstances respecting them. Firstly, their number is considerable, and they range in date from the end of the sixth or the beginning of the seventh century down to the latter part of the fifteenth, embracing a wide field of study and inquiry which I feel that I have touched only upon the surface. Some of them it has been my lot to be the first to notice, but I am far from supposing that I have produced an exhaustive list which is incapable of being enlarged by future research. Secondly, between several of these Expositions or series of notes—for such many of them were, written in the margin of the text or between the lines—a connexion may be traced, the earlier, in particular that attributed to Venantius Fortunatus and the Oratorian and Stavelot Commentaries, being used as sources from which subsequent compilers in part at least drew their materials. This was the case more especially prior to the thirteenth century; but even in the fourteenth we find Richard Rolle of Hampole constructing his Commentary out of another of a much earlier date, which was nothing but a compilation from two other

[1] Among the works of Perez, Fabricius in his Bibliotheca mentions 'Commentarius in Psalmos et Cantica ferialia in Bibliis contenta et in Cantica Evangelica, Te Deum, et in Symbolum S. Athanasii.' Cave, in his *Historia Litteraria*, also mentions Perezius's Commentary on the Athanasian Creed in connexion with his Commentary on the Psalms and Canticles.

Expositions belonging to a yet higher antiquity. Another point calling for notice is our ignorance respecting the authorship of most of these documents. Previous to the thirteenth century there are but two Commentaries the authors or compilers of which are known for certain; that of Abelard, which was very brief, and that of Bruno, which does not seem to have been an original work, but merely a revision of an earlier Commentary supplemented by some passages from the Fortunatus Exposition. Hildegarde's work I pass over as not properly coming under the category of Commentary.

CHAPTER V.

VERSIONS.

HITHERTO we have noticed none but Latin copies of the Athanasian Creed, which claim the first consideration by reason of their greater antiquity as compared with those in other languages in which it is found. But no account of the Creed would be complete which omitted to take notice of the latter as well as the former.

1. Of the versions or translations of the *Quicunque*—as we must assume them to be at present, reserving for later consideration the question in what language it was composed—those which demand the first notice for importance and interest are clearly the Greek. In Montfaucon's *Diatribe de Symbolo Quicunque* there are four different Greek versions of our Creed.

(*a*) The first of these had been previously twice edited, by Felckman in his edition of St. Athanasius at the commencement of the seventeenth century [1], and by Eustratius Zialowski in a collection of similar documents subjoined to a brief account of the Greek Church, being copied no doubt by the latter from the former [2]. Montfaucon says that it was edited by Felckman *ad fidem Palatinorum codicum*: but this is incorrect, as the latter expressly states in his

[1] S. Athanasii *Opera* ex Officina Commeliniana, 1601, tom. ii. p. 38.

[2] Eustratii Iohannidis Zialowski Rutheni *brevis delineatio Ecclesiae Orientalis Graecae . . . cum notis evulgata* a Wulfgango Gundlingio. Noribergae, 1681.

Appendix of various readings that it was from a MS. described by him as *noster codex II anonymus*, meaning apparently, as we judge from the preface, that this was the second of the MSS. used by him for his edition of Athanasius and that it belonged to an anonymous owner [1]. Unfortunately he gives no further account of the MS. beyond mentioning that the Creed as contained in it is without title or name of author; but he adds the title—*σύμβολον τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀθανασίου*—from a Palatine codex, and also several various readings of the text as compared with his own. This Palatine codex may be safely affirmed to be identical with the Greek Palatine codex 364 in the Vatican Library, in which the *Quicunque* appears with the title and readings noted by Felckman. Such I gather to be the case from collations of the MS. kindly supplied to me by Mr. Bliss of the Record Office. The Palatine collection in the Vatican, it must be recollected, was brought to Rome from Heidelberg (its original home) in 1623, being presented to Pope Gregory XV by Maximilian, Duke of Bavaria. From the catalogue of that collection recently compiled by Mr. Stevenson under Papal authority, it appears that the MS. to which we are referring was written partly in the fourteenth and partly in the fifteenth century, our document being comprised in the former part [2]. It is described as formerly the property of *Papa Nathaniel*; and we learn from the Prolegomena that it must have been one of fifteen manuscripts sold in the year 1550 by this Nathaniel, a Greek Priest, to Fugger, who in token of gratitude to the Elector Frederick IV bequeathed

[1] 'Extat hoc symbolum in nostro codice II anonymo, sed absque titulo et nomine authoris; unde et sic editum'; u. s. Appendix, p. 83.

[2] *Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana codicibus manuscriptis recensita. Codices Palatini Graeci*, p. 223.

his manuscripts to the Palatine Library. Montfaucon did not have access to this Palatine codex, but he made use of a Paris MS.—formerly Reg. 2962, in the present Bibliothèque Nationale marked Gr. 1286—likewise containing his first version, but with a different title, viz. *τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν μεγάλου Ἀθανασίου ὁμολογία τῆς αὐτοῦ πίστεως.* This he has followed certainly in one reading, as well as the title. A few years ago the late Rev. S. S. Lewis, the learned Librarian of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, did me the favour to inspect this MS. for me, and he informed me that it appeared both to himself and to the Keeper of MSS. at Paris 'to date from the beginning of the sixteenth century, or at most from the end of the fifteenth century.'

This first Greek version of Montfaucon commences, *Εἴ τις θέλει σωθῆναι πρὸ πάντων χρὴ αὐτῷ τὴν καθολικὴν κρατῆσαι πίστιν*, the Palatine MS. reads *χρεία ἐστὶ ἵνα . . . κρατήσῃ.* It may also be mentioned that it renders *persona* in verse 4 *πρόσωπον*, elsewhere *ὑπόστασις*, *coaeterna* in verse 6 *συνδιαιωνίζουσα* (and similarly in verse 24), *immensus* *ἄμετρος*, *aeternus* *αἰώνιος*, *omnipotens* both in verses 13 and 14 and in verse 37 *παντοκράτωρ*, *singillatim* *μοναδικῶς*, *sentiat* in verse 26 *νοείτω*: it differs from the Latin in the words of verse 27 *βεβαίως πιστεύῃ*, but follows it closely in those of the last verse *πιστῶς τε καὶ βεβαίως.* But what is especially to be noticed is that in the verse relating to the Procession of the Holy Ghost the words *καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ* are wanting, a proof that this version was the work of a member of the Greek Church. Doubtless the omission was made in perfectly good faith. Believing that the Creed was the composition of St. Athanasius, and that the great Greek Father held precisely the same doctrine respecting the Procession which was held and affirmed by Greeks of

a later age, the author of the version necessarily regarded the 'et Filio' as a Latin interpolation, and felt assured that by not inserting the Greek equivalent of the expression he was simply reproducing the genuine text of Athanasius. It would be impossible to ascertain precisely when or where this version was drawn up. The fact of the earliest of the two MSS. in which it appears, at present extant or rather known to be so, being of the fourteenth century, is no proof that the document itself was not produced prior to that date, unless indeed the MS. could be shown to be the original copy of the author; for many MSS. of it must have perished in the wreck of ages. Probably it is an earlier work. Had it been a product of the fourteenth century or the fifteenth, we might have expected in verse 25 *μονὰς ἐν τριάδι καὶ τριὰς ἐν μονάδι*, the reading which had become usual at that epoch: but we find the older form instead, *τριὰς ἐν μονάδι καὶ μονὰς ἐν τριάδι*. Nicholas Hydruntinus, i.e. of Otranto, who flourished at the commencement of the twelfth century, clearly implies that in his time, and even before it, there was extant a Greek version of the Athanasian Creed which did not contain the phrase *καὶ ἐκ τοῦ υἱοῦ*[1]. This can be none other than the version of which we are treating. There does not appear to be any earlier trace of the document or allusion to it, nor is it at all probable that it originated much before. The readings *εἰς σάρκα* and *εἰς θεότητα* in verse 33 imply the corresponding Latin readings 'in carnem' and 'in Deum,' which are rarely found before the eleventh

[1] He is quoted by Leo Allatius, *de Ecclesiae Occidentalis et Orientalis perpetua consensione*, lib. iii. cap. i. vii. p. 887, as saying respecting the Greeks, *ὅτι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀγνοοῦσι, τίς ὁ προσθήσας ἐν τῇ πίστει τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀθανασίου τῇ καθολικῇ λεγομένῃ, ὡς ἐν τῷ ἑλληνικῷ οὐχὶ τοῦτο, ὅπερ ἐστὶ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ υἱοῦ, περιέχεται, οὔτε ἐν τῷ συμβόλῳ*. By *τὸ σύμβολον* is plainly meant the Creed of Constantinople.

century. 'Pariter' in verse 28, which was the reading of early MSS. though omitted in the later, is not represented here by any Greek word. The version may have emerged at the end of the eleventh century, when attempts began to be made for effecting the reunion of the Greek and Latin Churches. The fact of its being well known to Nicholas Hydruntinus would dispose us to regard Southern Italy as its birthplace, especially as Eastern and Western Christendom were there brought face to face one with another, and the close and constant intercourse existing between the members of the two Churches, who were there thrown together, would naturally lead to the examination and discussion of their religious differences.

(*b*) Montfaucon's second Greek version has for title, Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἀθανασίου τοῦ μεγάλου ὁμολογία τῆς καθολικῆς πίστεως ἣν ἔδωκε πρὸς Ἰούλιον Πάπαν. To this Genebrard, by whom it was first edited, adds Ῥώμης. It commences, Τῷ θέλοντι σωθῆναι πρὸ πάντων ἀνάγκη τὴν καθολικὴν πίστιν κατέχειν. *Persona* is always rendered πρόσωπον, and *omnipotens* παντοδύναμος; *immensus* is ἄπειρος; *aeternus* ἀΐδιος; the Latin formula in regard to the Procession is followed, τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον παρὰ πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ, οὐ ποιηθέν, οὐ κτισθέν, οὐ γεννηθέν, ἀλλ' ἐκπορευόμενον, this version must therefore have been the work of a member of the Latin Church, either a Greek or one who understood Greek, or possibly of a Greek favourably disposed to the Latin Church; for in the thirteenth century a Latinizing party grew up within the Greek Church. In verse 25 it follows, like the first version, the older reading, thus: τὴν τριάδα ἐν τῇ μονάδι καὶ τὴν μονάδα ἐν τῇ τριάδι σέβειν δεῖ. In verse 26 *sentiat* is rendered φρονείτω. In verse 28 βεβαία πίστις is a variation from the Latin; but μετὰ τῶν ἰδίων σωμάτων in verse 38, and πιστῶς καὶ βεβαίως in the last

adhere to it closely. This version was first edited by Genebrard, Archbishop of Aix in Provence, in 1569, in his 'Expositio Symboli Athanasiani' subjoined to his Commentary on the Psalms, and was afterwards printed by Zialowski in the little work already mentioned. According to Montfaucon, the former describes it as belonging to the Church of Constantinople [1]. But this is not accurate, the words of Genebrard being 'Constantinopolitani sic legunt et recitant,' for which statement he does not add his grounds or authority. It may have been used by Greek-speaking members of the Latin Church at Constantinople; but members of the Greek Church would not have received or recited a version formulating the Latin doctrine of the Procession.

Montfaucon informs us that this version was found in a MS. of the Royal Library at Paris, numbered in his time 2502, the original owner of which was Johannes Heraltus Boistallerius, the French Ambassador at Venice in the reign of Charles IX (1560–1574). He adds a note in Greek, prefixed by the writer to one of the documents in the manuscript, the Dialogue of Athanasius with Arius, which is to the effect that he, Zacharias a priest of Crete, had written the book for Boistaller by agreement for a certain sum of money. A Latin translation of this follows; and then comes another note in Latin only, described as written *beneath* the former one, and conveying the further information that *this book* was transcribed at Venice from a very ancient Cretan *exemplar* by Zacharias the priest in the year 1562 [2]. It is uncertain

[1] 'Ait ille,' i. e. Genebrardus, 'esse ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae'; Montfaucon, *Diatribe.*

[2] 'Extat in Regio codice 2502, olim ex Bibliotheca Iohannis Heralti Boistallerii, a Carolo IX, Venetias legati. In quo codice haec leguntur ante Dialogum S. Athanasii cum Ario: *τὸ πάρον βιβλίον ἐγράφη παρ' ἐμοῦ Ζαχαρίου*

however, continues Montfaucon, whether the Creed was copied from the very ancient *exemplar* referred to, inasmuch as, the MS. being a large bulky volume and comprising a great variety of documents, it is doubtful whether they were transcribed from one codex or many[1]. The latter alternative would appear most probably the right one, judging from the description of the MS. in the present catalogue of Greek MSS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale, as well as from that in the catalogue of the same MSS. in the Royal Library dated 1740, but especially from the latter as it is the fullest; for a MS. comprising works by writers of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries could scarcely be described as very ancient in the year 1562. Besides, the notes of Zacharias would naturally be understood to apply only to the document, to which according to Montfaucon they are prefixed, and which is numbered 36 among the contents, the whole number amounting to 52. It is a point however which could only be determined for certain by a careful examination of the MS. In the existing uncertainty we are in the dark as to both the antiquity of the codex from which the priest Zacharias transcribed our version and the locality which produced it. It should be mentioned that the MS. in question, which was numbered 2502 in Montfaucon's time, in the present catalogue of

ἱερέως τοῦ Κρητὸς *τοῦ* Μαραφαρᾶ *διὰ συνδρομῆς καὶ μισθοῦ τοῦ ἐνδοξοτάτου κυρίου* Ἰωάννου Βοϊσταλλερίου *πρεσβέως* Ἐνετίησι *τοῦ λαμπροτάτου καὶ γαληνοτάτου τοῦ αὐθέντου σύρου* (*sic*) Κάρλου Βασιλέως Γάλλων. *Καίτοι, ἐὰν εὕρητέ τι λάθος, σύγγνωτε· ἀνθρώπινον πάθος τὸ ἁμαρτάνειν.* Ἐρρωσθε.' Then, after a Latin translation of this, it is added: 'Et inferius: "Transcriptus et recognitus liber hic est ex vetustissimo exemplari Cretico. Venetiis, anno 1562, impensa facta aureorum x Zacharias transcripsit et habuit."' Montfaucon, *Diatribe*.

[1] 'Incertum autem utrum ex illo quod memorat vetustissimo exemplari Symbolum etiam sit mutuatus; codex quippe amplae molis multa et varia complectitur, quae dubitare licet ex unone codice exscripta fuerint an ex compluribus.' Ibid.

Greek manuscripts in the Paris Library and in that of 1740 is numbered 1327.

Another MS. copy of this version is preserved in Codex cxc, according to Nessel's Catalogue, of the Greek MSS. in the Imperial Library at Vienna; where it is headed by the same title as in Genebrard, and therefore we may presume in the Paris MS. also, which probably Genebrard followed [1]. This codex also contains a variety of documents, twenty-nine in all, the one we are concerned with being the eighteenth; and several of these documents are such as to show it to be the compilation either of a Latin who understood Greek or of a Greek Latinizer. For instance, our document is immediately preceded by the Apostles' Creed, with each article assigned to one of the Apostles: there are also quotations from St. Thomas Aquinas on the subject of the Procession, a collection made by Bessarion of passages from Latin Fathers and various Councils of Toledo on the same subject, and works by the Latinizing Patriarch of Constantinople, Beccus or Veccus, and by Bessarion likewise, relating to the Procession. It will be remembered that Bessarion was a Greek who advocated the Western doctrine of the Procession at the Council of Florence, afterwards joined the Latin Church, was made Bishop of Tusculum and a Roman Cardinal, and died in 1472. The fact that this codex includes works written by him shows that it cannot be earlier than the latter part of the fifteenth century, though described by Nessel as 'mediocriter antiquus,' supposing it all to be of the

[1] 'cxc. Codex manuscriptus Theologicus Graecus est chartaceus, mediocriter antiquus et bonae notae in quarto constatque nunc foliis trecentis triginta duobus et ad Ioannem Sambucam . . . olim pertinuit.' *Catalogus Codicum manuscriptorum Graecorum Bibliothecae Caesareae Vindobonensis.* Edidit Daniel de Nessel, Vindobonae, 1690, vol. i. p. 278. The version begins on fol. 303.

same date, as would seem to be the case from his account.

This version would not seem to be so early as the first version of Montfaucon, but can scarcely be assigned to a later date than the thirteenth century, as it renders verse 25 of the Creed—'So that in all things,' &c.—in accordance with the earlier form. The statement of Genebrard mentioned above would dispose us to see in Constantinople the locality which produced it. Not improbably it emanated from the Latin Church which was established in that city after its capture by the French and Venetians in 1203.

(*c*) We come now to the third version of Montfaucon—the one of all the Greek versions which most claims our attention and most concerns us. It is also found, but with some variety of readings, in Labbe and Cossart[1].

It commences Ὅστις ἂν (in most editions ἄν is omitted) *βούληται σωθῆναι, πρὸ πάντων χρὴ κρατεῖν τὴν καθολικὴν πίστιν.* It enunciates the double Procession—a proof of its Latin origin—*τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ, οὐ ποιητόν, οὐ κτιστόν, οὐδὲ γεννητόν, ἀλλ' ἐκπορευτόν.* Other distinctive renderings are *ὑπόστασις* for *persona* in verses 4, 5 and 24, as well as in verse 34; *ἀκατάληπτος* for *immensus*—differing from both the preceding versions; *παντοδύναμος* for *omnipotens* in verses 13 and 14, but in verse 35 *παντοκράτωρ*; *ἰδίαν* or *ἰδίᾳ* for *singillatim* in verse 19; *τὴν μονάδα ἐν τριάδι σέβεσθαι δεῖ καὶ τὴν τριάδα ἐν μονάδι* in verse 25; *φρονείτω* for *sentiat* in verse 26; *ὀρθῶς πιστεύσῃ* for *fideliter credat* in verse 27; *οὐ τροπῇ τῆς θεότητος εἰς σάρκα ἀλλὰ προσλήψει τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος εἰς θεόν* in verse 33; *ὁ θεάνθρωπος* for *Deus et homo* in verse 35; *μετὰ*

[1] *Concilia*, tom. ii. p. 1353, edit. 1759.

τῶν σωμάτων αὐτῶν for *cum corporibus suis* in verse 38; *πιστῶς πιστεύσῃ* for *fideliter firmiterque crediderit* in the last verse.

Several editions of this version were printed prior to those of Labbe and Montfaucon. In the sixteenth century it was repeatedly edited, and once certainly in the fifteenth. For in the year 1497 it was printed and published by Aldus at Venice in a Book of Hours of the Blessed Virgin in Greek; and this may be considered as probably, I should not venture to say for certain, the first printed edition of it. The volume is small, containing 116 leaves in 16mo. On the verso of the flyleaf there is a print of the Annunciation. The title, printed in rubric, is '*Ὧραι τῆς ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας κατ' ἔθος τῆς ῥωμαικῆς αὐλῆς. Ἑπτὰ ψαλμοὶ τῆς μετανοίας.* Horae beatiss. virginis secundum consuetudinem Romanae curiae. Septem psalmi poenitentiales cum letaniis et orationibus.' This is an imperfect account of the contents, the Litany (which is distinctly Latin in character) and the Prayers being followed by our version of the Athanasian Creed, headed by the title in rubric, *Σύμβολον τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀθανασίου.* Then follow some prayers and lessons for use apparently at the *Λειτουργία τῆς ὑπεραγίας καὶ ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας,* with which the book is concluded. Where the book was printed and by whom and when we learn from the colophon, which is in rubric: *Ἐν ἐνετίῃσι ἐτυπώθη παρὰ ἄλδῳ· οὐκ ἄνευ μέντοι προνομίου· χιλιοστῷ τετρακοσιοστῷ ἐννενηκοστῷ ἑβδόμῳ ἀπὸ τῆς θεογονίας ἔτει· μηνὸς τοῦ σειδεῶνος πεμπτῇ ἱσταμένου· ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Αὐγουστίνου Βορβαδίκου τὴν βασιλίδα τῶν πολέων ταύτην ἐντυχῶς ἡνιοχοῦντος.* Possibly this copy of the Creed in Greek has hitherto escaped notice owing to no mention of it occurring in the title. It may be advisable to add that all the contents of this book are in Greek. Renouard in his *Annales de l'imprimerie des Aldes* describes

it as being extremely scarce. The copy that I met with is in the Bodleian Library.

Among the Canonici MSS. in the Bodleian Library is a MS. written at Venice in 1518—Canonici Greek 116—having precisely the same contents as the book just mentioned, except that there is no frontispiece. Wherever I collated these two books I found such a close and exact resemblance between them, that I could not help feeling convinced that the one was copied from the other—the later necessarily from the earlier. The variations seemed to me few and trifling. Even in the form of the letters a striking resemblance is sometimes observable. At any rate, if the MS. was not thus copied from the printed book, they must both have been reproduced from the same prototype. The former alternative is clearly the most probable. As regards size too the two books very nearly coincide, and there is an evident likeness in the style of their bindings. The Athanasian Creed in this MS. has exactly the same text as in the printed book, with the exception of one trifling variation, and it has the same title. The colophon acquaints us with the name of the writer as well as the date when the MS. was written and the place where. It is observable also that *mutatis mutandis* it corresponds with the colophon in the Aldus book—another note of the relation between the two books. It is as follows: Ἐν ἐνετίῃσι ἐγράφθη ὑπὸ Βερνάρδου τοῦ φελικιάνου χιλιοστῷ πεντακοσιοστῷ δεκάτῳ ὀγδοάτῳ ἀπὸ τῆς θεογονίας ἔτει ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Λεονάρδου λαυρετάνου τὴν βασιλίδα τῶν πολέων ταύτην εὐτυχῶς ἡνιοχοῦντος. On the flyleaf at the beginning the names of two former owners are written, 'Vincentii Contareni, nunc Bernardi Paliae,' and underneath in the same hand, 'Mano di Bernardo Feliciano.' It must be remembered that the Canonici collection of MSS. in the

Bodleian was formed at Venice by Matheo Luigi Canonici, a Venetian Jesuit, who died in 1805 or 1806. It passed into the possession of the University of Oxford by purchase in 1817[1].

And this book of Aldus must have obtained a large circulation, for it was not only copied in manuscript, but it was several times reprinted and re-edited, and in various places. First it was reprinted by Aldus himself at Venice in 1505. The title is entirely in Latin, and is fuller than in the original: 'Horae in laudem beatissimae Virginis secundum consuetudinem Romanae curiae. Septem psalmi poenitentiales cum litaniis et orationibus. Sacrificium in laudem sanctissimae Virginis.' On the verso side of the title-page, instead of a print of the Annunciation which appears in the first edition, there is the following address or preface by Aldus, which I think it worth while to transcribe, as it is reproduced in all subsequent editions: *Ἄλδος τοῖς σπουδαίοις εὖ πράττειν. Καλὸν τὸ σπουδάζειν ἐπὶ λόγους οὐκ ἀρνησαίμην ἄν, εἴ τις ἀσπάζοιτο ἐν τούτῳ καὶ τὰ θεῖα. Ἐφ' ᾧ ὁμοῦ γενήσεθ' ἑκάτερον, ἰδοὺ ἡμῶν ἡ πρόξενος, λέγω δὴ ταυτηνὶ τὴν βύβλον. Μὴ τοίνυν ὀκνεῖτε ὁμιλεῖν αὐτῇ ὁσημέραι καὶ ταῦτα ὀρθρευομένοι. Ζητητέα γὰρ τὸ πρῶτον ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ βασιλεία. Ἔρρωσθε.* There is no mention of printer's name nor of place or date of printing on the title-page, but these we learn from the colophon, which is the same in form *mutatis mutandis* as those in the first printed edition and the Canonici MS. After it is added, 'Venetiis apud Aldum mense Iulio. M.D.V.' And on the verso of the last leaf the emblem or sign of Aldus—an anchor round which a dolphin is twisting—is printed in rubric. The British Museum possesses a copy of this volume.

[1] See *Annals of the Bodleian Library*, by the Rev. W. D. Macray, 1st edit. pp. 223, 224.

A third edition of these Hours of Aldus was printed at Tubingen in 1514 by Thomas Anselm, as appears from the colophon: 'Τουβιγγᾶς ἐτυπώθη παρὰ Θώμᾳ τῷ Ἀνσέλμῳ χιλιοστῷ πεντακοσιοστῷ τετάρτῳ καὶ δεκάτῳ ἀπὸ τῆς θεογονίας ἔτει μηνὸς μαιμακτηριῶνος. Tubingae apud Thomam Anshelmum mense Augusto. Anno M.D.XIIII.' A few prayers are added at the end in this, which are not found in the 1505 Hours; otherwise the two books are apparently the same as regards their contents. Of this also there is a copy in the British Museum.

A fourth was issued by the same printer in 1518 at Hagenau. The colophon is as follows: 'Hagenoae ex Charisio Thomae Anshelmi. Mense Augusto, M.D.XVIII.' A copy of this also is in the British Museum.

A fifth it would seem was produced at Hagenau by Thomas Anselm, for the colophon, which omits to mention the year of its publication, assigns it to a different month: 'Hagnoae, ex Charisio Thomae Anshelmi. Mense Ianuario.' The Catalogue of the British Museum, which possesses a copy of the book, dates it, but doubtfully, in the year 1520. Both these books contain the prayers which are added at the end of the 1514 book, and another which is not there.

A sixth was printed at Florence by the heirs of Philip Juntas in 1520. The colophon is as follows: 'per haeredes Philippi Junte. Anno Domini M.D.XX. Die vero Martii VII. Leone X. Pont.' This book does not include the prayers which are added at the end in the three last-named editions, but closes instead with the Vespers of the Dead. Of this edition also a copy is preserved in the British Museum.

A seventh was issued from the Aldus press in 1521 by Andrea d'Asola, the father-in-law of Aldus, and his brothers-

in-law, who carried on the printing business for some years after his death, which took place in 1515. The colophon on the last leaf is, 'Venetiis apud Aldum mense Iunio MDXXI.' On the verso side is the usual emblem or badge of Aldus. The book is described by Renouard, the Aldine bibliographer, as one of great rarity and value. A copy of it, which formerly belonged to him, is now in the Bodleian.

An eighth was printed at Paris by Wechel in 1538, as we learn from the title-page and the colophon, which is as follows: 'Parisiis. Ex officina Christiani Wecheli sub scuto Basiliensi. MDXXXVIII.' The escutcheon of Basle was the emblem of Wechel in the early part of his career. Of this book the British Museum contains two copies and the Bodleian one; another is mentioned by Dr. Swainson. Three other works, also printed by Wechel, are bound up in the same volume with it.

Lastly, a ninth edition was printed by Francis Stephens or Stephanus at Paris in 1543, of which there is a copy in the British Museum.

I do not pretend to represent this as an exhaustive list of the early-printed editions of the Horae in Greek, but only as a list of those of which I have met with copies. For all I know there may be yet others extant. In every one of these which I have mentioned the Athanasian Creed is found, of course in Greek, in the same place—following the Litany and prayers, with the same title, already stated—*Σύμβολον τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀθανασίου*, and with scarcely any variation of text. This uniformity of the text of the *Quicunque* in these books is the more remarkable, as in regard to their other contents some diversity of detail is observable. For instance, the concluding prayers vary a little in the different editions; and in the Florence edition, as in the first, there is a print of the Annunciation

on the verso of the title-page, whereas in all others the preface or address of Aldus, which I have transcribed, occupies the same position: in a note written on the flyleaf of the Bodleian copy of the 1521 edition a former owner says that after a careful collation of that with the 1505 edition he had discovered several variations of reading, though to an unpractised eye the two books would appear perfectly identical, and in substance no doubt they are the same.

And our version of the Creed in the text, which is found in this book of Hours, first printed by Aldus, appears in another early printed book of devotion—a Greek Psalter, first printed by Wolf or Vvolf Cephalaeus at Strasburg in 1524. The title is 'ΨΑΛΤΗΡΙΟΝ *προφήτου καὶ βασιλέως τοῦ Δάβιδ.* Argentorati apud Vvolf. Cephal.' On the verso of the title-page is a preface or address similar to that in the Aldine Hours. It is headed, *Ἰωάννης Λεοντονίκης τοῖς ἱερῶν πραγμάτων σπουδαίοις εὖ πράττειν*, and concludes, *βόλφιόν τε κεφάλαιον τὸν τυπόγραφον σπουδὴν ὑμῶν ὀφέλλοντα εἰς μείζου' ὀτρύνετε ἄσκελες. Ἔρρωσθε.* The Psalter is followed, as in the Septuagint, by the apocryphal 151st Psalm, and then the Canticles according to the Greek rite are subjoined, all of course in Greek. After these comes ΤΕΛΟΣ, and then some Greek iambics, the first being *Δάβιδ μέλωδε μουσικῆς ἀποκρύφου*: then the Athanasian Creed preceded by the same title, as in the books just noticed. I have no doubt, however, that both title and text were derived immediately from the Canonici MS., the text being precisely coincident with that found there, with the exception of two remarkable variations. In verse 35 *εἷς δὲ ἄνθρωπος* is read for *εἷς ἐστὶν ἄνθρωπος*, and in the last verse *ἐστὶ ἡ καθολικὴ* for *ἐστὶν ἡ καθολικὴ*. Both of these are clearly the copyist's errors, and both are traceable to the same cause—the peculiarities of

the handwriting—as is evident from an examination of the MS. They are mistakes which could not have occurred if the copyist had had before him one of the printed editions of the Hours. Another proof of this, though not equally cogent, is that both in the MS. and the Strasburg book the Creed is followed by an abbreviation for the Doxology—Δόξα. Καί νυν with a mark of contraction over the last word—and in the printed book the forms of the letters and of the contraction seem to be imitated from the MS. All the printed Hours, with the exception of Aldus's first edition, have simply Δόξα. The *Quicunque* is the last document in this volume. At the end is the following colophon: ἐκτετύπωται ἐν Ἀργεντίνῃ τῇ ἐλευθέρᾳ ἐν οἰκίᾳ Βολφίου τοῦ κεφαλαίου ἔτει τῆς σωτηρίας ἡμῶν, αφκδ.[1] Μηνὶ βοηδρομιῶνι. The British Museum and the Bodleian both possess copies of this interesting book, and Dr. Swainson states that the University Library at Cambridge contains another. The late Mr. Brewer was the first, I believe, to call attention to the fact of its containing a Greek version of the Athanasian Creed[2].

This Greek Psalter with the Athanasian Creed subjoined was reprinted in 1533 at Antwerp by Joannes Grapheus. The Antwerp reprint has the address of Joannes Leontonikes on the verso side of the title-page: instead of the peculiar reading in verse 35 of the Creed—εἷς δὲ ἄνθρωπος—which is found in the Strasburg edition, it has εἷς ἐστὶ ἄνθρωπος. There is a copy of it in the Bodleian Library.

Both these books appear to have been intended for the use of the same class of persons, members of the Latin Church who were enthusiastic admirers and students of the Greek language, so much so that books of devotion in

[1] i.e. 1524.

[2] Brewer, *Athanasian Creed vindicated*, pp. 60, 61, published in 1871.

Greek possessed in their eyes an enhanced value. It cannot be supposed that they were designed for the use of adherents of the Greek Church. They must have obtained a large circulation, especially the Hours, as is shown by the numerous editions through which it passed, and from the fact of its being printed in such a wide variety of localities. My reason for drawing attention to them is that the text of the *Quicunque* which they contain appears to have influenced in some passages our Prayer Book translation of it. For the same reason I insert a copy of it in Appendix K.

One more book remains to be mentioned, which contains our version in the same text, which appears in all these books, 'collectanea aliquot que Sebastianus Lepusculus Basileensis colligebat' subjoined to 'Iosippus de bello Iudaico.' On the title-page of the volume there is no mention of these *collectanea*, nor of the printer, nor of the date of printing; but at the commencement is a dedicatory epistle by Lepusculus, addressed 'domino magistro Severino Erizbergio . . . in Academia Basileensi Decano,' and concluding with the colophon: 'Basileae ex museo meo in commemoratione beati Matthiae Apostoli 24 Februarii. Anno 1559.' Lepusculus does not say from what source he derived his text of the Creed; but evidently this must have been the edition of Wolfius, or else the manuscript copy which Wolfius used. For he reproduces the two remarkable and obviously erroneous readings, to which I have drawn attention as appearing in that edition, and indeed in that alone, viz. εἷς δὲ ἄνθρωπος in verse 35, and ἐστι in the last. The other variations between the two texts are few and trifling. The title of the Creed is the same in both.

A few years later, Waterland says in 1569, Gilbert

Genebrard, who became eventually Archbishop of Aix in Provence, edited our version with a text differing somewhat, but not substantially, from that of Aldus and the editions previously noticed. He found it in a manuscript book in Greek relating to the Procession of the Holy Spirit which had been presented in the year 1533 to Lazarus Baiffius, the Ambassador of Francis the First at Venice, by Dionysius, the Greek bishop of two of the Cyclades—Zea or Ceos, and Thermia or Kythnos[1]. He adds that the book had been decorated in a very elegant manner by Nicolaus Sophrianus[2]. The title of the Creed in this copy is different from that found in all the printed editions of our version hitherto noticed. It is as follows: Ἔκθεσις ὁμολογίας τῆς καθολικῆς πίστεως τοῦ μεγάλου Ἀθανασίου πατριάρχου Ἀλεξανδρείας πρὸς Ἰούλιον πάπαν. Genebrard's text thus edited from the MS. of Baiffius was re-edited in Zialowski's book already mentioned.

In his preface Genebrard also adverts to two editions of our version, both of which are clearly distinct from any of those to which we have previously drawn attention. The

[1] 'Hoc Symbolum reperi in libro Graeco manuscripto de Processione Spiritus Sancti, quem Lazaro Baiffio oratori Regis Francisci I apud Venetos obtulit Dionysius Graecus episcopus Zienensis et Firmiensis, an. 1533.' The words occur in Genebrard's Preface to his edition and Exposition of the Creed which are printed at the end of his Commentary on the Psalms published at Lyons in 1607. His Exposition of the Creed is there described as 'Gilberti Genebrardi theologi Parisiensis et Archiepiscopi Aquensis Symboli D. Athanasii Archiepiscopi Alexandriae expositio ex tertio libro eiusdem de S. Trinitate desumpta et eiusdem Psalmorum commentariis adiuncta.' From which it would appear that the Creed with his Exposition of it was first edited by Genebrard in his work on the Trinity. Of this book there is no copy I believe in either the Bodleian or the British Museum; but both libraries contain a copy of the Lyons book. Genebrard died in 1599, having been seven years Archbishop of Aix. The word *Firmiensis* will be observed in the above passage. Possibly *Firmium* or *Firmia* was the Latin name for Thermia in the sixteenth century.

[2] 'Quem manu sua elegantissime pinxerat Nicolaus Sophrianus Patrum nostrorum aevo vir valde doctus.' Ibid. u. s.

earliest of these was printed by Nicholas Bryling at Basle, but in what year is not known, as Genebrard omits to mention the date; it must, however, be assigned to the middle of the sixteenth century, at which epoch Bryling carried on the printing business. The other was by Henry Stephens in 1565. From Genebrard's description it appears that the text of the Creed in these two editions must have been one and the same; the later must therefore have been a reprint of the earlier[1]. This is also evident from the list of seven various readings which he has printed, headed 'in impres. exemplar.,' in the margin of his own text from Baiffius, and which he states to be the result of his collation of their text with his own. Had there been any diversity between Bryling and Stephens, he would have given two lists of variants as the result of his collation. Unfortunately he has supplied no further information in regard to either of these two editions of our version, so that we are not aware of what books they severally formed a part. Dr. Swainson supposed that Henry Stephens's copy was included in the *Rudimenta fidei Christianae*—Calvin's Catechism in Greek and Latin—which was the only book, so far as we know, printed by him in the year 1565 besides a French Bible and Beza's Greek Testament[2]. But this was certainly not the case, as the book, of which I have seen a copy in the Bodleian, contains the Apostles' Creed only in Greek, not the Athanasian.

Waterland considered Bryling's edition to be the first which was printed of our version; and Montfaucon was under a similar mistake in regard to that of Henry Stephens.

[1] 'Cui,' he says in reference to his own copy from Baiffius's codex, 'affine est, quod olim evulgavit Basileae Nicholaus Bryling, deinde in Gallia, an. 1565. Henricus Stephanus.'

[2] See *Stephanorum Historia*, by Michael Maittaire, 1709.

This is the more remarkable, as Genebrard, with whose Preface both these divines were acquainted, speaks of several earlier editions being disseminated through the whole of Europe [1].

The title of the Creed in Bryling and Henry Stephens is the same as in the Aldus edition and the various editions which I have noticed as following it, and therefore differs from that found in the Baiffius codex. The text, while substantially identical with those of Baiffius and Aldus, is discriminated from both by some variants, and must consequently have been derived from some independent source unknown to us. Nor do we know from what MS. Aldus copied his text. In regard to the texts of Labbe and Montfaucon, Waterland says: 'I take them to have been patched up from several distinct copies at the pleasure of the editor or editors [2].' This estimate would seem to be correct. Labbe does not mention any manuscript authority for his text, and Montfaucon evidently compiled his from the printed editions with which he was acquainted, those of Labbe and Genebrard and Henry Stephens.

Besides the Canonici MS. which I have noticed there is, I believe, only one other MS. of our version known as extant at the present day. We are indebted to the late Dr. Swainson for some account of the volume in his book on the Creeds [3], and for a printed copy of the text of the Athanasian Creed which it contains. It is in the Library at Florence, and has the press-mark Plut. XI. cod. 12, and belongs to the fifteenth century. In this, as in the Canonici MS., the Creed is apparently attached to a devo-

[1] 'Graeca exempla,' i. e. of the Athanasian Creed, 'pridem in totam Europam divulgata sunt Parisiis, Basileae, aliisque ex locis multis, deinde vero cum Latino collata per Georgium Vuicelium.' Genebrard, u. s.

[2] *History of the Athanasian Creed*, p. 217, note, edit. Oxford, 1870.

[3] p. 472.

tional book. The title is the same as in that MS. and the Aldus books of Hours, and the text also in substance; for there are several variations of reading, but they are of trifling importance, such as necessarily result from the errors and slips of copyists, the most important being the omission of the words in the last verse but one, *οἱ δὲ τὰ φαῦλα εἰς τὸ πῦρ τὸ αἰώνιον*, which is obviously due to the occurrence of the last word immediately before. The divergence of this MS. from the text of Aldus is sufficient to prove that it could not have been the copy which he followed, while the substantial agreement with it is such as to confirm most of his readings.

There are some notices of this version by Latinizing members of the Greek Church, and by Greeks who had seceded to the Latin Church in the fifteenth and two preceding centuries, which are of interest as showing that not only were they conversant with it, but that they also regarded it as the genuine work of St. Athanasius, and moreover as showing by consequence that it was the product of a prior epoch. Not long after the Council of Florence, held in 1439, a dialogue respecting the points of difference between the Greeks and Latins and in support of the conclusions of that Synod was composed and issued by Johannes Plusiadenus, described as Archipresbyter, the principal interlocutors being Εὐλαβής or Pius, and Ῥακενδύτης, a term of reproach and contempt applied by Latins to any partisan of the Greek Church, and meaning *ragged fellow*. Pius is represented as saying: Αὐτίκα ὁ μέγας τῆς ἐκκλησίας στύλος ὁ θεῖος τῷ ὄντι καὶ ἱερὸς Ἀθανάσιος ἐν τῇ ὁμολογίᾳ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ πίστεως, ἣν ἐξέθετο πρὸς Λιβέριον Πάπαν, ἧς ἡ ἀρχή, Ὅστις ἂν βούληται σωθῆναι, Τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, φησίν, ἀπὸ τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, οὐ ποιητόν, οὐ κτιστόν, οὐδὲ γεννητόν, ἀλλ' ἐκπορευτόν. Τί πρὸς τοῦτο ἔχεις εἰπεῖν; οὐκ

ἐστὶν ἅγιος οὗτος καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας διδάσκαλος[1]; That the version we are at present considering is here quoted does not admit of doubt. The reply of Rhacendytes is remarkable: Ἅγιον μὲν καὶ διδάσκαλον ἔχω, πλὴν ἀμφιβάλλω μὴ εἶναι τὴν ῥῆσιν ταύτην γνήσιον αὐτοῦ; Pius rejoins: Πῶς οὐκ ἐστὶ γνησία τοῦ διδασκάλου ἡ ῥῆσις αὕτη; Combefis supposes that this ῥῆσις or phrase was the Creed itself; but from the context it clearly appears to have been the words καὶ ἐκ τοῦ υἱοῦ. The Greeks did not deny the genuineness of the Creed, but only of these words. It is deserving of notice that the Creed is here said to have been presented to Pope Liberius, though in the copy of Genebrard from Baiffius's codex and in the title to Montfaucon's second version it is described as having been presented to Pope Julius. Plusiadenus is considered by Leo Allatius, who edited his Dialogue in his *Graecia Orthodoxa*, as also by Fabricius and Wharton, to be identical with Josephus Methonensis, who was likewise the author of an apology for the Council of Florence, but Cave does not concur with that opinion.

Our version was also quoted by Manuel Calecas as follows: Ταύτην γὰρ ἐὰν μή τις πιστῶς πιστεύσῃ, σωθῆναι οὐ δύναται, ὡς ὁ μέγας Ἀθανάσιος ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἰούλιον Πάπαν Ῥώμης τῆς πίστεως ὁμολογίᾳ προσέθηκεν[2]. That Montfaucon's third version is here quoted is plain, as the first reads πιστῶς τε καὶ βεβαίως πιστεύσῃ, and the second πιστῶς καὶ βεβαίως πιστεύσῃ. The Florence and Canonici MSS. of the third version both read πιστῶς πιστεύσῃ, as do also the two Aldine Horae, and Weckel and the Strasburg Psalter, and Lepusculus and Bryling, and Stephens and Genebrard. It is

[1] See Leo Allatius, *Graecia Orthodoxa*, Roma, 1652, tom. ii. p. 531.

[2] The passage occurs in his work *De principiis Fidei Catholicae*, cap. x. ἐπίλογος, edited by Combefis, *Bibliothecae Auctarium*, Pars altera, Paris, 1672.

true that Labbe has ἐκ πίστεως βεβαίως πιστεύσῃ, which Montfaucon has adopted from him, but it is quite unauthorized, and is probably a corruption of the reading of the first version, πιστῶς τε καὶ βεβαίως πιστεύσῃ. Manuel Calecas was a Greek by birth, who joined the Latin Church and eventually entered the Order of Preachers or Dominicans. Combefis, himself a Dominican, speaks of him as 'vir eruditus ac vere Theologus,' and Cardinal Turrecremata, who belonged to the same order, says of him, 'Graecus magnae sapientiae Frater Ordinis Praedicatorum.' According to the former of these two authorities, he was a sufferer in the persecution which took place under the Greek Emperor, Andronicus senior, shortly after the Council of Lyons, i. e. towards the close of the thirteenth century [1].

We have a third and rather earlier quotation of this same version. Veccus, or Beccus, the Latinizing Patriarch of Constantinople, quotes it, and, like Plusiadenus and Calecas, he quotes it as the work of Athanasius: Ὁ ἅγιος Ἀθανάσιος ἐν τῇ ὁμολογίᾳ τῆς αὐτοῦ πίστεως φησίν, τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ ἐκ τοῦ υἱοῦ, οὐ ποιητόν, οὐ κτιστόν, οὐ γεννητόν, ἀλλ' ἐκπορευόμενον [2]. Veccus was made Patriarch of Constantinople in 1274, in 1282 he resigned his office, and was banished the year following; the remainder of his life was passed in exile; he died in 1298.

Thus this version certainly existed in the thirteenth century, and in all probability before that. Had it been the work of the century in which he lived, a learned man like Veccus could scarcely have been ignorant of the fact. And it is equally inconceivable, if he had known it to be

[1] See Preface by Combefis to Calceas, *De Principiis Fidei*, u. s.

[2] Joannis Vecci, *Epigraphae sive praescriptiones in dicta ac sententias sanctorum patrum a se collectae de Processione S. S. Spiritus*, lib. i, edited in Leo Allatius, *Graecia Orthodoxa*, tom. ii. p. 531.

so, that he should have regarded and quoted it as the work of Athanasius. In his time it must have been invested with a certain character of antiquity. It is therefore a necessary conclusion that it must have been produced in the twelfth century at the latest. But it cannot, as it seems to me, be assigned with any probability to an earlier date than the latter half of the preceding century. The locality where this, as well as the first version of Montfaucon, originated was probably the south of Italy, or possibly Sicily, where Greeks and Latins were living side by side, many of them acquainted with both languages.

(*d*) Montfaucon was indebted for his fourth Greek version, as he himself states[1], to Archbishop Ussher, who edited it in an Appendix to his treatise *De Romanae Ecclesiae Symbolo Apostolico aliisque . . . Fidei Symbolis* from a copy of Patrick Young, Keeper of the King's Library at St. James', with a heading in Greek which described it as issued by the Nicene Council: Ἐκ τῆς ἁγίας καὶ οἰκουμενικῆς συνόδου τῆς ἐν Νικαίᾳ περὶ πίστεως κατὰ συντομίαν καὶ πῶς δεῖ πιστεύειν τὸν ἀληθῆ Χριστιανόν. In his letter to Voss prefixed to that treatise Ussher gives the further information that the book in which it was contained was a Horology of Greek hymns, the property of a Constantinopolitan monk[2]. The document has been also printed in Labbe's *Councils* and in Gundling's edition of Zialowski's book before mentioned.

This version departs more widely than any of those previously noticed from the Latin. Much of the first part

[1] 'Ex Usserio desumpta, quam Usserius ex Patricii Iunii apographo mutuatus publicam fecit anno 1647.' *Diatribe in Symbolum Quicunque.*

[2] 'Quod in Thecarae Constantinopolitani monachi Graecorum hymnorum Horologio—a Ravio nostro ex Oriente huc advecto—Symbolum hoc eo quo post finem huius Diatribae cernitur interpolatum modo Nicaenae synodo adscriptum.'

of the Creed—that relating to the Trinity—has been recast, and the latter part has been interpolated largely with foreign matter, apparently from some dogmatic discourse or treatise. Montfaucon describes it as 'plane παραφραστικῶς conscripta.' It commences: Εἴ τις βούλοιτο σωθῆναι, πρὸ πάντων αὐτῷ χρεία κρατῆσαι τὴν ὀρθόδοξον πίστιν. *Persona* is always rendered ὑπόστασις; *immensus* παντοκράτωρ, which is peculiar to this version; *aeternus* is αἰώνιος in verses 10 and 11, as well as 27 and 39; *omnipotens* in verses 13 and 14 is παντοδύναμος; in verse 19 μοναδικῶς μίαν ἑκάστην ὑπόστασιν for *singillatim unamquamque* seems to be drawn both from the first and third versions; the doctrine of the Procession is stated in accordance with the Greek hypothesis, τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρός ἐστιν, οὐ ποιητόν, οὐ κτιστόν, οὐ γεννητόν, ἀλλ' ἐκπορευτόν; in verse 24 οὐδεὶς πρῶτος ἢ ἔσχατος οὐδεὶς μέγας ἢ μικρός is very noticeable; in verse 25 the later order occurs, μονάδα γοῦν ἐν τριάδι καὶ τριάδα ἐν μονάδι πᾶς Χριστιανὸς εὐσεβείσθω; in verse 26 *sentiat* is rendered δοξαζέτω, another peculiarity of this version; verse 33 is εἷς δὲ οὐ τραπεῖσα ἡ σὰρξ ἀλλ' ἀναληφθεῖσα εἰς θεόν; in verse 36 the *descendit ad inferos* of the Latin is entirely passed over, and the καὶ ταφείς of the Creed of Constantinople is substituted for it; in verse 37 we have τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πατρός, παντοκράτορος being omitted; and in the last verse, as in the first, ἡ ὀρθόδοξος πίστις is the phrase used, not ἡ καθολικὴ πίστις. That this version was the work of a Greek theologian is evident not only from the omission of the καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ, but also from the substitution of ὀρθόδοξος for καθολική and of ταφείς for *descendit ad inferos*, and from the insertion of several passages from Greek sources. In all probability it is of later date than any of the versions previously noticed.

(*e*) The four versions of Montfaucon are not the only

Greek versions of the Athanasian Creed known to us at present, recent research having brought two more to light.

In his work on the History of the Apostles' Creed and the Rule of Faith[1], Professor Caspari of Christiania edited from MSS. two versions, both distinct from those of Montfaucon. The first of the two he derived from Cod. DLXXV of St. Mark's Library at Venice, a MS. of the fifteenth century. The codex also contains works of Nicetas Stetatus, an epistle of Johannes Damascenus, and the Commentary of Zonaras upon the Canons, the Creed being the last document but one. It has for title *πίστις καθολικὴ τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀθανασίου*. The text is imperfect at the end, wanting the two last verses.

Another copy of this version is among the contents of No. 21 of the Greek MSS. in the Canonici Collection in the Bodleian Library—f. 147 b. The title in this case is different from that in the Venice MS., and is remarkable: *Τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀθανασίου τοῦ μεγάλου, ὃ λέγουσιν οἱ Λατινοὶ σύμβολον*. The MS. belongs to the fifteenth century: its other contents according to the Catalogue are 'Anonymi cuiusdam auctoris dissertatio per modum dialogi inter Graecum et Latinum habiti super controversiam de Azymis et de S. Spiritus Processione,' 'Expositionis in Fidem Christianam fragmentum,' 'Fragmentum tractatus de controversia inter Graecos et Latinos de S. Spiritus Processione,' 'Iohannis Patriarchae Hierosolymitani sermones tres de Azymis,' 'Simeonis Archiepiscopi Hierosolymitani sermo contra Latinos de Azymis cum notulis marginalibus instructus,' and 'Theodori Edesseni sermo de Azymis': the Creed is the last document but one. This copy has hitherto, I believe, escaped notice.

[1] *Quellen zur geschichte des Taufsymbols und der Glaubensregel*, v. iii. pp. 263–267. Christiania, 1869.

Another copy, but imperfect, I found in a Greek and Latin manuscript Psalter in the Vatican Library, having for its press-mark Vat. 81. This has likewise hitherto escaped notice. The MS. is written in two columns, the Latin in one, the Greek in the other. The Latin Psalter belongs to the Gallican version. Both Psalters are followed by the apocryphal 151st Psalm; and to this succeed the following Canticles in order, all both in Greek and Latin: 1. The Song of Moses in Exodus. 2. The Song of Moses in Deuteronomy. 3. The Song of Hannah. 4. The Prayer of Habakkuk. 5. The Song of Isaiah[1]. 6. The Prayer of Jonah. 7. The Song of the Three Children—Benedicite. 8. The Magnificat. 9. The Nunc dimittis. 10. The Benedictus. 11. The Song of Hezekiah. These are immediately followed on f. 163 r. by the *Quicunque vult*, which in the Latin has for title 'fides catholica,' but in the Greek has no title. In both it is imperfect owing to the mutilation of the book, in the Greek ending with the words—*βιαζόμεθα οὕτω τρεῖς*—of verse 19. The commencement of the Greek version, including part of verse 8, which appears on the recto side of the last leaf of the present volume, is in a distinctly different hand from the codex generally, and the spelling of this is so very singular and curious that I think it worth while to reproduce it in the Appendix[2]. Possibly it may serve as a clue to the locality from which this interesting Psalter issued. It would seem to have been written from the dictation probably of an Italian by some unskilled and illiterate person who was called in for a time to take the place of the ordinary copyist. On the verso side of the leaf, necessarily the concluding page of the book at present, the original hand and orthography are resumed.

[1] Isai. xxvi. 9–20 inclusive.

[2] See Appendix L.

It may be observed that the Latin Canticles in this Psalter do not coincide in substance or arrangement with the normal Latin use. They were obviously chosen to correspond with the Greek Canticles. These last are also somewhat abnormal, the seventh Greek Ode or Canticle—the Prayer of the Three Children, Εὐλογητὸς εἶ Κύριε ὁ Θεός—being omitted, and the Nunc dimittis introduced between the Magnificat and the Benedictus, and the Song of Hezekiah added. It is also worth notice that the Latin texts of the second Song of Moses, of the Song of Hannah, of the Prayer of Habakkuk, of the Song of Isaiah cap. xxvi, and of the Prayer of Jonah are all from Old Latin versions, not from the Vulgate, which is particularly remarkable, as the Psalter is Gallican. The same is probably the case with the first Song of Moses; but I cannot assert it to be so, not having copied any portion of that Canticle.

I cannot quote any palaeographical authority for the date of this MS. It seemed to me to belong to the thirteenth century or the fourteenth; but it is with the greatest diffidence that I express an opinion upon a question of palaeography.

A fourth manuscript copy of this version I believe may be found in a MS. of the Imperial Library described by Nesselius in his Catalogue as 'CCXLV . . . Codex Theologicus Graecus Chartaceus antiquus et bonae notae[1].' I think that this is in all probability a copy of our version, for two reasons. First, the contents of the book consist mainly of Greek controversial documents directed against the Latins, some specially relating to the doctrine of the Procession; and our version was the work of a Greek theologian, as appears from the title given to it in the

[1] *Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum Graecorum Bibliothecae Caesareae Vindobonensis*: edidit Daniel de Nessel, Vindobonae, 1690, vol. i. p. 344.

Canonici MS. and from the fact of its formulating the Greek doctrine of the Procession. My second reason for so thinking is based upon Nessel's description of the title and initial words of this copy: 'S. Athanasii Archiepiscopi Alexandrini Symbolum Fidei, cuius titulus et principium Τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀθανασίου τοῦ μεγάλου. Ὅστις δ' ἂν βούληται σωθῆναι, πρὸ πάντων χρὴ κρατεῖν τὴν πίστιν,' &c. Τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀθανασίου τοῦ μεγάλου are the initial words of the title of our version in the Canonici MS., and Ὅστις δ' ἂν βούληται σωθῆναι, πρὸ πάντων χρὴ κρατεῖν τὴν πίστιν are the initial words of its text in the same codex. This description, which thus applies to the version of which we are treating, does not hold true of any other.

It will be noticed that Nessel describes the MS. as *antiquus*, but it cannot have been written before the middle of the fourteenth century, as it contains a work of Maximus Planudes, who died soon after 1353. The Athanasian Creed is the second of the ten contents mentioned in the Catalogue.

The initial words of the text in the Canonici MS. have been already mentioned; in the Venice and Vatican MSS. καθολικήν is inserted before πίστιν. To note other distinctive characteristics, *immensus* is rendered ἀκατάληπτος, as in Montfaucon's third version; in verse 5 *persona* is χαρακτήρ in all three MSS., but it is πρόσωπον in verse 4; the same word is χαρακτήρ in verse 19 in the Canonici and Venice MSS., but in the Vatican it is ὑπόστασις; in verse 24, which is wanting in the Vatican, it is χαρακτήρ both in the Canonici and Venice MSS.; *omnipotens* is παντοδύναμος in verses 13 and 14, but παντοκράτωρ in verse 37; the verse relating to the Procession, which is wanting in the Vatican MS., is in the Canonici MS. τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐκπορεύεται ἐκ τοῦ πατρός, καὶ ἀναπαυόμενον ἐν υἱῷ οὐ ποιητόν ἐστιν, οὐ κτιστόν,

οὐ γεννητόν, ἀλλ' ἐκπορευτόν; in the Venice MS. it is the same saving the omission of the words καὶ ἀναπαυόμενον ἐν υἱῷ; in verse 24 the reading οὐδεὶς ὁ πρῶτος ἢ ὁ ἔσχατος, &c. is to be noted; in verse 25 the later form occurs, καὶ μονὰς ἐν τριάδι καὶ τριὰς ἐν μονάδι τιμάσθω; in verse 27 for *fideliter credat* we have ἐν πίστει στερρᾷ πιστευέτω; in verse 33 for *non conversione*, &c. there occurs in the Canonici MS. μὴ τραπείσης τῆς θεότητος εἰς σάρκα, ἀλλὰ ἑνωθείσης—in the Venice ἀλλὰ ληφθείσης—ἐν τῷ θεῷ; in the last verse *firmiter fideliterque crediderit* is πιστῶς καὶ στερρῶς πιστεύσῃ in Canonici; in the Venice MS. this verse is wanting.

This version has several peculiarities, which discriminate it from all others, especially as regards the use of the word χαρακτήρ for *persona*; but some passages bear so close a resemblance to the third version of Montfaucon that it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that they were borrowed from it. And if such is the case, this version must necessarily be the later of the two.

(*f*) Caspari's second Greek version was edited from a MS. in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, which he describes as written in the sixteenth century and having its original home in Calabria. This in general follows the first version of Montfaucon, and appears for the most part to have been drawn from it; but it is very remarkable that in the verse relating to the Procession it follows rather his third version, as will be obvious from a comparison of the verse as found in these three versions.

The first of Montfaucon:—

τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρός, οὐ πεποιημένον οὔτε δεδημιουργημένον οὔτε γεγεννημένον, ἀλλ' ἐκπορευτόν.

The third of Montfaucon:—

τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ, οὐ ποιητόν, οὐ κτιστόν, οὐδὲ γεννητόν, ἀλλ' ἐκπορευτόν.

The second of Caspari:—

τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ, οὐ ποιητὸν οὔτε κτιστόν, οὔτε γεννητόν, ἀλλ' ἐκπορευτόν.

Hence it is evident that the compiler was either a Greek-speaking member of the Latin Church or a Latinizing Greek. In a few other instances also he adhered to the third in preference to the first version of Montfaucon. Thus we have *ἄνευ δισταγμοῦ* for *πάσης ἀμφιβολίας ἐκτός*, *ἀκατάληπτος* for *ἄμετρος*, *πιστῶς πιστεύσῃ* for *βεβαίως πιστεύσῃ*.

It is clear that this version must be later than both of those from which it was borrowed.

(*g*) It remains lastly to take some notice of the version which is included with some other documents in an Appendix to the Greek Horology printed at Venice in 1868 and other years.

An authentic account of this version is supplied by a note, subjoined to it, which states 'that it was resolved that the above Symbol of the great Athanasius, having been compared with the most ancient manuscripts preserved in the Library of Saint Mark, and having been found to be consonant with them, and not only genuine but also in unison with the mind of the Orthodox Church, should be printed: for the copies printed at Paris and elsewhere differ in regard to terminology as well as meaning, but this, being in no respect at variance even with that printed at Moscow, has been here added with a pious intention.'

The version is clearly nothing but a compilation from the first and third versions of Montfaucon, but unlike the second of Caspari in the verse relating to the Procession it adopts the language of the first of these, which is in accordance with the Greek hypothesis. The note of which we have given a translation supplies a clue which leads us

to regard it as a comparatively modern compilation. For the copies of the Creed there mentioned as printed at Paris and elsewhere, and described as differing both in terminology and sense from a copy printed at Moscow with which this version was in exact accordance, could be none other than copies of some of the editions of the third version of Montfaucon, which, as I have shown, were printed at Paris and other places, including Venice itself, between the years 1497 and 1569. Considering the contrast so strongly emphasized in the note between this version and those copies, together with the assertion of the genuineness of the former, it is difficult to avoid the impression that it was drawn up for the purpose of confuting the authority of St. Athanasius in support of the Latin doctrine of the Procession as put forward by those documents, which had been disseminated throughout Western Europe, and alleging it instead in support of the Eastern doctrine. If so, it could not have been compiled before the latter part of the sixteenth century, and might have originated even later.

The title of the Creed in this version is *Σύμβολον τῆς πίστεως τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀθανασίου Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Ἀλεξανδρείας.*

This version of the Athanasian Creed is a recent insertion in the Appendix to the Greek Horology, having been placed there together with some other documents by a former editor of the Horology, Bartholomaeus Hieromonachus Cutlumusianus, in the year 1832. Previously it stood together with them at the commencement of the book, without however forming part of the devotional offices. This is clearly shown by Cutlumusianus's preface, which is reprinted in his edition of 1868, a copy of which I have before me, taken in connexion with a letter addressed by him to the highest authority in the Eastern Church, Constantius, Patriarch of Constantinople, and the reply of the

latter, which are both immediately subjoined. In the letter, which is dated December 16, 1831, the editor describes himself as 'a true son of the Greek Church of Christ,' states the nature of the work which he had engaged in, explains his literary difficulties, and ends by expressing the hope that his Holiness will grant him a favourable hearing and return a clear answer with practical direction. The Patriarch in his reply, dated March 14, 1832, vouchsafes a favourable reception to the filial judicious letter addressed to him. Therewith he enclosed a list of corrections of the Horology from an ancient trustworthy manuscript preserved at Constantinople: in this Cutlumusianus would find the answer to his inquiries, and in accordance with this he is enjoined to emend his proposed edition. Hence at the conclusion of his preface the latter refers to the Patriarch's reply as his ecclesiastical authority for the alterations made by him in the book.

Cutlumusianus's edition of the Horology of 1868 was, I believe, the last produced by him. Since his death the Phoenix press at Venice, from which his book issued, has published several revised editions of it, one of which I have seen—that dated 1884. Therein our version of the Athanasian Creed occupies the same position as in the 1868 and previous editions—in the Appendix, coming after the Gospel for Easter Day, which is the same as our Gospel for Christmas Day, St. John i. 1–14. The new editor in his preface expressly refers to Cutlumusianus's Horology as 'being sanctioned by the great Church of Christ to which we belong,' alleging in proof his letter to the Patriarch and the Patriarch's reply. He had revised it by collation with a copy of the Horology published in Constantinople by the honoured Seitanides in accordance with the judgement of the central administrative Council,

and 'with the approval and sanction of the great Church of Christ.'

The late Dr. Swainson regarded these Horologies published at Venice as 'simply the speculations of different booksellers,' devoid of all ecclesiastical sanction[1]. I think I have shown that they possess the highest ecclesiastical authority within the domain of the Eastern Church. Eastern Church books seem always to have been printed at Venice.

It has been mentioned that our version of the Athanasian Creed was transferred together with other documents from the commencement of the Greek Horology to an Appendix at the end in 1832. The precise date when it was admitted to the book I am unable to state; but it would not have been earlier than the latter half of the eighteenth century. I have seen in the Bodleian Library Horologies printed respectively in the years 1535, 1545, 1563, 1601, 1602, 1621, 1623, all at Venice. In none of them is the Athanasian Creed to be found. In these, with one exception, the Hour Offices are preceded by the Gospel for Easter Day, viz. St. John 1–14, and the Passion from St. John's Gospel, or rather the four last chapters of it. These two documents are absent from the 1601 book, which seems to be an abridged Horology. Dr. Swainson mentions several Horologies, which he had examined at Venice and in the British Museum, ranging in date from 1532 to 1870[2]. The earliest in which he found the Athanasian Creed was printed in 1787, where it comes, he says, immediately after the Gospel for Easter Day and before the Hour Offices. But it does not follow that it was then introduced as he concludes to the Horology, as an edition was published in

[1] *The Nicene and Apostolic Creeds*, p. 476.
[2] u. s. pp. 477, 478.

1777 which he did not see, and possibly others also between 1787 and 1758, the date of the next in priority of time, which he did see. A copy of the 1758 book may be seen in the British Museum. Our document is not there; but it appears at the commencement of the Horology printed in 1800—the next Greek Horology in point of date which the Museum possesses—distinct however from the Hour Offices: subjoined to it is the note already mentioned: the Gospel for Easter Day and the closing chapters of St. John's Gospel are relegated to the end of the book. The necessary conclusion is that the Athanasian Creed could not have been inserted in the Greek Horology until after the year 1758. Probably, I think, it was first admitted to it in the edition of 1777.

2. Next after the Greek versions those in our own language clearly call for notice.

It has been already mentioned that in Psalters written in England in the tenth and eleventh centuries an interlinear gloss or version in Anglo-Saxon is found annexed to the Athanasian Creed, as well as to the Psalter itself and Canticles. And the true nature of these glosses was pointed out—that they are not strictly translations, the Anglo-Saxon words being inserted severally above their Latin equivalents, but without their proper inflexional endings, and in accordance with the order of the Latin words, so that they are not formed into sentences[1].

The earliest English version of the Creed, extant or known to be extant, is preserved in the Bodleian MS. 425[2], and was edited by Hickes in his *Thesaurus*[3]. The portion relating to the Incarnation has been recently re-edited from Hickes's text in Mr. Oliphant's work on *Old and Middle*

[1] See above, chap. iii. 19. [2] F. 69. v. [3] Vol. i. p. 233.

English[1]. The latter dates the version about A.D. 1240, and describes it as 'most likely written in the Northernmost part of Lincolnshire, perhaps not far from Hull.' This version, being composed in metre and rhyme, and variations being necessarily introduced to suit the exigencies of the metre and rhyme, is not a verbal or exact representation of the original. Some idea of it may be formed from its rendering of the last verse :—

> 'That is the trauth (i. e. Truth or Faith) that heli (i. e. holy) isse,
> Whilk bot (i. e. unless) ilkon with miht hisse
> Trewlic and fastlic trowe he
> Saufe ne mai he never be.'

The next English version in point of time occurs in a British Museum MS.—press-mark Addit. 17376—containing a Psalter with Canticles in Latin and English, followed by some poems or metrical pieces in English. The Athanasian Creed with its version, which like that of the Psalter and Canticles is in prose, is found in its usual place at the end of the Canticles. The first of the subjoined poems is 'de septem sacramentis,' and it has the following colophon at the end: 'Oretis pro anima domini Willelmi de Schorham quondam Vicarii de Chart iuxta Ledes, Qui composuit istam compilationem de septem sacramentis.' The second is a rhyming version of some portion of the ritual of the Sacraments. The third is on the ten commandments, 'de decem preceptis,' and the fourth on the seven mortal sins. The latter has the following notable colophon: 'Oretis pro anima domini Willelmi de Schorham quondam Vicarii de Chart iuxta Ledes qui composuit istam compilationem de septem mortalibus peccatis. Et omnibus dicentibus orationem dominicam cum salutacione angelica xl^{a} dies venie a

[1] p. 302.

domino Symone Archiepiscopo Cantuarie conceduntur.' The fifth is 'on the joys of the Virgin,' and has the colophon, 'Oretis pro anima Willelmi de Schorham quondam vicarii de Chart iuxta Ledes.' The sixth is a translation of Robert Grosseteyte's hymn to the Blessed Virgin. It commences 'Marye mayde mylde and fre,' and is followed by the colophon, 'Oretis pro anima domini Roberti Grosseteyte quondam episcopi Lincolniensis.' The seventh and last relates to some of the mysteries of the Faith, particularly the Deity, the Creation, and the Fall of man. It has no colophon. All these pieces were edited from this MS. for the Percy Society in 1849 by Mr. Thomas Wright, as the poems of William de Schorham, who was so called probably as a native of Schorham, near Otford, in Kent, and is believed to have been instituted to the vicarage of Chart Sutton immediately after its appropriation to the Augustinian Priory at Ledes in 1320. Mr. Wright infers from the circumstance of some of these poems being attributed by the colophons to William of Schorham that they were all his work, and he assigns their composition to the reign of Edward II. With regard to the English version of the Psalter, including of course that of the Creed—the point which concerns ourselves—it has been hitherto also ascribed to Schorham's authorship, upon the grounds that the whole of the MS. is written in one hand, a hand of the earlier half of the fourteenth century, and that two of the poetical pieces subjoined to the Psalter are expressly attributed to him, also that in places in the book the prayers of the faithful are requested for his soul's welfare[1]. But the argument is clearly inconclusive. Even if all the pieces which are annexed to

[1] See *The Holy Bible in the earliest English Versions by John Wycliffe*, edited by Forshall and Madden, vol. i. Preface, p. iv.

the Psalter were ascribed by their colophons to William de Schorham instead of two only, as we see to be the case, it would not follow that the translation of the Psalter was also due to his authorship. And if the requests in three of the colophons for intercessions for his soul—there are no other like requests on his behalf, I believe, contained in the book—are any proof of his authorship of the translation, then for a similar reason it might be attributed to Robert Grosseteyte, for whose soul, it will be observed. the fourth colophon above quoted solicits the prayers of the faithful. But this is not all. A German scholar, Dr. M. Konrath, asserts that the version of the Psalms, including necessarily that of the Canticles and Creed, must needs be wrongly attributed to William of Schorham, inasmuch as it is not Kentish, but belongs to a Midland dialect[1]. Thus nothing is known respecting the authorship of this version of the Athanasian Creed. Still it is a document of so much interest and importance in reference to the history of the *Quicunque* in our own Church and country that I have deemed it desirable, especially as it has never yet I believe been printed, to produce it in the Appendix[2]. The date of its construction may be inferred approximately from the second colophon quoted above, which makes mention of an indulgence granted by Symon Mepeham, Archbishop of Canterbury, and that too apparently as a contemporaneous incident, showing that the MS. could not have been written before the commencement of his archiepiscopate in 1328, and probably was not

[1] 'Sie,' i. e. the poems of William de Schorham, 'befinden sich in einem bande mit einer Psalmenübersetzung, die man bisher fälselich demselbem verfasser zugescrieben hat; sie ist jedoch nicht Kentish, sondern gehört einem mittelländischem dialecte an.' *Beiträge zur Erklärung und Textcritik des William von Schorham,* von Dr. M. Konrath. Berlin, 1878.

[2] Appendix M.

written after its termination in 1333. The version therefore may be assigned to quite the commencement of Edward III's reign.

In the opinion of Dr. Konrath the conjecture of Mr. Wright that Schorham collected his poems and inserted them in this manuscript is erroneous. And certainly it would appear obvious from the colophons soliciting prayers for his soul that he could have had nothing to do with the compilation of the book, as they clearly imply that he was dead at the time. Besides, Dr. Konrath concludes upon internal critical grounds that the scribe by whom it was written was not a Kentish man though a Southerner.

Immediately after the Athanasian Creed, f. 149 v., some memoranda, now almost obliterated, have been inserted in an old hand, but not the same which appears in the rest of the book. Of these the following, which I was able to trace, though with difficulty, would seem to indicate that it was once the property of a Franciscan community:—

'Anno domini M°CC°XX^{mo} viri bartholomei fratres minores primo venerunt in angliam.

Anno domini M°CC^{mo}XXIIII fuit regula beati francisci consummata.

Anno domini M°CC^{mo}XX°VI° obiit beatus Franciscus.'

If the rest were deciphered, possibly they might supply a nearer clue to the original home and even the birthplace of this interesting volume. It is a book not unlikely to have emanated from Franciscans.

The next old English version in point of date is that previously mentioned[1] as the work of Wyclif or one of his followers, produced towards the close of the fourteenth century. It was edited by Mr. Arnold from the Bodleian

[1] Above, iv. 24.

MS. Bodl. 288[1], also by Dr. Swainson from a Cambridge University Library MS. Ee. 1. 10[2]; the copy which I print in Appendix N is transcribed from the British Museum MS. Addit. 10046, of the fifteenth century. In this, as in other MSS., it should be remembered the version does not appear alone, but in combination with its cognate Commentary, each verse being followed by its appropriate Exposition. This may account for a certain abruptness, or inaccuracy of translation, or insertion or omission of words, which appear occasionally. It will be very interesting to compare this version with the preceding one attributed to William de Schorham. In particular it may be noticed that while the latter has in verse 1 'the catholick faith,' in verse 19 'catholik religion,' and in the last verse 'the bileve catholik,' the former has in verse 1 'the comyne bileve,' in verse 3 likewise 'the comune bileve,' in verse 19 'general religioun,' and in the last verse 'general bileve.' It will be seen by-and-by that in these renderings the Wycliffite version followed earlier French versions, which were used in England.

No other English version, so far as we know, appeared until the year 1539, when Bishop Hilsey's Manual of Prayers or Primer was issued, as we may say, under royal authority. Our Creed in English, entitled 'The Symbole or Crede of the great doctour Athanasius dayly red in the Church,' stands at the commencement of this Manual, following immediately the Prologue, and it is followed immediately by the Apostles' Creed, also in English. The title of the book, as stated by Dr. Burton, is 'The Manual of Prayers or the Primer in English set out at length ... set forth by John, late Bishop of Rochester, at the command-

[1] *Select English Works of John Wyclif*, vol. iii.
[2] *Nicene and Apostles' Creeds*, p. 488.

ment of the right honourable Lord Thomas Crumwell, Lord Privy Seal, Vicegerent of the King's Highness[1].' It should be mentioned that in 'the King's Primer,' published in 1545 and reprinted in the following year and subsequently, the Athanasian Creed is not found—only the Apostles'.

Another version was published, probably a few years after that of Bishop Hilsey, at the end of a Psalter in English, 'truly translated out of the Latin,' together with versions of the Benedicite, Magnificat, Benedictus, Nunc dimittis, and Te Deum. This was reprinted recently by Dr. Swainson[2], who dates it about the year 1542, but the precise year when it was issued does not appear to be known for certain. It has evidently a close connexion with Hilsey's version, the title being the same and the text the same with a few variations.

In 1549 in the first Prayer Book of Edward the Sixth, where it was printed immediately after the Third Collect for Evensong, appeared the version, which especially claims our attention and commands our interest, inasmuch as, saving the interval of Queen Mary's reign, it has been ever since used in the services of the Church of England, and is so used at the present day with a few variations, only one of which is of any importance. Though we may not be able to trace the author with certainty, we cannot refrain from endeavouring to ascertain the sources from which it was drawn. The results of such an investigation will be found to be curious.

I have previously drawn attention to a Greek version of the Creed, which was first edited by Aldus at Venice in

[1] *Three Primers put forth in the reign of Henry VIII*, edited by Dr. Edward Burton, 1834.

[2] *Nicene and Apostles' Creed*, p. 490.

1497 in a small book of Hours, and afterwards reproduced in not fewer than eight editions of the same book printed at various places—Venice, Tubingen, Hagenau, Florence, and Paris—at dates ranging from 1505 to 1543 inclusive, which was also reproduced at the end of a Greek Psalter printed at Strasburg in 1524, and again at Antwerp in 1533. From the fact of the appearance of the version in these numerous editions of two different books which were published at the close of the fifteenth century and the early part of the sixteenth ending with the year 1543, and which are certified to us by copies now extant in our libraries—other editions of the same books there may have been and it is not unlikely there were—it is obvious that it must have been well known to scholars throughout Western Europe towards the close of the first half of the latter century, probably better known than any other Greek version of the Creed, by some possibly regarded as the most authentic representation of the original text. Could it then have been unknown to the divines, with the Archbishop of Canterbury at their head, who in the year 1548 were engaged in compiling the first book of Common Prayer of Edward the Sixth? This would appear *a priori* very improbable. Literary intercommunion between England and the Continent was not an unknown or rare occurrence at the epoch we are referring to. Foreign scholars visited our country and brought back books with them, and English scholars went abroad in quest of literary treasures. However this be, certain it is that the author of the Prayer-Book version of the Athanasian Creed had before him a copy in some edition or other of Aldus's Greek version, for some phrases and words are evidently translated from it and not from the Latin. In proof of this let me refer to the subjoined table, in which are placed

for the purpose of comparison several words or phrases of our English version of 1549, and side by side the corresponding words or phrases of the Latin text of the *Quicunque*, which must have been most familiar to the compiler—that namely of the Sarum Breviary—and also of the Greek text of Aldus. The text of the *Quicunque* I have quoted from is that of Procter and Wordsworth's edition of the Sarum Breviary. The text of Aldus may be seen, as already intimated, in Appendix K reproduced from the Bodleian copy of 1497.

English version, 1549.	*Latin of Sarum Breviary.*	*Greek of Aldus.*
(1) 'and the Holy Ghost,' verses 8, 9, 10, 13, 15, and 17.	'et' omitted in all before 'Spiritus Sanctus.'	'*καί*' inserted in all before '*τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον*.'
(2) 'incomprehensible,' verses 9 and 12.	'immensus.'	'*ἀκατάληπτος*.'
(3) 'not three incomprehensibles nor three uncreated,' ver. 12.	'non tres increati nec tres immensi.'	'*οὐδὲ τρεῖς ἀκατάληπτοι οὐδὲ τρεῖς ἄκτιστοι*.'
(4) 'believe rightly,' ver. 29.	'fideliter credat.'	'*ὀρθῶς πιστεύσῃ*.'
(5) 'for the right faith is,' ver. 30.	'est ergo fides recta.'	'*ἐστὶ γὰρ πίστις ὀρθή*.'
(6) 'God . . . and man,' ver. 31.	'Deus est . . . et homo est.'	'*θεὸς . . . καὶ ἄνθρωπος*.'
(7) 'perfect God and perfect man,' ver. 32.	'perfectus Deus perfectus homo.'	'*τέλειος θεὸς καὶ τέλειος ἄνθρωπος*.'
(8) 'except a man believe faithfully,' ver. 42.	'nisi quisque fideliter firmiterque crediderit.'	'*ἐὰν μή τις πιστῶς πιστεύσῃ*.'

In all these eight instances the English clearly follows the Greek and not the Latin, though the fifth and sixth and seventh would be insignificant apart from the other more striking examples. With regard to the second and third some remarks are necessary. There can be little doubt that the word *incomprehensible* was suggested to the translator by the Greek *ἀκατάληπτος*, but was understood by him and should be understood by us to mean, not that which is incapable of being grasped by the intellect, but

that which cannot be contained within the limits of space. In this sense the word was received and used in the sixteenth century, as for instance by Hooker very distinctly: 'That presence everywhere is the sequel of an infinite and *incomprehensible* substance, for what can be everywhere but that which can nowhere be comprehended[1]?' At the same time, while the word was chosen by the translator as the most literal and exact interpretation of ἀκατάληπτος, it would appear probable that it also commended itself to his mind as embracing and representing the various renderings of the Latin in previous English versions—the 'mychel' of that attributed to Schorham, the Wycliffite 'without mesure myche,' the 'immesurate' of Hilsey, and the 'without mesure' of the version which followed Hilsey's. And no doubt he was right in his interpretation. For that the compiler of the Greek version first printed by Aldus understood ἀκατάληπτος not to mean that which is inconceivable to the human mind, but that which cannot be comprehended in space, is proved by this, that in other Greek versions, where some other word is used in the place of this, in every case the word so used has this or an equivalent meaning. Thus the first of Montfaucon has ἄμετρος, *immeasurable*, his second ἄπειρος, *infinite*, the second of Caspari, while it has ἀκατάληπτος in verse 9, has ἀόριστος, *illimitable*, in verse 12, the two being clearly used as convertible terms, and the fourth of Montfaucon has παντοκράτωρ, which, as Bishop Pearson[2] points out, has been understood 'to signify that God enholdeth, encircleth and containeth all things.' And in the above sense ἀκατάληπτος was used by divines, for instance St. John of Damascus:

[1] *Ecclesiastical Polity*, book v. chap. lv. 4.

[2] *Exposition of the Creed*, Art. I, with note upon the word, and another note in Art. VI. Edition 1832, pp. 70, 429.

Ἄπειρον τὸ θεῖον καὶ ἀκατάληπτον, καὶ τοῦτο μόνον αὐτοῦ κατάληπτον ἡ ἀπειρία καὶ ἀκαταληψία[1]. The misunderstanding of the word *incomprehensible* in our version, I may remark by the way, has been and is a fertile source of objections and difficulties. With regard to the third instance in the above table—*not three incomprehensibles nor three uncreated*—the order of the words here, it may be observed, is inconsistent with the rest of the verse, *but one uncreated and one incomprehensible*, and it is peculiar. It is not found in the Latin, nor in any earlier English version, nor in any Greek version, except the third of Montfaucon; nor yet in every text of that, for it is not in Genebrard's edition of the MS. of Baiffius nor in the Florence MS. as printed by Dr. Swainson. It is found only in Aldus's text and in Bryling and Stephens's copy, which, it must be recollected, is known to us in the present day only from Genebrard's collations of it as compared with his own text. From one of these two therefore the translator must have derived this peculiar reading, in all probability from some edition of Aldus's text. In regard to the fourth and the last instances noted above—their conformity with the Greek of Aldus is the more remarkable, as in them, no less than in the last-mentioned instance, earlier English versions clearly followed the Latin.

Thus in some passages the translator obviously followed this Greek version in preference to the Latin text of the *Quicunque*. But we cannot conclude from thence with the late Dr. Swainson[2] that he did so throughout. On the contrary, it will be seen in the subjoined instances that the very reverse was the case, the Latin being followed, not the Greek:—

[1] *De Fide Orthodoxa*, lib. i. cap. iv.
[2] *Nicene and Apostles' Creeds*, p. 495.

English version of 1549.	*Latin of Sarum Breviary.*	*Greek of Aldus.*
'and yet,' verses 11, 14, 16, 18.	'et tamen.'	'πλήν.'
'every person by himself,' ver. 19.	'sigillatim unamquamque personam.'	'ἰδίαν μίαν ἕκαστον ὑπόστασιν.'
'not made, nor created,' ver. 22.	'non factus, nec creatus.'	'οὐ ποιητός, οὐ κτιστός.'
'neither made, nor created, nor begotten, but proceeding,' ver. 23.	'non factus, nec creatus, nec genitus, sed procedens.'	'οὐ ποιητόν, οὐ κτιστόν, ἀλλ' ἐκπορευτόν.'
'the whole three persons are coeternal together and coequal,' ver. 26.	'totae tres personae coaeternae sibi sunt et co-aequales.'	'σῶαι αἱ τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις καὶ συναϊδίαι εἰσὶν ἑαυταῖς καὶ ἴσαι.'
'so that in all things, as it is aforesaid,' ver. 27.	'ita ut per omnia, sicut iam supra dictum est.'	'ὥστε κατὰ πάντα, καθὼς εἴρηται.'
'the Unity in Trinity and the Trinity in Unity is to be worshipped,' ver. 27.	'et Unitas in Trinitate et Trinitas in Unitate veneranda sit.'	'καὶ τὴν μονάδα ἐν τριάδι σέβεσθαι δεῖ καὶ τὴν τριάδα ἐν μονάδι.'
'although,' ver. 34.	'licet.'	'εἰ καί.'
'so God and man,' ver. 37.	'ita Deus et homo.'	'οὕτω καὶ ὁ θεάνθρωπος.'
'descended into hell,' ver. 38.	'descendit ad inferos.'	'κατῆλθεν ἐν ᾅδου.'

Two cases occur where the Latin is clearly not followed, but where it is doubtful whether the Greek is followed or some earlier English text or texts. First, in verse 20 the English has 'three Gods or *three* Lords,' the Latin 'tres Deos aut Dominos,' the Greek of Aldus τρεῖς θεοὺς ἢ τρεῖς κυρίους. Here the Greek as contrasted with the Latin is apparently followed, but considering that *three* is found before *Lords* in all four preceding English versions, it is a fair question whether the translator was not influenced by them in his insertion of *three*. Secondly, in verse 39 'the right hand of *the Father God Almighty*' is very remarkable, the Latin being 'dexteram *Dei Patris omnipotentis*.' The Greek has δεξιῶν τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ θεοῦ παντοκράτορος, which at first sight it might appear that the translator followed. But it will be observed that he has not followed it exactly, for he omitted

the copula, and still more, the words in the same order in which they are here used—'the Father God Almighty'—and in the same connexion are found in two English versions of the Apostles' Creed, one preserved in a MS. of the thirteenth century, and the other in a MS. of the fifteenth, which have respectively 'sit on his Fadir richt honde, God almichti,' and 'sitteth on his Fadre righte side, God alle mygte[1].' The translator therefore may have been—probably was—guided by these English documents.

We have seen that in several instances our version of 1549 followed the Greek of Aldus. In one it appears to have been modelled in accordance with another Greek version, viz. in verse 25, where it has '*none* is afore nor after other, *none* is greater nor lesse then other.' This is distinctly different both from the Latin, which has 'nihil prius aut posterus, nihil maius aut minus,' and from the Aldine text, which has similarly *οὐδὲν πρότερον ἢ ὕστερον, οὐδὲν μεῖζον ἢ ἔλαττον.* It is more like the first version of Caspari, which has *οὐδεὶς ὁ πρῶτος ἢ ὁ ἔσχατος, οὐδεὶς ὁ μείζων ἢ ὁ ἐλάττων.* But here again the translator may possibly have taken a hint from earlier English versions—Hilsey's and that which was published shortly after his—which have 'none before or after another, nothing more nor lesse.'

A few other cases may be noted where the translation appears to have been influenced by previous versions. In verse 2 the version of 1549 had not 'whole and undefiled,' but 'holy' or 'holi and undefiled.' It is impossible to help suspecting that the latter word was derived from the Wycliffite version and that attributed to William de Schorham, which have respectively 'unfilid' and 'nought defouled.' In regard to *holy*, it is inconceivable that the translator could have thus rendered 'integram.' The word

[1] Heurtley, *Harmonia Symbolica*, pp. 95 and 99.

which would seem most likely to have suggested itself to his mind as the most fit rendering is that which is now in the Prayer Book, *whole*, i. e. the faith in its integrity, without addition or diminution, or, according to the spelling of the epoch, *hole*. This was the rendering of the two versions just named, Schorham's so called and the Wycliffite version, the former having 'hole' and the latter 'hool.' If the translator chose one of the above epithets from these sources, as we see that he probably did, he would probably in like manner choose the other from them. This was also the rendering of *integram* in the version which was brought out soon after Hilsey's, and but shortly before the first Prayer Book of Edward the Sixth. Thus we might expect that the author of the version of 1549, following previous English versions, would adopt the word *hole* in verse 2 as the translation of *integram*, and the change from that to *holi* or *holy* by a copyist's or printer's error would be very easy.

Again, the translator seems to have been influenced by the Wycliffite and Schorham versions in his rendering of verse 7, 'Such as the Father,' &c. Notably *of* in verse 21 'of none,' and in verse 22 'of the Father,' and in verse 23 'of the Father and the Son,' appears to be drawn from the same sources. Hilsey's version, and that before mentioned as following his, have *of* in verse 21, but *from* in the two others. *Furthermore* in verse 29 is found in Hilsey alone; the Wycliffite version has *Biside*. The concluding words 'he cannot be saved' also, which differ alike from the Latin, 'salvus esse non poterit,' and the Greek of Aldus, σωθῆναι οὐ δυνήσεται, follow Hilsey; the Wycliffite and Schorham versions have respectively 'he may not here be saaf' and 'here may not be sauf.'

In the word *must* in verse 28—'must thus think of the

Trinity'—may be noted a verbal departure, which does not materially affect the meaning, from every preceding version.

The obvious conclusion from all this is that the translation of 1549, which in substance we still use in our Prayer Book, was not drawn uniformly from any one text of the Creed existing at the time, but was probably compiled from several different sources, the two principal ones being the Latin text as then used in the Church service, and the third Greek version of Montfaucon according to the text first printed by Aldus in 1497. In some particulars, among them a few very remarkable ones, Aldus's text is evidently followed; in others the Latin is adhered to no less distinctly; in others again it seems to have been influenced by previous English versions, in one by the first Greek version of Caspari, and in one the translator chose a word not literally corresponding with his authorities, but expressing their meaning. As to the greater portion of the document, which agrees alike with the Aldine text and the Latin, it is impossible to say that one was followed to the exclusion of the other; but if one only was followed, we should naturally suppose it to have been the Latin, with which the translator must have been most conversant.

It is very remarkable that the translator in constructing a version to be authoritatively used in the Church of England should have deferred so much to a Greek version as to accept some of its readings in preference to those of the Latin text of the Creed as recited up to that time in the service of the Church; and it is still more remarkable that the bishops and divines who compiled the first Prayer Book of Edward should have endorsed these departures from what was then the received text, if we may so describe it. The position is not to be accounted for by the

hypothesis that one or both of these parties—if indeed they were distinct parties, it being very possible, we may say probable, that the translator was himself one of the compilers, indeed the chief of their body, Archbishop Cranmer—regarded the Greek Aldus text as the authentic veritable text of St. Athanasius. If this had been the belief of the translator, he would have adhered more closely than he has done to that text. Had it been the belief of the compilers, it seems strange that they should have dropped the title of the Creed which appears in all editions of Aldus's text, Σύμβολον τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀθανασίου, and the corresponding one in the Breviary, 'Symbolum Athanasii,' and described it instead in the rubric of the new book simply as 'this Confession of our Christian fayth[1].'

The text of the Prayer Book version has undergone but little alteration. The only alteration of any importance which has taken place is that of *holy* in verse 2 into *whole*, made in 1627. *Are they* in verse 14 was changed

[1] Two schemes for a new Office drawn up by Cranmer have been edited recently for the first time from the British Museum MS. Reg. 7. B. iv. See *Edward VI and the Book of Common Prayer*, by Francis Aidan Gasquet and Edmund Bishop, Appendix i, ii, iii. In the first, a scheme for a Breviary, inspired by Quignon's reformed Breviary and assigned to some date between 1543 and Henry the Eighth's death in January 1547, the Athanasian Creed is entitled 'symbolum Athanasii *Quicunque vult*'; in the second, a scheme for Morning and Evening Prayer assigned to an early period in the reign of Edward and consequently, assuming this date to be correct, drawn up very shortly before the first Prayer Book, which could not have been compiled later than the autumn of 1548, inasmuch as the Act of Uniformity, which legalized it, was passed on the 21st of January, 1549, Parliament having assembled in the previous November, it is entitled 'symbolum *Quicunque vult*.' The difference in the title of the Creed in the later Office as compared with that in the earlier may be fairly considered significant and illustrative of the title adopted in the first Prayer Book. The dates assigned to these two schemes drawn up by Cranmer are, it should be mentioned, conjectural on the part of the editors, but based upon probable grounds. I must add that the title of the Creed in the 1549 book, though stated by the late Dr. Swainson to be Greek in its origin—*Nicene and Apostles' Creeds*, p. 493—is not to be found in any Greek version.

into *they are* in 1552, and a similar change in verse 16 was made in 1589. In verse 25 *nor after* was changed into *or after* in 1552, *nor lesse* into *or less* in 1589, and *other* into *another* in 1552. In verse 27, *as it is* was changed into *as is* in 1552. In verse 29, *believe rightly in the Incarnation* was changed into *believe rightly the Incarnation* in 1662. In verse 39, *the* was inserted before *dead* in 1552. And in verse 40, *of theyr own* was changed into *for their own* in 1552.

3. The German versions, on account of their antiquity, may most fittingly be noticed next.

The earliest was first edited by Eccard from a Wolfenbüttel MS., Theol. xxvii. f. 153, as part of a manual of religious instruction and devotion entitled *Catechesis Theotisca*[1]. The manuscript appears to have belonged originally to the Benedictine abbey of Weissenburg, from a note upon the first leaf: 'Codex monasterii Petri et Pauli in Wissenburg.' From the character of the handwriting Eccard considers it to have been written about the middle of the ninth century. The style also of the language employed would point to that as the epoch which produced the book. Hence he is of opinion that the *Catechesis* may have been drawn up on occasion of the Second Council of Maintz held A.D. 847. He describes the compiler as 'monachus Weissenburgensis sive Otfridus fuerit sive alius.' It is certainly a book of great interest for the insight it affords into the substance and character of the religious teaching of the German Church in the ninth century. It contains the Lord's Prayer, a list of *Peccata criminalia*, the Apostles' Creed, the Athanasian, the Gloria in Excelsis,

[1] *Incerti monachi Wiessenburgensis Catechesis Theotisca saeculo ix. conscripta,* nunc vero primum edita . . . in unum collegit . . . ac praefatione illustravit . . . J. Georgius Eccardus. Hanov. 1713.

each being accompanied with a translation in the vernacular. The Athanasian Creed is followed by the words 'Explicit Fides Catholica.' This version has been printed recently from the Wolfenbüttel MS. in Massmann's *Die deutschen Abschwörungs-, Glaubens-, Beicht- und Betformeln vom achten bis zum zwölften Jahrhundert*, pp. 40 and 88.

The next in date was by Notker Balbulus, a monk of St. Gall, to whose paraphrase of the Psalms it is subjoined. As he died in 912, it may clearly be assigned to the close of the ninth century or the commencement of the tenth. It has no title. It was first edited by Eccard from the Vienna MS. D. 1. 79, f. 229 in the Appendix to his work *De rebus Franciae Orientalis et Episcopatus Wirceburgensis*, tom. ii. p. 932. It is also printed by Massmann from the same MS. in the work above mentioned, side by side with the previous version. In some cases Notker adds to his translation a comment or paraphrase.

A third version, later than the two just mentioned but not later than the twelfth century, is edited by Massmann from two Munich MSS., germ. 589, f. 153, and germ. 588. In the latter appears the title 'Psalmus *Quicunque vult salvus esse.*'

German versions are contained also in two German Psalters in the Vienna Imperial Library, the first assigned to the fifteenth century and numbered XXXVIII in Denis's *Codices manuscripti theologici Bibliothecae Palatinae Vindobonensis*, vol. i. The Creed follows the Canticles, and is imperfect, owing no doubt to the mutilation of the MS., ending with the words of verse 28, 'Daz ist eyn war gloube, daz wir glouben und bekennen daz unse herre sy gotes.' Denis states that the version of the Psalms in this book is much earlier than the fifteenth century, and probably this is true also of the version of the *Quicunque*. The

second is numbered XXXIX in the same volume of Denis, and is also assigned to the fifteenth century. The Creed follows the Canticles and Te Deum, and is followed by Litanies. German versions are also found in two Latin and German Psalters in the same library, the first numbered LVII in the second volume of Denis's Catalogue, and assigned to the thirteenth century. The Creed follows the Canticles and the Te Deum, and is followed by Litanies, in which many German saints are invoked. In the second, numbered LVIII in the same volume and assigned likewise to the thirteenth century, our document, with the Lord's Prayer and Apostles' Creed, follows the Canticles. This MS., before it passed into the Vienna Library, belonged to the Jesuit College at Grätz in Styria, and was probably executed either in that country or Carinthia.

These no doubt are but a few among many instances of manuscript German versions of the Athanasian Creed which are even now extant in various libraries.

4. Let us pass to French versions. In reference to these we may fittingly revert to the first of the Capitula of Hincmar delivered to his presbyters, already noticed[1], 'that every presbyter should commit to memory the discourse of Athanasius concerning the Faith, commencing *Whosoever will be saved*, and understand its meaning and be able to enunciate it in common words,' i.e. the vernacular. Clearly the practice thus enjoined upon the clergy of interpreting the Athanasian Creed in the vernacular to their people would necessarily lead to the construction of versions. A priest who had thus interpreted it would naturally go on for his own convenience as well as the benefit of others to put his translation into writing. Nor is there any reason to consider this Capitulum of Hincmar

[1] Above, Part I. chap. ii. 8.

an isolated enactment of its kind: rather it may probably be regarded as a sample of similar directions addressed to the clergy by bishops, at least in France and Germany, during the ninth century. In Regino's collection of Visitation Articles, so to speak, compiled at the beginning of the tenth century, but, as is expressly stated, from earlier authorities, one of the articles of episcopal inquiry is drawn *mutatis mutandis* in the words of this Capitulum[1]. And the collection in the judgement of Baluze represents in substance the code of disciplinary regulations which had been in use from the time of Boniface, or nearly so.

This Capitulum then of Hincmar clearly points to the probability that in France, as well as in Germany, versions of the Athanasian Creed originated in the ninth century. The earliest manuscript copy of any French version known of at present—probably there are some earlier copies extant, although not yet brought to light—is the first of the two mentioned by Montfaucon and printed in his *Diatribe*. He dates it about the year 1100; and as he found it in a Colbert MS., there can be little or no doubt that it may be found now in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, to which the Colbert collection passed[2]. It has no title. The three verses at the beginning are as follows: 'Kikunques vult salf estre devant totes choses bosoing est qu'il tienget la comune fei. Laquelle si cascun entiere e neant malmise ne guarderat, sanz dotance pardurablement perirat. Iceste est a certes la comune fei, qu'un deu en trinitet e la trinitet en unitet aorums.' It will be noticed that 'Fides Catholica' is both times rendered 'la commune fei.' Similarly in verse 19 we have 'la comune religiun.' The text is im-

[1] Above, I. ii. 10.

[2] 'Ex cod. Colbert. 3133 a 600 annis conscripta est.' *Diatribe in Symbolum Quicunque.*

perfect, ending with the words of verse 29, 'en siecle noz.' Montfaucon's second version is stated by him to be from a MS. 400 years old, written, that is, about the year 1300, which belonged to the Friars Minor, presumably of Paris, but he omits to say to what Franciscan house it belonged. It appears to have been written by the side of the Latin original, and in both cases the title is peculiar and remarkable, that of the original being 'Canticum Bonifacii,' that of the version 'Ce chant fut a Anastaise qui apostoiles de Rome.' The French title is explained by the contemporaneous teaching of Simon Torracensis in his Commentary on the Creed, viz. that it was drawn up by Pope Anastasius in a Council at Rome [1]. This version is distinctly different from the former, and the product of a later epoch, the translation being more free, indeed paraphrastic, and the language exhibiting a higher stage of growth and formation. But in this also 'Catholica' is always rendered 'comune'; in verses 1, 3, and the last we have 'la comune foi,' in verse 19 'la comune religion.'

Another and still later French version, which is worth noticing, occurs in the British Museum MS. Harleian 4327. The book contains a Psalter, followed by the Hours of the Virgin and other documents, and it is plainly a Lorraine book. This is shown by the Preface describing the Psalter as 'dou latin trait et translateit en romans en laingue lorienne.' Then the Calendar is remarkable for the great number of French saints commemorated, including five bishops of Metz. The date is fixed by a colophon to the Psalter stating that it was written and translated in the year 1365. The Psalms, the Canticles both of the Old and New Testament, the Lord's Prayer, Apostles' Creed, and Ave Maria are all 'en romans,' i.e. the Lotharingian

[1] Above, I. iv. 18.

French of the period, the initial words only of each document appearing in Latin. Then follows the Athanasian Creed in Latin only, which is remarkable, having for its title 'Canticum Athanasii epischopi'; and this concludes what is apparently the first part of the book. The second part is subjoined after the intervention of one blank leaf. It comprises the Hours of the Blessed Virgin, the Penitential Psalms, a Litany, the Vigils of the Dead, followed by several prayers and collects, the last being 'Orison comune pour tous les mors,' and finally the Athanasian Creed preceded by the rubric 'Quicunque vult salvus esse Lou credo Athenaise.' All these documents are in the vernacular, and that only. The compiler of the book I presume omitted the version of the *Quicunque* at the end of the Psalter, because he preferred subjoining it to the Hours, the portion of the book especially intended for the laity, though indeed in the Preface the Psalter itself is said to be translated 'pour les gens laye.' The first verse is as follows: 'Quiconques welt estre sauveiz, il couvient et est besoing et . . . necessaire tenir et croire fermement le foy catholike, que tient et adit saincte eglise.' The last: 'Vez ci le foy catholique, la queille se chescun ne le croit fermement et fiaublement, il ne porrait estre sauveiz.' It will be observed that 'catholica' is here rendered 'catholike' or 'catholique,' not 'comune' as in the former versions. The Hours in this book seemed to me to be written by the same hand as the Psalter, the two forming a complete whole.

I cannot leave this part of the subject without drawing attention to the fact, which is of importance in connexion with the history of the Athanasian Creed in England, and must at the same time be a matter of interest to Englishmen, viz. that French versions of our document occur in a series of MSS.—the survivors, no doubt, of

numerous others of the same class—which were written in England, and were obviously intended to meet the devotional and religious requirements of the upper classes, who continued as late as the fourteenth century to speak the language of their French or Norman ancestors who had come to our shores with William the Conqueror[1]. The first instance of these I shall mention is the Eadwine Psalter deposited at Trinity College, Cambridge, executed at Canterbury in the reign of Stephen, which has been previously noticed in connexion with the Stavelot Commentary[2]. In that book two versions of the Athanasian Creed appear in Saxon and French respectively, written between the lines of the text, one above the other, the former clearly being for the Saxon subjugated folk, the latter for the dominant class of Norman descent. The latter commences: 'Ki unques vult salf estre devant tutes choses est busuin que il tient.' Here there is a hiatus owing to the mutilation of the leaf. The next two verses continue: 'La quele se chascun entiere e nient malmise ne guarderat, senz dutance perdurablement perirat. Iceste est acertes la comune fei que un deu en ternite e la ternite en unite unurum.' In verse 19, 'Catholica religione' is rendered 'par comune religion.' The last is: 'Ceste est la fei comune, la quele quicunkes feđeilement e fermement ne crerrađ, salf estre ne purrađ.' There is evidently a close resemblance between this and the first version of Montfaucon. Next may be mentioned, as belonging also to the

[1] 'The French language was spoken by the superior classes in society in England from the Conquest to the reign of Edward the Third. . . . School-boys were made to construe their Latin into French. . . . The minutes of the Corporation of London were in French, as well as the proceedings in Parliament and in the Courts of Justice. The use of French was much abandoned in the fourteenth century.' Hallam's *Introduction to the Literature of Europe*, vol. i. pp. 63, 64, chap. i. § 53.

[2] Above, I. iv. 6.

twelfth century, a British Museum MS., Nero. C. iv, a Psalter also, but without gloss or commentary, written in two columns, the one Latin, the other French. It must have been written in the monastery of St. Swithun, which was attached to the cathedral at Winchester. This is shown by the great number of English or Saxon saints, and more particularly bishops of Winchester or Wessex, mentioned in the Calendar and Litany—Cuthbert, Guthlac, Alfege, Herchenwald, Dunstan, Eadburga, Hedda, Oswald, Aidan, Birinus, Athelwold, Eadmund, and still more conclusively by a prayer to St. Swithun at the end of the Litany, in which he is thus addressed apparently by the writer: 'Sancte Swithune . . . tu es cum Christo in societate Sanctorum, et ego miser peccator et fragilis peccavi in atriis tuis in domo tua male vivendo . . . adiuva me una cum ceteris sanctis quorum corpora in hac iuxta te requiescunt aula vel quorum reliquie in hac ecclesia vel in hac civitate continentur,' &c. The date of the book is assigned to the second half of the twelfth century, but probably it was not executed later than 1173, the year of Archbishop Becket's canonization, as his festival on December 29 does not appear in the Calendar. The Athanasian Creed occurs in the usual place after the Canticles, following the Lord's Prayer and Apostles' Creed. The two initiatory verses of the translation are: 'Ki que unkes veolt estre salf, devant tutes choses li est mestier que il tienge veire creance. La quele si chascuns entiere et nient malmise ne guarderat, sanz dutance pardurablement perirat.' Verse 3 has also 'la veire creance,' but in verse 19 we find 'par commune religiun,' and the last is 'Icest est la commune fei, la quele si chascun fedeillement e fermement crerrat (*sic*), salf estre ne porrat.' There are two other manuscript Psalters in the British Museum

which contain French versions of the Athanasian Creed, though evidently written in England and for the use of English people—Harleian 273 of the early part of the fourteenth century, and Harleian 1770 of the middle of the same century. The first is written in two columns in French, the initial words only of the several Psalms and Canticles being supplied in Latin, but its English origin appears in the number of English saints commemorated in the Kalendar and invoked in the Litany, and the flyleaf contains a memorandum of its possession by an English owner in the fifteenth century: 'Iste liber constat Iohn Clerk grocero ap. cario regis Edwardi quarto post conquestum.' The *Quicunque* occurs in the usual place in French only and without any title. In verses 1 and 3 it has 'la comune fei,' in verse 19 'comune religion,' in the last 'la comune foi.' From the absence of the petitions at the end of the Litany, which are usually found in monastic Psalters, it may be concluded that this book was not designed for monastic use. The other Psalter—Harleian 1770—had its original home in the Priory of Austin Canons at Kirkham in Yorkshire, as we learn from a memorandum on the flyleaf: 'Liber monasterii de Kirkam.' It is written in two columns, the one in Latin, the other in French. The Psalms and Canticles are both without titles. The Athanasian Creed immediately follows the Te Deum, which is preceded by the New Testament Canticles. As in the Winchester Psalter, so here 'Catholica fides' in verses 1 and 3 is translated 'veire creance.' In verse 19 'Catholica religione' is 'par comune religiun.' But in the last we find 'Catholica fides' rendered in a singular manner by 'la ferme creance'—'Iceste est la ferme creance, la quele chascuns que ne la crerrat fermement, ne purrat estre saufs.' The Lord's Prayer follows the *Quicunque*, but ends

abruptly with the words 'panem nostrum.' Thus this Psalter is imperfect at the end; it is also imperfect at the beginning, commencing with the words of the second Psalm 'fringes eos,' so that at present it has neither Calendar nor Litany. For my knowledge of the two last-named MSS. I am indebted to the courtesy of Mr. Scott, the Keeper of the MSS. in the British Museum. It will be noticed that the Metz book is the only one of these MSS. which renders 'Catholica fides' by 'la catholike' or 'la catholique foi,' that two have 'veire creance,' but the other four 'comune fei' with 'comune religion.' This is a matter of some little interest in connexion with the Wycliffite version of the Athanasian Creed, tending to show that the author of that version, which was drawn up at the time when the French language was passing out of use in England and probably with the view of supplying the place of the French versions previously in use, derived from them his expressions, 'the comyne bileve,' 'the comune bileve,' 'general religion,' 'general bileve[1].'

I may add that an old French metrical version of our document composed 'ad usum vulgi' has been edited by M. Francisque Michel from a Paris MS. of the thirteenth century—Bibl. Nat. Suppl. Franc. No. 5145—together with the corresponding versions of the Psalter and Canticles to which it is subjoined[2]. In the same volume is also printed the French version noticed above from the Cotton MS., Nero C. iv, together with variants from an old Corbie Psalter, which at one time belonged to the Colbert Collection[3].

[1] See above, I. v. 2; also Appendix N.

[2] *Libri Psalmorum, versio Gallica antiqua.* Edidit Franciscus Michel, p. 361.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 255.

In another volume the same editor has printed the French version of the *Quicunque* in the Eadwin Psalter, together with the French versions of the Psalms and Canticles found in that book and their Latin texts[1].

5. A Spanish version of our document appears in two early printed Spanish Books of Hours of the Blessed Virgin, of which there are copies in the British Museum. The earliest of them is a curious and interesting little volume, profusely decorated with prints of sacred subjects, as is usually the case with Books of Hours. It contains much besides the actual Office of the Hours, and was evidently intended as a popular book of devotion. The Athanasian Creed occurs towards the end, introduced by the title, 'El psalmo Quicunque vult.' It follows 'Las horas de los finados,' the Hours of the Deceased, and is succeeded by a variety of prayers which close the volume. The book is without title-page or pagination, and is undated, for the colophon, while mentioning the names of the printer and publisher, omits to add, as usual, the date. It is as follows: 'Fenescan las horas de nuestra Señora impressas en Paris por Nicolao Higman por el Symon Voestre librero qui vive en Paris a la calle de nuestra Señora.' The conjectural date therefore assigned by the British Museum Catalogue, viz. 1497, may be safely accepted, as at least approximately correct. For Symon Voestre or Vostre carried on his business of publisher and bookseller at Paris from 1484 to 1520, and Brunet mentions a French Book of Hours printed for him by Nicholas Higman late in the fifteenth century.

The other Spanish Book of Hours in the British Museum which contains the Athanasian Creed was printed in Paris

[1] *Le livre des Psaumes ancienne traduction Francaise.* Paris, 1876.

for Guillermus Marlin in the year 1546, as we are informed by the colophon. Of this there are two copies in the Museum. It is not a mere reprint of the earlier *Horas*, but a different book, for it contains some matter not found in that, and omits other matter which is found there; and the documents which are necessarily common to both are arranged differently. Hence the position of the Athanasian Creed is different, but in both it has the same title and the same text, as it appeared to me. I may mention some renderings that I noticed: the commencement, 'Qualquier que quisiere ser salvo'; in verse 9 'immensus' is 'sin medida'—'sin medida es el Padre,' &c.; but in verse 12 'tres immensi' is translated 'tres grandes sin medida'; in verse 24, 'nihil prius aut posterius nihil maius aut minus' is translated literally 'no ay cosa primera ni postrimera, ninguna cosa es maior ni menor,' and 'totae tres personae coaeternae sibi sunt' is 'todas tres personas son en uno siempra durables'; in verse 25 the later reading is followed, 'la unidad en la trinidad y la trinidad en la unidad'; in verse 38, 'resurgere habent' has its exact counterpart in 'han de resuscitar'; the last is peculiar in the reading 'cada uno fiel firmemente no creyere.' The title of the book is 'Horas de la Virgen Maria segun el uso Romano con otros officios añadidas muchas oraciones.'

Thus there are certainly extant at the present day translations of the Athanasian Creed into Greek, English, German, French, and Spanish, which were produced during a period extending from the ninth century to the close of the fifteenth. I do not by any means represent this as an exhaustive list of the versions made and used in the Middle Ages. On the contrary, I have no doubt that others which were then current have since perished, and that others are

still in existence of which we cannot produce equally abundant and sufficient evidence. Dr. Swainson mentions an Italian version in a Milan MS.—A. 145 supra—shown him by Dr. Ceriani; also a Bohemian one [1].

[1] *Nicene and Apostles' Creeds*, pp. 497, 498.

PART II.

CONCLUSIONS.

HAVING considered the documentary evidence relating to the history of the Athanasian Creed under the various heads of Testimonies, Canons and Ecclesiastical Injunctions, Manuscripts, Commentaries, Versions, we are now in a position to arrive at some conclusions on the following points: the language in which it was composed, the date when it originated, the author to whom it may be ascribed, the titles attributed to it, its text, its use and reception in the Church.

CHAPTER I.

THE LANGUAGE.

In regard to the language in which the Creed was originally composed, the argument of Waterland is I think conclusive: 'The style and phraseology of the Creed; its early reception among the Latins, while unknown to the Greeks; the antiquity and number of the Latin manuscripts and their agreement for the most part with each other, and the disagreement of the Greek copies, all concur to demonstrate that this Creed was a Latin composure rather than a Greek one: and as to any other language besides these two, none is pretended [1].' And still further, its distinctly Latin character is emphasized by the fact, which I shall have occasion to advert to more fully by and by, that the terminology both in regard to the Trinity and the Incarnation is largely borrowed from the writings of St. Augustine, whilst several expressions in both parts are also clearly traceable to St. Vincent of Lerins. Of the close relation of its phraseology to that of these two Fathers any one may satisfy himself by comparing the Creed as printed in Waterland's work with the parallel passages from early writers, which he has placed by its side.

The fact of the Creed being originally drawn up in Latin cannot indeed be adduced as proving that it was not the

[1] Waterland, *Critical History of the Athanasian Creed*, chap. iv. p. 66, Oxford edition.

work of the great opponent of Arianism to whom throughout the Middle Ages it was attributed. Some persons, as Serarius[1], maintain that it was written by him in Latin. But the remarkable accordance of the phraseology of the Creed with that of St. Augustine, who was not baptized until some years after the death of St. Athanasius, is obviously fatal to a belief in the authorship of the latter. For this accordance can only be accounted for upon one of two hypotheses. Either the Creed in places must have been drawn from or based upon the words of St. Augustine, or else he must have borrowed from the Creed. The latter hypothesis is plainly untenable; it is impossible to suppose that St. Augustine could have known of the existence of the Creed and been so familiar with it as to adopt its terminology without even once in the course of his voluminous writings mentioning it as a document of authority and the work of Athanasius. Truth then requires us to abandon the belief in the authorship of Athanasius; and the various legends which have been built upon that belief must be abandoned also, as having no foundation in history —to wit, that he drew up the Creed at the Council of Nice, or at Trèves during his exile in that city, or at Rome, where according to Baronius he not only composed it but presented it to Pope Julius.

[1] *De Symbolo Athanasiano disputatio prima. Opusculae*, tom. ii. p. 7. Moguntiae, 1611.

CHAPTER II.

THE DATE.

In order to arrive at a conclusion with regard to the epoch which produced the Creed, it is obviously necessary to consider both the external and the internal evidence bearing upon the point, the former being derived from the documents previously noticed, the latter from the text of our document.

To deal first with the external evidence, as is clearly most convenient, beginning with the first half of the ninth century, I propose to trace it upwards through each of the preceding centuries as high as it reaches. Not many years have elapsed since various theories respecting the date and origin of the *Quicunque* were broached by persons eminent by position and reputation, which, though widely differing, indeed conflicting, in other respects, were agreed thus far, that they all represented it to be the production of the ninth century, not earlier. Hence I deem it expedient to commence by particularizing and summarizing the evidences which the first half of that century furnishes of the existence of the Creed at that epoch, and considerably prior to it also. What are these evidences? Firstly, the Creed is quoted or referred to by several writers of this period, and that too as the work of St. Athanasius; by Agobard, Bishop of Lyons about 820, who quotes verse 2[1]; by some Latin

[1] See Part I. chap. i. 10.

monks at Jerusalem in 809, who refer to it as an authority on the subject of the Procession[1]; by Theodulf, Bishop of Orleans, who in a work on the Procession written in the same year or shortly after, by order of Charlemagne, quotes several verses[2]; and yet earlier in the century by Alcuin, who in a work upon the same subject also quotes several verses. Next, the use of it was canonically enjoined at this period in episcopal admonitions and charges so to speak: this we learn from a series of capitula drawn up in the dominions and during the reign of the Emperor Lothair[3]; also from two documents of an earlier date in the ninth century, showing that the clergy were then required to learn it by heart, and that their knowledge of it was one of the subjects of episcopal examination and inquiry[4]; also from the capitulare of Hatto, or Ahyto or Hetto, Bishop of Basle, by which the priests of his diocese were required to learn the Creed by heart and recite it at the hour of Prime on Sundays[5]; and lastly from a capitulare of Theodulf, Bishop of Orleans, who also admonishes his clergy to learn it by heart[6]. Next, we gather from the Epistle of Florus the Deacon to Hyldrad the Abbot, that at this period, together with the Apostles' Creed and Lord's Prayer, it was commonly found in Psalters subjoined to the Old and New Testament Canticles[7]. And of this fact we have substantial evidence in three manuscript Psalters existing at the present day, all most interesting books: Athelstan's Psalter, as it is called, a British Museum MS., the original part of which, including the Psalms and Canticles, Gloria in excelsis, Lord's Prayer, Apostles' and Athanasian Creeds, must have been written before 850 A. D., probably in

[1] See Part I. chap. i. 9.
[2] *Ibid.* I. i. 8.
[3] *Ibid.* I. ii. 6.
[4] *Ibid.* I. ii. 4.
[5] *Ibid.* I. ii. 5.
[6] *Ibid.* I. ii. 3.
[7] *Ibid.* I. i. 12.

Germany[1]; the famous Utrecht Psalter, which most probably belongs to the period we are concerned with at present[2], and the Psalter written in honour of the Emperor Lothair or at his request in 833 or 834[3]. Next it appears in two MSS. assigned to the early part of this period —Paris Bibliothèque Nationale, Latin 1451 and 3848 B— both containing collections of canons and documents relating to dogma[4]. And lastly, a Commentary on the *Quicunque*, attributed to Theodulf, has recently been edited from the library at Orléans. If rightly so attributed, it must necessarily have been produced not later than 821, the year of Theodulf's death, and if not, as may very possibly be the case, still it may probably be regarded as a work of the first half of the ninth century, inasmuch as the MS. containing it was written in that century according to the high authority of Monsieur Delisle[5].

Now what are the conclusions which necessarily follow from the particulars which I have here specified and gathered together? First, that at the commencement of the ninth century the Athanasian Creed was extant; and secondly, that it was then extant in its integrity, not in an inchoate, germinal, fragmentary, incomplete condition, but complete as we have it now, the same document which we have in our Prayer Books and say in our churches. For thus complete and in its entirety it is found in all the MSS. here mentioned. And a third conclusion may be added, that it must have been extant not only at the commencement of the ninth century, but some considerable time before. This is clear on two grounds. First, it was plainly believed at that period to be the work of St. Athanasius, in almost all the documents above mentioned being expressly ascribed

[1] See Part I. chap. iii. 11. [2] *Ibid.* I. iii. 10. [3] *Ibid.* I. iii. 9.
[4] *Ibid.* I. iii. 7, 8. [5] *Ibid.* I. iv. 7.

to him, cited as his, described by such titles as *The Faith of Athanasius.* I am not arguing that this belief of the age is any proof that the Creed was the genuine work of Athanasius, but that it proves it to have been even then a work of some antiquity. The divines of the early part of the ninth century had among them men of learning, such men as Theodulf and Alcuin, well versed in the writings of the Fathers, and it is impossible to suppose that they could have regarded the *Quicunque* as handed down through successive ages from a man who had been dead more than 400 years had it been the production of a recent age, the preceding century or two. They knew at least that the tradition respecting its authorship was not of yesterday. And secondly, we found that in the first half of the ninth century it was the subject of episcopal admonitions and injunctions, presbyters being required to learn it by heart and recite it under pain of incurring canonical censure in case of disobedience; that it was then also admitted into Psalters and side by side with the Scriptural Canticles which were recited in the service and the Te Deum, and Lord's Prayer, and Apostles' Creed; that it was then also regarded as a document of weight and authority, appealed to and quoted on matters of faith and doctrine; and lastly, that in all probability it was then made the subject of a Commentary. And being thus used and received and esteemed in the Church in the early part of the ninth century, we may safely conclude that at that epoch it could not have been a recent production. A new and unknown document would not have been thus used and esteemed. And therefore, even though no other evidences than those already noticed could be alleged, a pre-existence of some considerable duration might be reasonably claimed for it, in which it would be disseminated

and become widely known, and attract the attention of the learned, and grow into general esteem as a reliable exposition of Scriptural truth and Catholic doctrine.

But let us advance onwards, and we shall still find further evidences to our point in preceding centuries, though of necessity not equally abundant. The first documentary evidence belonging to the eighth century which meets us is the profession of faith made by Denebert in 798 A.D. at his consecration to the bishopric of the Hwiccii, or Worcester, in which he quotes several verses of the Athanasian Creed for the purpose of declaring his faith in the Holy Trinity[1]. This is particularly deserving of notice, because he introduces the quotation with an expression—*scriptum est*—which clearly implies that in his opinion the document he was quoting from was invested with the characters of authority and antiquity. There are four MSS. of this century in which our document is found either wholly or in part. The first of these to be mentioned—Paris Bibliothèque Nationale, Latin 4858—contains a portion of it only, from the commencement down to the words 'tres aeterni' of verse 11[2]. This appears at the bottom of the verso side of the last leaf of the volume as it is at present, from which one or more leaves, which no doubt comprised the rest of the Creed, have evidently been torn away. The imperfect condition of the text is the consequence of this mutilation of the MS. This codex belongs to the close of the eighth century. In the three other MSS. we have the Creed in its entirety. Two of these are Psalters, and no mean Psalters, as appears from the care bestowed upon their execution and their ornate character, as well as the connexion of both with Charlemagne. One of them is deposited in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris—Latin

[1] See Part I. chap. i. 6.

[2] *Ibid.* I. iii. 6.

13159. The Litanies at the end, in one of which Charles is prayed for as 'King of the Franks and Lombards and Patrician of the Romans,' and in the two others simply as King, while Leo is in all three prayed for as Pope, seem clearly to prove that it must have been written between the accession of Leo III to the Pontificate at the close of the year 795 and the coronation of Charlemagne as Emperor at Christmas 800 [1]. The other Psalter, now in the Imperial Library at Vienna, appears from some dedicatory verses to have been written for Charlemagne when King, and to have been intended by him as a present to Pope Hadrian I. It must therefore have been written some time during the pontificate of the latter, which began in 772 and ended in 795 [2]. In the Vienna Psalter the *Quicunque* is attributed to St. Athanasius by the title; in the Paris book it has no title. Important and interesting as these two MSS. are, the fourth exceeds them in importance and interest, inasmuch as it is the earliest manuscript copy of our Creed at present extant, or at least known to be so. It is in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, and has for its press-mark O. 212. It was transferred to its present home from the Irish monastery at Bobio in North Italy at the beginning of the seventeenth century, and is written in an Irish hand. Being clearly, as I have before noticed, not the autograph of the author, but a copy of an older MS., it is not only evidence of the existence of the *Quicunque* in the eighth century, but also of its being extant yet earlier [3]. To some persons it may appear at first thought a matter of surprise that we are only able to point to four MSS. of our Creed as belonging to this century, and to none of a prior date; but, if the enormous waste and destruction of ancient MSS. which has taken place in former ages, and is still going on

[1] See Part I. chap. iii. 5. [2] *Ibid.* I. iii. 4. [3] *Ibid.* I. iii. 1.

in some degree, from a variety of causes—unavoidable decay, careless and rough usage, fire, damp, war, fanaticism, ignorance, neglect; if this is considered, it will become rather a wonder that we should be able to produce so many MSS. of this remote epoch which have survived the wreck. Manuscripts earlier than the ninth century are of course comparatively rare. There is another MS. of this century—Paris Bibliothèque Nationale, Latin 3836, f. 89 r. —which, although not a MS. of our document, requires special notice as affording distinct evidence of its antiquity, more distinct indeed than any MS. copy of it affords. It has been commonly regarded as a MS. of the Creed; but it is clearly not so, not even of a portion of it. It is a MS. of a fragment—the conclusion of a sermon or discourse on the Apostles' Creed, delivered at the *Traditio Symboli* to the catechumens or candidates for baptism, in which the preacher adapts and modifies the latter part of the *Quicunque* respecting the Incarnation. He does not quote or reproduce the text exactly, but passes over one verse almost entirely, and varies the language of all the verses which he deals with more or less, of some very considerably. Some however of the more trifling variations may possibly be due to the copyist, not to the author of the sermon. Now in tracing the evidence supplied by this fragment of the antiquity of the *Quicunque*, the point first to be noticed is that the copyist tells us in a few words of introduction that he found it at Treveri, presumably Trèves. Hence we are pointed in the first place to the MS. at Trèves from which the scribe took the transcript which we have now in the Paris MS. of the eighth century, and the former must obviously have been written before the latter; and it would appear, considerably before, as the scribe of the Paris MS. does not seem to have regarded the document which he

found at Trèves as one of recent or contemporaneous execution. Thus a certain interval of time, possibly of considerable duration, must, as it may be reasonably supposed, have occurred between his finding the Trèves MS. and its execution. And this holds equally true, whether the MS. contained nothing but the fragment which he transcribed, or whether it comprised the whole sermon of which it must have formed a part. And again another interval, possibly also of many years, must have elapsed between the writing of the MS. and the composition of the sermon, which it preserved in whole or in part, unless indeed it was the autograph or original copy, which is very improbable. Taking all this into consideration, we can scarcely suppose that the sermon was composed within less than fifty years of the date of the Paris MS., the middle of the eighth century, and the conclusion which I have arrived at, that it was a work of the seventh century at the latest, seems to be a very safe one. I have also stated some reasons for thinking it may be probably assigned to the preceding century [1]. But at the epoch when this sermon was preached, the Athanasian Creed could not have been a recently composed or unknown document: it had evidently then attained a certain degree of esteem, perhaps authority, as a manual of instruction, its language was familiar to the preacher, he would seem to have known it by heart. It is but reasonable to suppose that a century or thereabouts must have elapsed between the composition of the Creed and of this sermon. Hence the evidence of the Trèves fragment leads to the conclusion that the Creed could not have been drawn up later than the sixth century, but probably originated in the fifth, indeed not after the middle of the fifth century. The text of the Trèves frag-

[1] See Part I. chap. i. 4.

ment is printed in Appendix A. For a fuller account of that document and its relation to the *Quicunque*, as also for my reasons for assigning the date which I have to the sermon, of which it contained a portion, I must refer to my notice of the fragment in the first Part [1]. Another evidence of the existence of the *Quicunque* in the eighth century, and indeed before, is supplied in the notices by Montfaucon and Waterland of a St. Germain's MS. containing it which appears now to be lost [2]. In the title Athanasius was described as the author. And yet another is found in the Vatican MS. Palat. 574, though written in the ninth century; for it comprises a series of documents, the *Quicunque* being one of the number, which according to the Ballerini was subjoined to an earlier collection in the eighth century [3]. In this instance also our document is attributed by the title to St. Athanasius. Lastly, to the eighth century we have seen reason to assign two Commentaries, the Bouhier and the Paris [4]. And the Oratorian we assigned to the end of the seventh or beginning of the eighth [5]. For argument's sake we will here assume that it belongs to the beginning of the eighth. The preface to this Commentary, which is printed in Appendix H, requires especial notice for the remarkable testimony which it supplies to the antiquity of the *Quicunque*. The author of the exposition therein says that he had always seen it ascribed by the title to Athanasius, even in ancient manuscripts [6]. And, as these codices which he describes as ancient cannot be supposed to have been less than a hundred years old at the time, at the beginning namely of the eighth century,

[1] See Part I. chap. i. 4. [2] *Ibid.* I. iii. 2. [3] *Ibid.* I. iii. 12.
[4] *Ibid.* I. iv. 4, 5. [5] *Ibid.* I. iv. 3.
[6] 'Traditur enim quod a beatissimo Athanasio Alexandrinae ecclesiae antestite (*sic*) sit editum: ita namque semper eum vidi praetitulatum etiam in veteribus codicibus.'

it appears that early in the seventh the *Quicunque* was attributed, and not uncommonly, to Athanasius. We know nothing for certain of the circumstances which gave rise to this belief in the authorship of Athanasius. Whatever they were, whether in the first instance the Creed was ascribed to him as a symbol of the doctrine of which he was the most famous exponent and champion, or whether it was so ascribed at first simply in consequence of its being mixed up in MSS. with other works rightly or wrongly attributed to him, in any case it is not at all likely that this belief sprung into being until some time after the composition of the Creed. Then another period of some duration must be allowed for during which it was spreading wider and gradually growing into the general acceptance which it had attained at the end of the seventh century and the beginning of the eighth, as we are led to understand by the Oratorian Preface. From these premisses what can we conclude but that the Creed could not have been drawn up later than the fifth century, probably not later than the middle of it? One point remains to be mentioned here, viz. that the work referred to by the author of the Oratorian Commentary in his Preface as ascribed to Athanasius in ancient codices can be none other than our Athanasian Creed, inasmuch as he quotes it from beginning to end verse by verse. I venture to think that I have produced from the eighth century a considerable amount of evidence in support of the antiquity of the *Quicunque*. Almost all these documents, it will be observed, prove its existence not only at that period but yet earlier, some being Commentaries, and in others the authorship being attributed to St. Athanasius, whilst the Milan MS. yields internal evidence to the same effect: and further, two of the number, viz. the Trèves fragment and the Preface to the Oratorian

Commentary, point to a definite conclusion as to the approximate date of its production, that it may probably be placed not later than the middle of the fifth century. Let us now see whether this conclusion is confirmed by the evidence of the seventh and sixth centuries.

Our witnesses of the seventh century are the Autun Canon dated about 670 A. D.[1], the Troyes Commentary which emerged, as it appears, during the height of the Monothelete controversy between 649 and 681 [2], the Confession of Faith of the Fourth Council of Toledo A. D. 633[3], and the so-called Fortunatus Commentary, belonging, as there is reason to believe, to the early part of the century, possibly to the close of the sixth [4]. All these, but especially the first, second and fourth, point to the fifth century as the epoch which produced the *Quicunque*, not later. For if it was attributed to St. Athanasius about 670, as it is in the Canon of Autun, and if it was the subject of Commentaries in the seventh century, we cannot suppose it to have been a work of the sixth. New and unknown documents, as we have before remarked, are not made the subjects of Commentaries, and it has been also noticed that the belief in the authorship of St. Athanasius implies a pre-existence of the *Quicunque* of some duration.

The string of evidence does not cease with the seventh century, but runs on through the sixth and ends apparently with the close of the fifth. Thus the *Epistola Canonica* proves—if indeed we may rely on the authority of the learned canonists, the Ballerini—that in the sixth century in one locality at least, probably a diocese of Northern Italy, the clergy were required to learn the Athanasian Creed by heart [5]. Then there are two documents of the same cate-

[1] See Part I. chap. ii. 2. [2] *Ibid.* I. iv. 2.
[3] *Ibid.* I. i. 5. [4] *Ibid.* I. iv. 1. [5] *Ibid.* I. ii. 1.

gory as the sermon of which the Trèves fragment formed a part, sermons on the Apostles' Creed incorporating some of the language of the Athanasian, but in a much smaller degree. The first of these is printed in the Appendix to the fifth volume of St. Augustine [1], and is attributed by the Benedictine editors to Caesarius, Bishop of Arles from 502 to 542 [2]. The second is rather earlier, as appears from the earlier type of the Apostles' Creed which it follows, and may therefore be assigned probably to the beginning of the sixth or the end of the fifth century: it was found by me in two Paris MSS., Bibliothèque Nationale, Latin 3848 B, and 2123 [3]. The last particular of evidence I have to allege is from Avitus, Bishop of Vienne in Gaul from 490 to 518, whose writings exhibit two instances of verbal coincidence with the *Quicunque*, if we may not more fitly call them quotations from it [4]. This may be evidently considered contemporaneous with the last-mentioned. These four particulars clearly carry us beyond the end of the fifth century for the origin of the Athanasian Creed, and dispose us rather to look for it at the latest in the middle of that century; and we found that the Trèves fragment and the Oratorian Preface bear an accordant testimony.

Let us now consider the internal evidence of date.

An examination of the terminology of the Creed supplies the means of determining approximately, within well-defined limits, the date of its composition.

The phraseology of both parts—that relating to the Trinity and that relating to the Incarnation—bears a marked, obvious resemblance to the language of St. Augustine. It is not too much to say that for the most part it is

[1] Migne, *Patrol. Latina*, tom. xxxix. p. 2194.
[2] See Part I. chap. i. 3. [3] *Ibid.* I. i. 2. [4] *Ibid.* I. i. 1.

distinctly Augustinian in forms of expression and idiom no less than in doctrine. The proof of this is to be found in a comparison of verses 6 to 24, 29, 30, 31, 32, 34, 35 with the passages from the great Latin Father placed side by side with them in Waterland [1]. The doctrinal definitions of the Creed are clearly cast in the mould elaborated by that great and acute and sanctified intellect. This resemblance of the phraseology of the *Quicunque* with that of St. Augustine extends beyond the clauses defining the doctrines of the Trinity and Incarnation; it is traceable in the assertion of our Lord's descent *ad inferos* (the true reading in all probability, for it is found in the Ambrosian and all the earliest MSS.), and still more remarkably in the expression *resurgere habent*, a distinctly Augustinian mode of expression. I have noted no fewer than fourteen instances of it in the sermons alone of St. Augustine [2].

And together with this general conformity of doctrinal phraseology with the language of St. Augustine in the two principal divisions of the Creed, instances present themselves in both of striking verbal coincidences with the *Commonitorium* of St. Vincent of Lerins. Such instances occur in verses 3, 4, 5, 29 and 30. The author then of the *Quicunque* apparently drew his materials from this work as well as the writings of St. Augustine, unless indeed it was one and the same hand which composed both the *Quicunque*

[1] The numbering of the Latin text, which is printed in Appendix E, is here followed.

[2] The following are among them: 'Mori veni pro hominibus? baptizari non habeo pro hominibus?' *Tract. in Johan.* iv. 14. 'Isti mali praescindi habent in fine.' *Ser.* v. 8. 'Respondere tibi habet caro tua? et confabulatura tecum, dictura tibi in tenebris: Quomodo natus is fuit?' *Ser.* ccxliv. 4. 'Ista caro resurget ista ipsa, quae sepelitur, quae moritur . . . ipsa habet resurgere.' *Ser.* cclxiv. 6. 'Modo . . . dicit illud de ore suo . . . episcopus et irridetur. Numquid sic irrideri habet, quando ab ipso iudice potentissimo dicetur?' *Ser.* xviii. 5.

and the *Commonitorium*. And as no passage in our Creed can be traced to any later source, we are necessarily led to fix upon the year 434 A.D.—the date of the *Commonitorium* — as the limit on the one side of the period within which it may have been composed. What limit does internal evidence point to as the conclusion of that period?

Before this question can be answered, it is necessary to determine whether the Creed was formed by a process of growth spread over a great extent of time, as Dr. Swainson has maintained, based possibly upon two independent documents, which received accretions in the lapse of years? Or was it the product of one period and one mind, though constructed of materials drawn from a variety of sources? That the latter is the true hypothesis, the Creed itself furnishes sufficient evidence in its construction, its treatment of the subject-matter, and the style of its composition. It is one homogeneous complete whole; its two divisions have a necessary natural relation, the one being complementary to the other, so that one would be imperfect without the other; both are introduced and concluded with assertions of the necessity of belief in the dogmas severally expounded; both are remarkable for that 'antithetic swing' which attracted the attention of the late Dean Stanley; and if both are thus remarkable for the terseness and vigour and antithesis of their language, it is obviously due to the fact of their being largely drawn from St. Augustine, whose style was noted by these characteristics; and lastly, in both some expressions are found which appear also in the works of St. Vincent of Lerins.

We have previously concluded from external evidence that in all probability the Creed was composed not later than the middle of the fifth century. Is this conclusion supported by internal evidence? I think it is. The

Nestorian controversy was not extinct in the year 434, the earliest date, as we have seen, to which the composition of the Creed can be assigned. It continued to be the principal subject which agitated the Church and occupied the attention of theologians until or nearly until the year 448, when Eutychianism emerged. If the *Quicunque* was the product of this period, we might expect that it would distinctly re-echo the terminology which was then used by Catholics in reference to the Incarnation—the subject-matter of the Nestorian heresy. To my mind there are distinct traces of this terminology throughout the portion of the Creed relating to the Incarnation. Let me adduce the following instances in proof.

1. It is remarkable that the Creed repeatedly and emphatically asserts the Unity of Christ—not fewer than four times in as many verses, viz. verses 32, 33, 34, 35. The Unity of Christ's Person may be said to be the distinctive tenet constantly affirmed by the Catholics in opposition to the Nestorians, whom they charged, and truly, with teaching in effect two Christs, two Sons, a Christ consisting of two personalities, divine and human. That the Creed should affirm this doctrine in such a very marked manner must appear all the more significant if considered side by side with the fact of its entire silence in regard to the co-ordinate doctrine of our Lord's two natures. For though it asserts this latter doctrine in fact by declaring Him to be God and man, perfect God and perfect man, still it is not so explicit on the point as we may presume it would have been, had it been drawn up subsequently to the rise of Eutychianism, and as Confessions and Definitions of the Faith were, which were drawn up subsequently to that epoch. So the Confession of the Council of Constantinople held A. D. 448: 'We confess Christ to be of two natures after the Incarna-

tion, in one subsistence and one person; we confess one Christ, one Son, one Lord[1].' So the Definition of Faith of the Council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451, teaches that He is 'One and the same Christ, Son, Lord, Only-begotten in two natures . . . the difference of the natures having been by no means destroyed by their union[2].' So the Confession of Pelagius I in the middle of the sixth century professes belief in Him as 'unus atque idem Iesus Christus,' at the same time 'ex duabus et in duabus manentibus indivisis et inconfusis naturis.' And the Confession of Vigilius, the immediate predecessor of Pelagius in the papacy, has similar expressions[3].

2. 'Nam sicut anima rationalis et caro unus est homo, ita Deus et homo unus est Christus,' verse 35. 'For as the reasonable soul and flesh is one man, so God and man is one Christ.' This verse is evidently drawn from St. Augustine with some transposition of words[4]. The illustration of the union of the two natures in the person of our Blessed Lord by the analogous union of the human soul and body occurs repeatedly in the works of that Father. It was adopted by the Catholic opponents of Nestorianism, particularly St. Vincent of Lerins and St. Cyril of Alexandria. By the latter it is employed again and again, twice in his third Epistle to Nestorius, in his Epistles to Eulogius and Successus, three times in his *Scholia de Incarnatione*, and in his *Apologeticus adversus Theodoretum*. Supposing the Creed to have been composed during the Nestorian controversy, the comparison in such frequent use at the time would naturally occur to the mind of the author, and he would be led to insert it as expressed

[1] Hahn, *Bibliothek der Symbole*, p. 139.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 82, 83.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 271, 269, 270.
[4] See Aug. *in Joh. Tract.* lxxviii. § 3; also *Ep.* clxxxvii. cap. 3.

in the forcible and appropriate language of St. Augustine, with whose writings he was evidently familiar. After the rise of Eutychianism the use of this illustration was avoided by Catholics or employed with great caution, in consequence of their fear of its misapplication by their opponents[1].

3. 'Unus omnino, non confusione substantiae, sed unitate personae,' verse 34. 'One altogether, not by confusion of substance, but by unity of person.'

This verse also is clearly constructed from the language of St. Augustine—'Idem Deus qui homo et qui Deus idem homo, non confusione naturae, sed unitate personae[2]'—*naturae* being changed to *substantiae*, to which I shall advert by-and-by, and *Idem Deus qui homo et qui Deus idem homo* to *unus omnino* obviously in order to make the verse dovetail with the preceding one *unus autem*, probably also as more in accordance with the terminology of the period.

The verse accurately represents the Catholic position in contrast to the Nestorian. What St. Cyril contended for —perhaps it was the most critical point of the controversy— was the Unity of our Lord's Person, the *ἕνωσις καθ' ὑπόστασιν*, or Hypostatic union in Him of the two natures, Divine and human; that He was one altogether, as the Creed states, by unity of person[3]. On the other hand, Nestorius

[1] See Waterland, *History of the Athanasian Creed,* Oxford edition, 1870, p. 148, with note by Le Quien.

[2] *Ser.* clxxvi. cap. 1.

[3] The second Anathematism of Cyril was: *Εἴ τις οὐχ ὁμολογεῖ σαρκὶ καθ' ὑπόστασιν ἡνῶσθαι τὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ πατρὸς Λόγον ἕνα τε εἶναι Χριστὸν μετὰ τῆς ἰδίας σαρκός, τὸν αὐτὸν δηλονότι θεὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ ἄνθρωπον, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.* Similar language is repeatedly used in his second and third Epistles to Nestorius. That the word *ὑπόστασις* here must be understood in the sense of person is obvious from the fact that in the fourth Anathematism it occurs as a convertible and equivalent term with *πρόσωπον*: *εἴ τις προσώποις δυσὶν ἤγουν ὑποστάσεσι*, &c.; and similarly twice in his third Epistle to Nestorius. The *ἕνωσις καθ' ὑπόστασιν* of St. Cyril was therefore identical with the *unitas personae* of St. Augustine reaffirmed by the Creed.

refused to acknowledge more than a conjunction or συνάφεια of the two natures in Christ, and that only in dignity, or authority, or power[1]. Further, whilst Cyril thus asserted the union in our Lord's Person of the two natures or substances, he was careful to repudiate the charge, repeatedly urged against him by Nestorius, that he was guilty of confounding or mingling them[2]. Christ was one altogether, not by confusion of substance, but by unity of Person.

4. 'Qui, licet Deus sit et homo, non duo tamen, sed unus est Christus,' verse 32; 'Who, although He be God and man, yet He is not two, but one Christ.' *Although He be God and man.* These words clearly must have been written at a time when it was an acknowledged, admitted principle, acknowledged even by the party whose error the writer was combating, that Christ was both God and man, when the error contended against was not the denial of His twofold nature, but of the Unity of His Person. The force of this argument will be more apparent if we compare with this verse of the Creed the following precisely similar but converse proposition of St. Leo in his celebrated Epistle to Flavian: '*Quamvis* in Domino Iesu Christo Dei et hominis una persona sit, aliud *tamen* est unde in utroque contumelia, aliud unde communis est gloria. De nostro enim illi est minor Patre humanitas, de Patre illi est aequalis cum Patre divinitas.' *Although there be One Person in the Lord Jesus Christ.* When Leo wrote these words, the Unity of Christ's Person was not the point at issue; on the contrary, it was a principle acknowledged and maintained by Eutyches whom he was opposing: the error, the former contended, was not the denial of the Unity of

[1] See the 2nd Anathematism of Cyril, also Nestorii *Sermones*, translated by Marius Mercator in Migne, *Patrol. Lat.* tom. xlviii. pp. 757–766.

[2] Particularly in his letter to John of Antioch.

Christ's Person, but of His twofold nature. If this passage is plainly the product of the Eutychian epoch, the verse of the Creed is no less plainly the product of the Nestorian epoch.

5. 'Dominus noster Iesus Christus, Dei Filius, Deus pariter et homo est: Deus est ex substantia Patris ante saecula genitus, homo ex substantia matris in saeculo natus.' 'Our Lord Jesus Christ the Son of God is God and man; God of the substance of the Father begotten before the worlds, and man of the substance of His mother born in the world'; verses 30, 31.

The two nativities of our blessed Lord, so frequently asserted by St. Augustine as by the Fathers in general and Confessions of Faith, and here reasserted, were expressly denied by Nestorius and his school; and this denial was a clear proof that they divided Christ into a twofold personality, divine and human. In his third Sermon he declared that 'God the Word was not born of Mary, but abode in him who was born of her'; and his audacious profanity provoked a serious tumult in the church, one of the congregation, Eusebius, afterwards Bishop of Dorylaeum, but then a layman, shouting out amid general applause that 'God the Word underwent a second nativity.' Afterwards the preacher repudiated in so many words the two nativities[1]. Theodoret in like manner denied that God the Word was born of the Virgin, and therefore rejected the double nativity[2].

[1] See Marii Mercatoris *Opera* in Migne, *Patrol. Lat.* tom. xlviii. pp. 769-771. Nestorius' Sermons are extant only in Marius Mercator's translation. Also Hefele's *Councils*, vol. iii. p. 14, English translation. St. Cyril Alex. said of Nestorius: *εἰς υἱοὺς δύο μερίζει τὸν ἕνα καὶ ἕτερον μὲν ἰδικῶς εἶναι φησὶ υἱὸν καὶ Χριστὸν καὶ Κύριον τὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ πατρὸς γεννηθέντα λόγον, ἕτερον δὲ πάλιν ἀνὰ μέρος τε καὶ ἰδικῶς υἱὸν καὶ Χριστὸν καὶ Κύριον ἐκ τῆς ἁγίας παρθένου.* Cyrilli *Ep. ad Acacium.*

[2] Thus Theodoret: 'Si non est factum caro Deus Verbum, sed carnem vivam

The two nativities being thus denied by the Nestorians, we should expect to find an affirmation of their truth in the Athanasian Creed, if it was drawn up while the controversy respecting the heresy of Nestorius was still raging, though it could not of itself determine the origin of the Creed to that period, similar dogmatic statements being found commonly in the writings of Fathers and Confessions of Faith from the emergence of Apollinarianism downwards.

But the verse under our consideration has a more close and critical bearing upon the Nestorian hypothesis. Nestorius argued in the Sermon previously mentioned that God the Word could not have been born of Mary, inasmuch as if it were so the law of nature would be violated, that the child must needs be consubstantial with the mother of whom it is born [1]. It was a plausible argument, and the author declared in writing to Pope Celestine that he had found it a very effectual one also [2]. In his work on the

et rationabilem assumpsit, non ipse natura ex Virgine natus est conceptus et fictus et formatus et inde initium, ut esset, accipiens, qui ante saecula est, et Deus, et apud Deum semper, et Patri adhaerens.' S. Cyrilli *Apologeticus adversus Theodoretum*, Latin translation. See Marii Mercatoris *Opera*, Migne, *Patrol. Lat.* vol. xlviii. p. 972. In answer to Theodoret, St. Cyril says of the Nestorians: 'Non patiuntur vel sentire vel dicere ipsum Dei Patris Verbum, quod erat ante saecula Filius, novissimis temporibus inconfuse inconvertibiliterque adunatum esse ex vulva carni habenti animam rationabilem ac sic fuisse hominem similem nostri.' *Ibid.* p. 975.

[1] 'Si non hominis natura, sed Deus Verbum erat, quem illa pariebat, quae peperit, nequaquam mater eius, qui natus est, invenitur; quomodo enim aliqua fiet eius mater, qui a natura genitricis est alienus? Quod si vera mater ab iis appellatur, ergo qui editus est, non Divinitatis natura est, sed homo, siquidem proprium omnis est matris consubstantivum sibi parere. Ergo non erit mater, quae consubstantivum sibi minime peperit.' Nestorii *Sermo* iii, as translated by Marius Mercator, Migne, *Patrol. Lat.* vol. xlviii. pp. 768, 769.

[2] 'Aestimo famam praecedentem, quod non frustra certaverimus, sed emendati sint gratia Domini multi ex his qui perversi erant, *discentes a nobis quia debet esse parienti ὁμούσιος nativitas*.' *Epistola* 1 Nestorii ad Caelestinum Papam. This, as his two other Epistles to Celestine, exists only in a Latin translation.

Incarnation, which was written at the request of Leo, at the time Archdeacon, afterwards Bishop, of Rome, for the purpose of confuting the errors of Nestorius, Cassian replied to this argument, first by insisting on the birth of our blessed Lord as an event entirely supernatural, and secondly by asserting Him to be of one substance with the mother of whom He was born in time as well as with the Father of whom He was begotten before all ages, with the former in respect of His human nature, with the latter in respect of His Divine nature[1]. No doubt also the Creed of the Antiochenes, which was drawn up at the Council of Ephesus by John of Antioch and the party of Eastern Bishops who refused to act with St. Cyril, but which in the year 433 became the basis of reunion between the two parties, has the same reference in representing our Lord to be consubstantial with the Father in respect of His Godhead and consubstantial with us in respect of His manhood. The Athanasian Creed in affirming our Lord to be 'God of the substance (*ex substantia*) of the Father' and at the same time 'man of the substance (*ex substantia*) of His mother,' while in perfect harmony with Cassian and the Creed of the Antiochenes, goes deeper and strikes at

It is printed among the works of Marius Mercatur in Migne, *Patrol. Lat.* tom. xlviii. pp. 174–178.

[1] 'Magno videlicet perfidiae atque impietatis suae argumento ad negandum ac persequendum Dominum Deum uteris, dicens, homoousios parenti debet esse nativitas. No dum ad plenum dico ac profero in Dei nativitate penitus hoc non esse servandum, quia non parientis fuit nativitas ipsa, sed nati; et ipse natus est ut voluit, cuius fuit hoc ipsum ut nasceretur. Interim qui homoousion parenti dicis nativitatem esse debere, ego Dominum Iesum Christum homoousion dico fuisse et Patri pariter et matri. . . . Secundum divinitatem homoousios Patri, secundum carnem homoousios matri fuit.' Cassiani *de Incarnatione Christi* lib. vi. cap. 13. This treatise must have been written in 430. The apostrophe addressed to Nestorius and the exhortation to the faithful at Constantinople at the end show that it was composed before the Council of Ephesus; the above passage proves it to be subsequent to Nestorius' third Sermon and his first Epistle to Pope Celestine.

the very root of the error of Nestorius in refusing to acknowledge that the Divine Word was born of the blessed Virgin. In his fourth and fifth Sermons, preached in answer to Proclus, Bishop of Cyzicus, the heresiarch dwells more fully upon the doctrine of the Incarnation, and the unreal and illusory character of his hypothesis comes more clearly to light. He speaks of 'God, the Word of the Father, being associated with him who was born of Mary,' 'of the Word of God *passing through* the blessed Virgin in conjunction with the man to whom she gave birth,' and declares, 'that God passed through the Virgin Christotocos I have been taught by Scripture, that He was born I have not been taught[1].' With such teaching as this the assertion of the Creed, which is re-echoed by the words of thankful commemoration put into our lips by the Church upon Christmas Day[2], stands in obvious contrast. And the language of the *Quicunque* may fitly be compared with similar expressions which were elicited by the Nestorian controversy, as that of St. Cyril: 'We assert that the very Word, who was substantially begotten of God the Father, was made like unto us and became incarnate and was made man, that is, took unto Himself a body of the holy Virgin[3] and made it His own. For so there shall be truly one Lord Jesus Christ, so we shall worship Him as one, not dividing Him as God and man, but believing Him to

[1] Nestorii *Sermo* v, published among the works of Marius Mercator, as translated by him, Migne, *Patrol. Lat.* tom. xlviii. pp. 786, 787.

[2] The Preface for Christmas Day: 'Because Thou didst give Jesus Christ Thine only Son to be born as at this time for us, who by the operation of the Holy Ghost was made very man of the *substance* of the Virgin Mary His Mother.' It is very remarkable that this Preface, so thoroughly Catholic, so directly subversive of Nestorianism, was inserted in place of the more ancient one in our first Reformed Prayer Book of 1549. Procter, *History of the Prayer Book*, 5th edition, p. 347.

[3] ἐκ τῆς ἁγίας παρθένου.

be one and the same Person, partaking of Godhead and manhood, that is at once God and man[1].' And again: 'We are assured that He, i.e. the Word, assumed flesh of the holy Virgin[2].' And St. Vincent of Lerins: 'In uno eodemque Christo duae substantiae sunt; sed una divina, altera humana, una ex Patre Deo, altera *ex* matre Virgine.' And Proclus in the Sermon already alluded to, which was preached in the presence of Nestorius with immediate reference to his argument that the Word could not have been born of Mary as not partaking of her substance, and which was answered by Nestorius in the Sermons from which I have quoted: 'It does not pollute Him who cannot be contaminated to proceed from the womb of the Virgin'; 'if the Word had not dwelt in the womb of the Virgin, flesh would never have been seated on the throne'; 'He who is by nature King and God clothed Himself in a body from the Virgin'; God, 'while giving the Spirit, received flesh both with the Virgin and from the Virgin: the Spirit indeed overshadowed her, but He Himself was made flesh of her[3].'

Hence, inasmuch as the doctrine which was symbolized by the term *Theotocos* as used and insisted on by Catholics is distinctly expressed in this passage of the Creed, the absence from it of that term, or rather of any of its Latin equivalents as *Deipara* or *Dei genitrix*, cannot be alleged as proof that it was not the product of the Nestorian epoch. Nor yet would the bare use of the term, if it were found in the Creed, be of itself a proof that it was the product of that age. For the term was no certain test of

[1] *Cont. Nestorium*, lib. ii.

[2] *Ibid.*, *Ep. ad Acacium*: τὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγον . . . ἐκ τῆς ἁγίας παρθένου λαβεῖν τὴν σάρκα διαβεβαιούμεθα.

[3] 'Ex ea' in the Latin. For the Latin translation of this Sermon see Migne, *Patrol. Lat.* tom. xlviii. pp. 775–781.

orthodoxy. Nestorius repeatedly declared his readiness to accept and use it in a certain sense. The different meanings attached to it by the Nestorian party on the one side and the Catholics on the other are contrasted in the following passages from the objections urged by Theodoret, who certainly agreed in the main with Nestorius at the time when the controversy was at its height, to the Anathematisms of Cyril. In the course of his remarks on the first Anathematism Theodoret says: 'God the Word was not Himself naturally born of the Virgin and conceived and framed and formed . . . but He framed for Himself a temple in the Virgin's womb, and associated Himself with him who was framed and born. Wherefore also we call that holy Virgin the mother of God, not as having given birth to God naturally, but as having given birth to a man, united to God, who had framed him[1].' This passage was quoted and censured by the Fifth General Council. In his reply St. Cyril says: 'We denounce with the utmost possible earnestness those who refuse to confess that the holy Virgin is mother of God, because she gave birth to the Word of God according to the flesh': and 'We affirm that the Word from God the Father, having taken upon Him the holy and animated flesh and having been truly united to it, yet without confusion, came forth man from the very womb, but that He still continued to be very God; and on this account the holy Virgin is mother of God[2].' So that what the Creed avers, that the

[1] Οὐκ αὐτός, i. e. ὁ Θεὸς Λόγος, φύσει ἐκ τῆς παρθένου γεγέννηται συλληφθεὶς καὶ διαπλασθεὶς καὶ μορφωθείς . . . ἀλλ' ἑαυτῷ ναὸν ἐν τῇ παρθενικῇ γαστρὶ διαπλάσας συνῆν τῷ πλασθέντι καὶ γεννηθέντι· οὗ χάριν καὶ τὴν ἁγίαν ἐκείνην παρθένον θεοτόκον προσαγορεύομεν, οὐχ ὡς θεὸν φύσει γεννήσασαν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἄνθρωπον, τῷ διαπλάσαντι αὐτόν, ἡνωμένον Θεῷ. S. Cyrilli Alex. *Opera*, tom. vi. p. 204, edit. Paris, 1638.

[2] Πλείστην ὅσην πεποιήμεθα τὴν καταβοὴν τῶν ὁμολογεῖν οὐκ ἀνεχομένων . . . ὅτι θεοτόκος ἐστὶν ἡ ἁγία παρθένος, ὅτι γεγέννηκε κατὰ σάρκα τὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ

Son or Word, who is God of the substance of the Father, is also man—made so *ex substantia matris*—of the substance of His mother, is the very point which the orthodox contended for as symbolized by the title Theotocos applied to the Virgin Mary.

6. 'Perfectus Deus, perfectus homo ex anima rationali et humana carne subsistens.'

'Perfect God and perfect man, of a reasonable soul and human flesh subsisting'; verse 30.

Considering how largely the phraseology of the Creed is borrowed from St. Augustine, it is notable that the expression 'perfectus Deus, perfectus homo' is not to be found in the writings of that Father, though no doubt the doctrine which it conveys is implicitly taught by him again and again. He has 'totus Deus et totus homo[1],' but not 'perfectus Deus et perfectus homo,' so far as I am able to discover. Nor is it to be found in Hilary of Poitiers, though he says what is equivalent: 'habens in se et totum verumque quod homo est et totum verumque quod Deus est[2].' Nor does St. Leo appear to make use of the expression, though he has repeatedly 'verus Deus, verus homo' or the like, and in his Epistle to Flavian 'totus in suis, totus in nostris.' But it appears in the *Commonitorium* of St. Vincent of Lerins, a work which sprung out of the Nestorian controversy[3]. And it is impossible to avoid connecting the term thus occurring in the Creed and the *Commonitorium* with the very similar one used once, and,

Λόγον. And, Διαβεβαιούμεθα τὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ πατρὸς Λόγον, ἐν προσλήψει γεγονότα τῆς ἁγίας τε καὶ ἐμψύχου σαρκός, ἐνωθέντα τε κατ' ἀλήθειαν ἀσυγχύτως, ἐκ μήτρας αὐτῆς προελθεῖν ἄνθρωπον· μεμενηκέναι δὲ καὶ οὕτω Θεὸν ἀληθινόν, ταύτῃ τοι καὶ θεοτόκος ἐστὶν ἡ ἁγία παρθένος.

[1] Ser. ccxciii. 7.

[2] *De Trinitate*, lib. x. cap. 19.

[3] *Commonitorium primum.* See Migne, *Patrol. Lat.* tom. i. p. 656.

as far as I can ascertain, once only by the great leader of the Catholics in that controversy—*perfect God and perfect man*[1], and also used in the Union-Creed of the Antiochenes —a document which occupied a conspicuous position in the same controversy and must have been perfectly well known throughout Christendom, Western as well as Eastern, inasmuch as it was accepted as orthodox by St. Cyril and was made the basis of union, as has been already mentioned, between him and the party who seceded from him at the Council of Ephesus. It was originally drawn up by John Bishop of Antioch and his friends in their conciliabulum held during the sitting of that Council, and sent to the Emperor Theodosius as their Confession of Faith in a Latin translation. The passage referred to is in that translation 'Deum perfectum et hominem perfectum ex anima rationali et corpore[2],' in the original *θεὸν τέλειον καὶ ἄνθρωπον τέλειον ἐκ ψυχῆς λογικῆς καὶ σώματος*[3]. Probably both St. Cyril and the Antiochenes borrowed the expression from St. Athanasius, who makes use of it[4]; and thus the Creed, though drawn up in Latin, would owe this distinctive and significant term to the illustrious Eastern theologian, to whom it was formerly ascribed.

The language of the Creed defining the perfect humanity of our Lord also reproduces the terminology of the Nestorian epoch. 'Perfectus homo ex anima rationali et humana carne subsistens'; 'perfect man of a reasonable

[1] *Ἕνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἴσμεν τὸν διὰ τῆς ἁγίας παρθένου θεοτόκου Μαρίας γεννηθέντα θεὸν τέλειον καὶ ἄνθρωπον τέλειον, ἔμψυχον, λογικόν.* S. Cyrilli *de Incarnatione Verbi Dei Filii Patris.* He expresses the same truth more fully elsewhere, as for instance, *ὥσπερ ἐν θεότητι τέλειος οὕτω καὶ ἐν ἀνθρωπότητι τέλειος. De Incarnatione Unigeniti.*

[2] *Concilia*, Labbe, tom. iii. p. 1091; Paris.

[3] Hefele's *Councils*, English translation, vol. iii. pp. 94 and 131, and Hahn, *Bibliothek der Symbole*, p. 137.

[4] *Cont. Apollinarium*, i. 16.

soul and human flesh subsisting.' It will be observed that in the words of the Creed of the Antiochenes quoted above, our Lord in respect to His human nature is described as 'perfect man of a reasonable soul and *body*.' And this the Creed appears to follow with the exception of the word *body*, instead of which it has adopted the expression *human flesh*. Why was this change, which is clearly not without meaning? Some light may be thrown upon the point by reference to the writings of St. Augustine, with which the author of the Creed was evidently familiar. In one passage, speaking in reference to 1 Cor. xv. 40, that Father discriminates between *corpus* and *caro*: 'Omnis caro corpus est; non autem omne corpus caro, non solum quia caeleste corpus non dicitur caro,' &c.[1] Elsewhere, addressing himself especially to the Manichean denial of the verity of our Lord's human nature, he adopts the more critical term *caro humana*: 'De ipso homine si quaeris a me, duo iterum dico: Anima humana et caro humana[2].' The word *corpus* would not of itself unequivocally exclude the heretical notion of a celestial superhuman body belonging to our Lord—a notion inconsistent with the belief that He, the Son of God, was made very man of the substance of the Virgin Mary His mother. Accordingly we find the more critical term cropping up in the Nestorian controversy, and used by Nestorians as well as Catholics. St. Cyril and his friends were frequently charged by their opponents with Apollinarianism[3]. And he was not only charged with holding the distinctive tenet of Apollinaris by denying that

[1] *Ser.* cccIxii. cap. xviii.

[2] *Ser.* ccxxxvii. cap. ii. So also 'suscepit animam humanam et carnem humanam.' *Collatio cum Maximino*, 14.

[3] See the first Epistle of Nestorius to Pope Celestine, Migne, *Patrol. Lat.* tom. xlviii. p. 176; also his seventh Sermon, *ibid.* pp. 792, 793; also remarks of Theodoret on the eleventh Anathematism of Cyril, *ibid.* p. 998.

our Lord had a human rational soul, but also with holding another tenet ascribed to him in common with Manichaeus and Valentinus, that alluded to shortly before, which was opposed to the verity of His human body or flesh. In his celebrated letter to John Bishop of Antioch, after reciting the Union-Creed which John had sent for his acceptance, and declaring his adhesion to it and giving utterance to his feelings of joy and thankfulness for the restoration of peace and unity thus effected between the Churches of Antioch and Alexandria, he adds that he had been accused of teaching that the holy body of Christ was brought from heaven and not taken from the blessed Virgin[1]. In consequence no doubt of these imputations, St. Cyril not only constantly affirms that our Lord had a *reasonable soul*[2], but also makes use of the other critical term *human flesh*[3]. Both these terms were recognized and used by the Nestorians, who would be careful to assert the truths which they charged others with denying. Of this we have a conspicuous example in the Profession of Faith of Theodore of Mopsuestia, which must have been well known to all theologians of the age, inasmuch as it was brought before the Council of Ephesus, and was rendered accessible to Latins by the contemporary translation of Marius Mercator. The passage referred to is in the original, *ἄνθρωπον τέλειον τὴν φύσιν ἐκ ψυχῆς τε νοερᾶς καὶ σαρκὸς συνεστῶτα ἀνθρωπίνης*[4],

[1] *Ὡς ἐξ οὐρανοῦ κατακομισθὲν καὶ οὐκ ἐκ τῆς ἁγίας παρθένου λέγοντος τὸ ἅγιον σῶμα* Χριστοῦ.

[2] For instance, *Ὥσπερ γάρ ἐστιν ἐν θεότητι τέλειος . . . οὕτω καὶ ἐν ἀνθρωπότητι τέλειος κατά γε τὸν τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος λόγον, οὐκ ἄψυχον λαβὼν σῶμα, ἐμψυχώμενον δὲ μᾶλλον ψυχῇ* λογικῇ. *De recta fide ad Arcadiam Marinamque.* He seems habitually to avoid using the word *σῶμα* in this connexion without thus guarding it.

[3] Thus, *Καταπεφρίκασι γὰρ οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ψυχωθείσῃ ψυχῇ* λογικῇ *τῇ ἀνθρωπίνῃ σαρκὶ κατὰ φύσιν ἡνῶσθαι τὸν* Λόγον *ὁμολογεῖν. De Incarnatione Unigeniti*

[4] Hahn, *Bibliothek der Symbole*, p. 231.

in the translation of Marius Mercator, 'hominem natura perfectum, ex anima rationali et humana carne compositum [1].' A large portion of this Profession, including the above words, is quoted and commented on by St. Cyril, who deals with it apparently as the recognized statement and representation of the Nestorian position, not referring to it as the work of Theodore, but introducing his quotation with the word φασί [2]. In the *Excerpta ex libro Nestorii*, translated by Marius Mercator, it is headed *Symbolum Nestorianum*. Theodore was the master of Nestorius, and is often regarded as the real author of Nestorianism. In regard to the above passage it must be remembered that the error of these teachers did not consist in the denial of our Lord's perfect humanity, which indeed they both affirmed, but in the denial of the unity of His Person. The two terms to which we are referring—*anima rationalis* and *humana caro*—being thus known and used in the Nestorian epoch, it might be expected, if the Creed was drawn up at that period, that the author would have introduced them for the purpose of defining and emphasizing the humanity of our blessed Lord, more especially as he was a disciple of St. Augustine and could not fail to be acquainted with their occurrence in the works of that Father, which were the main source of his terminology. And a yet further reason for the substitution of the latter of these terms for the word *corpus* or *body* used in the same connexion in the Creed of Antiochenus suggests itself in the fact of its greater exactness and its fitness to meet an error which was rife at the time and was imputed to no less a person than St. Cyril.

The Definition of Chalcedon, it is very remarkable,

[1] Mercatoris *Opera* apud Migne, *Patrol. Lat.* tom. xlviii. p. 877.

[2] He quotes it in his treatise, *Quod unus est Christus*, § 728.

follows the Creed of the Antiochenes in affirming our Lord to be of a reasonable soul and *body*. The *humana carne* therefore of the Athanasian Creed, so far from being a proof that it was composed after that Council, is rather evidence of the contrary. If composed after the Council, it would, we should suppose, have adopted its phraseology. Nor does the term, though strictly applicable to Eutychianism, in reference to which it is used by St. Leo, prove it to be a product of the Eutychian controversy: for it has been shown to be of earlier origin—as early as St. Augustine. But it clearly condemns Eutychianism by anticipation, and was intended no doubt to strike at the doctrine that our blessed Lord had taken to Himself a heavenly body, a doctrine which was actually anathematized by the Fathers of Chalcedon. If Eutychianism was what St. Leo represented it to be, a revival of Manichaeanism and Apollinarianism, it is clearly to no purpose to point to the language of the Creed originally directed against the errors of Apollinaris, but necessarily applying equally to the later heresy which reproduced them, and which was actually condemned at Chalcedon, as proving it to have been drawn up subsequently to that Council. Passages in abundance might be quoted from St. Augustine which would appear to have been written for the very purpose of confuting the opposite heresies of Nestorius and Eutyches (so exactly does his language apply to them), but which were really aimed against earlier heresies, of which these were severally the counterparts, perhaps the fruit; but this does not prove that St. Augustine lived and wrote subsequently to the Councils at which Nestorius and Eutyches were condemned.

7. 'Unus autem, non conversione Divinitatis in carnem, sed adsumptione humanitatis in Deum.'

'One, not by conversion of the Godhead into flesh, but by taking of the manhood unto God'; verse 34.

I have reserved this verse to be noticed last of those referring to the Incarnation on account of the doubt attaching to the readings *in carnem* and *in Deum*. With the exception of two ninth-century MSS., Vat. Palat. 574 and St. Gallen 27, all the early MSS. of the Creed read *in carne* and *in Deo*. We are clearly therefore not in a position to base any argument upon the language of this verse in its entirety according to the received text. For that would be to assume the truth of the disputed readings. But apart from these words, and leaving in abeyance for the nonce the question whether or not they are rightly read in the received text, we may safely maintain that this verse also breathes, so to speak, the atmosphere of the Nestorian period. As the Catholics were accused of Apollinarianism by their adversaries, so in particular they were commonly charged with teaching a change of the divine substance in Christ. In repudiating the charge they asserted that He had become flesh not by casting away what He had been and was, but by the assumption of flesh or manhood, still abiding truly God [1]. The Nestorian hypothesis involved a twofold personality in Christ, of God who assumed and of the man who was assumed [2]. According to the Catholic

[1] Οὐκ ἀποβεβληκὼς τὸ εἶναι θεὸς καὶ τὸ ἐκ Θεοῦ γεγεννῆσθαι Πατρός, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν προσλήψει σαρκὸς μεμενηκὼς ὅπερ ἦν. S. Cyrilli *ad Nestorium secunda epistola*. Similarly the Third. And, εἰ δὲ δὴ λέγοιτο σαρκωθῆναι καὶ ἐνανθρώπησαι θεὸς ὢν ὁ Λόγος, διερρίφθω που μακρὰν τροπῆς ὑποψία· μεμένηκε γὰρ ὅπερ ἦν . . . θεὸς γὰρ ὢν γέγονεν ἄνθρωπος οὐ τὸ εἶναι Θεὸς ἀφείς, ἐν προσλήψει δὲ μᾶλλον σαρκὸς καὶ αἵματος γεγονώς. S. Cyrilli *Ep. ad Acacium*.

[2] 'Divinam naturam corporatum hominem assumpsisse.' Nestorii *Ser.* xiii. And, 'In assumpto Deus est, ex illo qui assumpsit; qui assumptus est, appellatus est et appellatur Deus.' *Ibid.*, *Ser.* i. And Theodoret in his objections to the twelfth Anathematism of Cyril says: 'Non Deus passus est, sed homo qui ex nobis a Deo assumptus est.' S. Cyrilli *Apologeticus adversus Theodoretum*, Marius Mercator's translation, Migne, *Patrol. Lat.* tom. xlviii. p. 1000.

faith Christ is one altogether, and He is so not by conversion of the Godhead, but by the assumption of the manhood. For God the Word assumed not a man's person, but the nature of man; not a perfect man, but human nature in its perfection. 'The flesh,' says Hooker[1], 'and the conjunction of the flesh with God began both at one instant; His making and His taking to Himself our flesh was but one act, so that in Christ there is no personal subsistence but one, and that from everlasting. By taking only the nature of man He still continueth one person, and changeth but the manner of His subsisting, which was before in the mere glory of the Son of God, and is now in the habit of our flesh.'

The above reasons and considerations, I venture to submit, point clearly to the conclusion that the portion of the *Quicunque* relating to the Incarnation was drawn up soon after the Council of Ephesus and before the rise of Eutychianism, between the year 433, when the Creed of the Antiochenes was accepted by St. Cyril of Alexandria, and 448. The terminology is such as might be expected to emanate from an orthodox theologian at that period, who being thoroughly conversant with the writings of St. Augustine would be led to adopt largely the language of that Father. There is but one verse in this portion of the Creed which I have not noticed at all in the above remarks—verse 31, 'equal to the Father as touching His Godhead, and inferior to the Father as touching His manhood.' But this, being literally borrowed from St. Augustine, clearly contains nothing inconsistent with the conclusion we have arrived at in regard to the date of the context in which it appears.

We have already stated that there are good reasons for

[1] *Eccles. Polity*, v. 52. 3.

believing the Creed to be the work of one hand and one age. And there is nothing in the other portions of it in any degree irreconcileable with the date which has here been assigned to that relating to the Incarnation. Rather there is much to confirm it. The doctrine of the holy Trinity is in substance formulated as it had been formulated by St. Augustine, who died, it will be remembered, A. D. 430; it is stated for the most part in forms of expression and phraseology which may be found in the writings of that Father, as any one may perceive by comparing the quotations from those writings, as printed in Waterland's treatise, Oxford edit., pp. 178–181, with the corresponding verses of the Creed. And there are a few expressions in this, as in the latter part, which seem traceable to St. Vincent's *Commonitorium* as their source.

Nor do verses 36 to 39 inclusive, which follow the Exposition of the Incarnation, bear any trace of being the product of a later age. As a whole, they are peculiar to the *Quicunque*. Though they necessarily contain much which is likewise found in the Apostles' Creed, they also contain matter which is not there, and omit some Articles which are there. They cannot be said therefore to be drawn from that formula, nor indeed are they borrowed from any other Latin Confession of Faith. 'Passus est pro salute nostra' is, I apprehend, almost peculiar to the Athanasian Creed, the only other Confession of Faith in which I have been able to find it being that of Pope Pelagius I. Then the omission of any mention of the Crucifixion, Death, and Burial is another peculiarity. 'Descendit ad inferos' is very rarely found in Confessions of Faith[1]. We have 'descendit ad inferna' in the received

[1] There can be no doubt that 'ad inferos' is the right reading. It is found in the Ambrosian MS., the most ancient MS. of the Creed extant; also in

text of the Apostles' Creed, also in a Spanish and a Gallican Creed, and 'descendit in inferna' in the Aquileian Creed [1]. But the only Confessions of Faith besides the *Quicunque* which have 'descendit ad inferos' are an Irish Creed in the Bangor Antiphonary preserved in a seventh or eighth century MS. belonging to the Ambrosian Library at Milan, and the Confession of Faith of the Fourth Council of Toledo, held A. D. 633, which is remarkable for some other instances of verbal coincidence with the *Quicunque* [2]. Considering how largely the Creed adopts the language of St. Augustine, it seems probable that it has borrowed this expression also from that Father, who frequently makes use of it. Thus he says: 'Quis, nisi infidelis, negaverit fuisse apud inferos Christum?' *Ep.* clxiv. 3.

The descent of our blessed Lord into hell appears to have been very much dwelt upon at the time of the Nestorian controversy as supplying an argument against Apollinarianism [3], a heresy which occupied a prominent place in the theological discussions of that epoch, being

Palat. 574, Paris 13159, and indeed all the early MSS. of the Creed. The only authorities for 'ad inferna' are the MSS. of the Fortunatus and the Oratorian Commentaries. 'Ad inferna' is also the reading of the Trèves fragment in Paris Latin 3836; but as that document is obviously a portion of a homily or address delivered at the *Traditio Symboli*, and not of the *Quicunque*, incorporating some of its language but not adhering to it closely, it cannot be adduced for determining the true text. In these words it probably follows the Apostles' Creed, as it does expressly in the Article 'Sedet ad dexteram Dei patris.'

[1] See Hahn, *Bibliothek der Symbole*, pp. 25, 35, 38, 39, 46.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 40, 162.

[3] 'Now the error of Apollinarius was,' says Bishop Pearson, *Exposition of the Creed*, Article V, 'that Christ had no proper intellectual or rational soul, but that the Word was to Him in place of a soul; and the argument produced by the Fathers for the conviction of this error was, that *Christ descended into hell*, which the Apollinarians could not deny; and that this descent was not made by His Divinity, nor by His body, but by the motion and presence of His soul, and consequently that He had a soul distinct both from His flesh and from the Word.'

constantly, as I have already mentioned, imputed by the Nestorians to their adversaries, and the Orthodox no less constantly repudiating the charge[1]. Hence the express mention of the descent into hell, side by side with the silence respecting the crucifixion, death and burial of our Lord, which may be said to be a distinctive peculiarity of the Athanasian Creed, as compared with other Confessions of Faith, is a confirmatory evidence of its production in the period when Nestorianism was the chief topic of debate in Christendom.

In verse 37, 'ad dexteram Patris,' which is probably the true reading, is an evidence of the Creed's antiquity and is perfectly consistent with the belief that it was a product of the epoch of the Nestorian controversy. Dr. Heurtley[2] says, with reference to it: 'We have in this ancient form a significant indication of the antiquity of the document in

[1] Thus it is particularly mentioned by St. Cyril in his third Epistle to Nestorius, *τριήμερος ἀνεβίω σκυλεύσας τὸν ᾅδην*, and in his Epistle to Successus and elsewhere. Caelestine I in his Epistle to Juvenalis and other Eastern bishops uses the words: 'Christi, qui pro nobis natus et passus est, qui reseratis inferis et morte devicta pro nobis die tertio resurrexit.' Migne, *Patrol. Lat.* tom. l. p. 467. It will be observed that Caelestine, like the Athanasian Creed, passes over in silence the crucifixion and death of our blessed Lord, and mentions only His descent into hell, and resurrection, using the word *inferi*. Capreolus Bishop of Carthage, in his reply to two Spaniards, Vitalis and Constantius, who had applied to him for a correct exposition of the Catholic Faith respecting two distinctive tenets of Nestorianism, viz. 'hominem purum natum fuisse de Virgine,' and 'hominem purum pependisse in cruce comprehensum,' asserts that at no time, not even in His descent to hell, was the Godhead severed from the manhood in our Lord's Person; and he insists on this point at some length. 'An dicimus Deum in suscepto homine etiam apud inferos non fuisse?' and 'Hoc omnino testificans ac demonstrans Deum cuius maiestate plena sunt omnia quodam incomprehensibili utique et inexplicabili modo etiam inferis interesse . . . ipse in homine est visitare dignatus inferorum abstrusa.' *Epist. ad Vitalem et Constantium*; Migne, *Patrol. Latina*, tom. liii. pp. 851–853. It will be noticed that Capreolus also uses the word *inferi*: in fact he uses it no less than seven times, *infernum* or *infernus* never.

[2] Pamphlet on the Athanasian Creed, p. 25.

which it is incorporated, an indication analogous to that which would be furnished by the occurrence of the remains of some extinct animal in a geological formation of disputed age.' This form appears in all ancient Confessions of Faith, in the Apostles' Creed, as found in the works of Rufinus and St. Ambrose and St. Augustine and Fulgentius and Faustus and Facundus, in the Creeds of St. Cyril of Jerusalem, and of Constantinople, and of the Nestorians. The form 'ad dexteram Dei Patris omnipotentis' was not introduced into the Apostles' Creed until the sixth century, according to the scholar just quoted[1]. My reasons for considering 'ad dexteram Patris' to be the true reading in the *Quicunque*—that which proceeded from the hand of the author—I propose to state in the chapter on the text.

In verse 38 the expression 'cum corporibus *suis*' calls for careful consideration, as our translation 'with their bodies' is scarcely an adequate representation of the meaning, which clearly implies not merely the doctrine of the resurrection of the body, but the more particular application of it so much insisted on by Bishop Pearson[2], viz. that each individual will rise again hereafter in the same body wherein he has lived and died here. We might expect that this point would not be passed over by the Creed if it was drawn up at the period to which we have referred it, because the subject had been brought before the attention of theologians very distinctly not many years previously in the controversy between St. Jerome and Rufinus, the former accusing the latter of denying with Origen the identity of the risen body, the

[1] See Heurtley's *Harmonia Symbolica*, p. 138; also Hahn, *Bibliothek der Symbole*.

[2] *Exposition of the Creed*, Art. XI.

latter repudiating the charge[1]. I have already stated that 'resurgere habent' is thoroughly Augustinian, a mode of expression of which abundant instances may be found in the works of the great Western doctor. Verse 39, 'Et qui,' &c., is obviously constructed from St. John v. 29 and St. Matt. xxv. 41 and 46.

It may be objected that to cite, as I have done, Eastern writers, St. Cyril and Theodoret for instance, as supplying internal evidence of the date of an unquestionably Western

[1] St. Jerome, in his Epistle to Pammachius, says: 'Unde et omnes sic speramus resurgere ex mortuis sicut Ille resurrexit. Non in aliis quibusdam peregrinis et in alienis corporibus quae assumuntur in phantasmate, sed sicut ipse in illo corpore, quod apud nos in sancto sepulcro conditum resurrexit, ita et nos in ipsis corporibus quibus nunc circumdamur et in quibus sepelimur, eadem ratione et visione speramus resurgere.' And again: 'Alia ratione resurrectionem corporum confitemur eorumque quae in sepulcris posita sunt dilapsaque in cineres, Pauli, Pauli, et Petri, Petri, et singula singulorum; neque enim fas est, ut in aliis corporibus animae peccaverint, in aliis torqueantur, nec iusti iudicis alia corpora pro Christo sanguinem fundere, et alia coronari.' Rufinus, on the other hand, *Commentarius in Symbolum*, § 43, also maintains the identity of the risen body: 'Et ita fit, ut unicuique animae non confusum aut extraneum corpus, sed *suum* quod habuerat reparetur, ut consequenter possit pro agonibus praesentis vitae cum anima *sua* caro vel pudica coronari vel impudica puniri. Et ideo satis caute fidem Symboli Ecclesia nostra docet quae in eo quod a caeteris traditur, "Carnis resurrectionem," uno addito pronomine tradidit, "huius carnis resurrectionem," huius sine dubio, quam habet is qui profitetur, signaculo crucis fronti imposito; quo sciat unusquisque fidelium, carnem *suam*, si mundam servaverit a peccato, futuram esse vas honoris, utile Domino ad omne opus bonum paratum, si vero contaminatam in peccatis, futuram esse vas irae ad interitum.' Rufini *Commentarius in Symbolum*. We might suppose that the author of the Athanasian Creed had before him these passages of St. Jerome and Rufinus, especially if the right reading is '*in* corporibus suis.' That this is the reading of the Ambrosian MS., the earliest MS. it will be remembered extant of the Creed, I can affirm from my own knowledge, having collated the MS. myself. Waterland in the assertion, '*resurgere habent cum corporibus suis et* desunt in Cod. Ambros.' (*Critical History of the Athanasian Creed*, p. 188; Oxford edition, 1870) has been misled by Muratori's inaccurate edition of the Creed from this MS. It reads not 'omnes homines redditurí,' &c. as the text is given by Muratori, *Anecdota*, vol. ii. p. 225, but 'omnes homines resurgere habent in corporibus suis et redditurí,' &c. All other MSS. however, to the best of my knowledge, read 'cum corporibus suis.'

document, is irrelevant. But in the first place it must be remembered that in the fifth century the border line between Eastern and Western Christendom was not sharply and broadly defined, as it was at a later period; intercourse between the two was then constant and uninterrupted, the bond of unity unbroken; and then, although the Nestorian controversy originated in the East and raged with the greatest violence there, and although the leaders on each side were Easterns, still it attracted the attention and awakened the lively interest of the whole of Western Christendom. It was the burning question of the day, and theologians of Italy and Gaul felt that the point at issue between the Bishops of Constantinople and Alexandria was one which touched vitally the common Catholic Faith. There is abundant evidence of this. Several epistles are extant—both of Caelestine I and his successor in the popedom, Xystus III—on the subject addressed to St. Cyril and Nestorius and different Eastern prelates. Early in the controversy a Synod was held at Rome, and Cassian, at the time a monk at Marseilles, upon the request of Leo then Archdeacon of Rome, afterwards its illustrious Bishop, wrote a treatise on the Incarnation in refutation of the nascent heresy. Probably he was selected for this work because he was by birth an Oriental, and had passed his early life in the East and had been a pupil and disciple of St. Chrysostom, by whom he was ordained to the diaconate, so that he must have been thoroughly conversant with Greek theology and the Greek language. The Council of Ephesus was attended by legates from Rome; and St. Augustine was summoned to take part in its deliberations, no doubt as the most distinguished doctor of the West, but he died before the assembling of the Synod. Capreolus, Bishop of Carthage, was also cited to the Council, but was

unable to attend. A Western theologian, Marius Mercator, was residing at Constantinople when the controversy was at its height, and took an active part in the discussions, not only writing himself, but translating into Latin several of the most important documents which were produced on the great question of the day. St. Vincent of Lerins in his first *Commonitorium*, which must have been written in 433 A.D. or 434, the second being dated in the latter year. dwells particularly upon the heresy of Nestorius. Moreover, shortly before the rise of Nestorianism, opinions of a very similar nature were broached by Leporius a monk and priest of Gaul, and attracted much attention both in that country and Africa. He was brought to a conviction of his error by St. Augustine, and upon his restoration to the Church drew up a Confession of Faith, entitled 'Libellus Satisfactionis.'

CHAPTER III.

AUTHORSHIP.

HAVING arrived at the conclusion that the Athanasian Creed was drawn up at some time during the Nestorian controversy—not indeed when the controversy was at its height, but whilst it was still the chief topic of thought and interest among theologians—we are enabled, if not to determine with certainty the authorship of the document, at any rate to form an opinion of a high degree of probability upon the subject. The inquiry is necessarily hemmed in by certain conditions. The *Quicunque* being of Latin origin, the author must have been a Latin theologian: as it was composed in the Nestorian epoch and reflects the tone of thought then prevalent among the orthodox, he must have been a person who lived at that epoch and was conversant with its theology: as it re-echoes in all its parts the teaching of St. Augustine both in substance and language, he must have been familiar with the writings of that great doctor. And if in any writer who fulfils these conditions we can find any further special traces of identity or similarity in thought or language with the Creed, clearly they will serve as guide-posts in our search.

In England the deservedly respected authority of Waterland has caused the *Quicunque* to be generally regarded as the work of Hilary of Arles. St. Hilary, who was Bishop

of Arles from 429 until his death in 449, was probably conversant with the writings of St. Augustine and the Nestorian controversy, but we have no positive proof of the fact, the only work of his at present extant, with the exception of a very short Epistle to Eucherius, being a sermon on the life of his predecessor in the abbacy of Lerins and the bishopric of Arles, St. Honoratus—a work necessarily of an unpolemical and undogmatic character, and therefore incapable of supplying any such proof. Waterland's arguments respecting the authorship are not convincing. The passage quoted by him from Hilary's sermon contains too slight a resemblance of expression with the Creed to be made the basis of his argument[1]. His only other attempt to produce special proof completely breaks down on examination. Among the works of Hilary mentioned by his biographer is a 'Symboli expositio ambienda,' which Waterland identifies with the Athanasian Creed, his only authority for doing so being that it is described by a similar title—'Expositio Symboli Apostolorum,' or rather 'Anastasii Expositio Symboli Apostolorum'—in a Bodleian MS. of the fifteenth century[2]. A MS. of the fifteenth century is adduced to prove the meaning of an expression used in the fifth century. But apart from this, as I have before ventured to point out[3], Waterland was misinformed respecting this Bodleian MS.—'Laud Misc. 493'—which is assigned by Mr. Coxe's Catalogue to the

[1] St. Hilary thus apostrophizes Honoratus: 'Quotidianus in sincerissimis tractatibus confessionis Patris ac Filii ac Spiritus Sancti testis fuisti: nec facile tam exerte, tam lucide quisquam de Divinitatis Trinitate disseruit, cum eam personis distingueres, et gloriae aeternitate ac maiestate sociares.' S. Hilarii Arelatensis, *Sermo de vita S. Honorati*, apud Migne, *Patrol. Lat.* tom. i. p. 1272.

[2] Waterland, *Critical History of the Athanasian Creed*, pp. 81, 90, 164; Oxford edition, 1870.

[3] *The Early History of the Athanasian Creed*, pp. 81–84.

end of the thirteenth century, and is erroneously described as containing a comment on the three Creeds by Hugh and Richard of St. Victor, the comment which it contains being that of Alexander Hales. It belonged originally to the Carthusians at Mayence, as appears by notes on the first and the last pages. In this codex the *Quicunque* is several times entitled 'Symbolum Anastasii,' once 'Symbolum Athanasii.' The title 'Expositio Symboli Apostolorum' is found in it, not as describing the Athanasian Creed, but the *comment* upon the Apostles'. And the title 'Expositio Symboli Anastasii' is used in reference to the *comment* upon the *Quicunque*. That of 'Anastasii Expositio Symboli Apostolorum' appears only on the flyleaf in a list of contents written by a modern hand. Hence no doubt Waterland's error. His informant must have been misled by this list of contents, which was obviously drawn up, as too commonly happens, upon a very superficial examination of the MS. My information on the subject is the result of my own inspection of the book. Nor is it possible to acquiesce in Waterland's hypothesis that the 'Expositio Symboli ambienda' of St. Hilary was the Athanasian Creed. What it was is a matter not far to seek. No doubt it was an Exposition or Commentary on the Apostles' Creed,—which was commonly described as 'Symbolum,'—probably addressed to catechumens previous to baptism. Of such Expositions by the Fathers we have abundant examples. Several are to be found among the sermons of St. Augustine.

Three other Latin theologians of the Nestorian epoch have been already mentioned, whose writings bear abundant evidence of familiarity with the controversy of their age, for they took an active part in it themselves—Cassian, Marius Mercator, and St. Vincent of Lerins. The second

of these must also have been familiar with the writings of St. Augustine, if he was, as is generally supposed, the same Mercator to whom one of the great doctor's Epistles having reference to the Pelagian controversy was addressed. St. Augustine speaks of him as his son, from which it may be concluded that he was a pupil and disciple of that Father, if not his child in the Faith [1]. Probably too Cassian was well acquainted with the writings of St. Augustine. But for any actual evidence of familiarity with those writings in identity or similarity of thought or language we may search in vain in the works both of Cassian and Mercator.

But such evidence is found in the *Commonitorium* of St. Vincent. We see it in the following instances:—

St. Vincent of Lerins.

'Ecclesia Catholica . . . in Christo . . . *duas substantias* sed *unam* credit esse *personam*; duas substantias quia mutabile non est Verbum, ut ipsum verteretur in carnem; *unam personam*, ne duos profitendo filios, *quaternitatem* videatur colere, non *Trinitatem*.'—*Commonitorium*, i. cap. xiii.

St. Augustine.

'In Christo *duae* sunt *substantiae*, Deus et homo, sed *una persona*, ut *Trinitas* maneat, non accidente homine *quaternitas* fiat.'—*Ser.* cxxx. 3.

'*Unus idemque* Christus, *unus idemque* Filius Dei, et unius eiusdemque Christi et Filii Dei *una persona*, sicut in homine *aliud* caro, et *aliud* anima, sed *unus idemque homo anima et caro*.'—*Ibid.*

'*Utrumque unus* . . . sed *aliud* propter Verbum, *aliud* propter hominem . . . *unus* Dei Filius, *idemque* hominis filius.'—*Enchiridion*, cap. xxxv.

'Ut quemadmodum est *una persona* quilibet *homo*, *anima* rationalis *et caro*, ita sit Christus *una persona*, Verbum et homo.'—*Ibid.* cap. xxxvi.

'Sicut enim *unus est homo anima* rationalis *et caro*, ita *unus est Christus* Deus et homo.'—*In Joh. Tract.* lxxviii. 3.

[1] S. Aug. *Liber de Octo Dulcitii Quaestionibus*, Quaest. iii. sec. 2.

'Idem *Patri et aequalis et minor*.'—*Ibid.*

'*Idem ex Patre ante saecula* genitus, *idem in saeculo ex Matre* generatus.'—*Ibid.*

'Est in Christo *Verbum, anima et caro*; sed hoc totum unus est Christus.'—*Ibid.*

'Unus non corruptibili nescio qua divinitatis et humanitatis *confusione*, *sed* integra et singulari quadam *unitate personae*.'—*Ibid.*

'Deus est Verbum Mediator Deus et homo, Deus *aequalis Patri*, homo *minor Patre*. Est ergo *et aequalis et minor*.'—*Ser.* cccxli. cap. v.

'Dominus noster Iesus Christus, Deus *ante* omnia *saecula*, et homo *in* nostro *saeculo*, Deus *de Patre*, homo *de Virgine*, *unus* tamen atque *idem* Dominus et Salvator Iesus Christus.'—*In Joh. Tract.* xiv. 1. See also *Enchiridion*, cap. xxxvi.

'Ambas generationes Christi et *ex Deo Patre* sine tempore et *ex homine matre* in plenitudine temporis.'—*Con. Maximinum II*, xviii. 1.

'Christus est *Verbum, anima et caro*.'—*Ser.* cccv. 2.

'Idem Deus qui homo et qui Deus idem homo, *non confusione* naturae, *sed unitate personae*.'—*Ser.* clxxxvi.

The comparison of the above sets of quotations, drawn respectively from St. Vincent of Lerins and St. Augustine, leads inevitably to the conclusion that the former was thoroughly acquainted with the doctrinal terminology of the latter, we may say even that he assimilated and adopted it. Thus in St. Vincent the three conditions meet, which we have been led to regard as pre-requisites in any person to whom the authorship of the Athanasian Creed can be assigned with any degree of probability. And he is the only person in whom they can be proved to meet. He lived and flourished at the period of the Nestorian controversy, for he died A.D. 450; he was thoroughly conversant with that controversy, as appears plainly from his *Commonitorium*, and he was familiar with the writings of St. Augustine, a disciple of his school as far as regards the great verities of the Faith. But we are able to advance a step further, and find distinct traces of a connexion

between the *Quicunque* and the *Commonitorium* in several remarkable coincidences of doctrinal terminology and idiomatic expression occurring in the two documents.

The first verbal coincidence to which I desire to draw attention is in the words *perfectus Deus, perfectus homo*, which are found in both documents. It is remarkable that the copula should be omitted in both, especially as it is not omitted in the same phrase as used in the Union-Creed of the Antiochenes, and by St. Cyril and St. Athanasius, from whence, and not from any Latin source, it appears to have been derived.

Still more remarkable is the coincidence, which occurs in the passages of the two documents, relating to the two Nativities of our blessed Lord: 'idem ex Patre ante saecula genitus, idem in saeculo ex matre generatus' in the *Commonitorium*, 'Deus ex substantia Patris ante saecula genitus, homo ex substantia matris in saeculo natus' in the Creed. Similar contrasts between the two Nativities are frequent in Confessions of Faith and the writings of the Fathers, but most rarely do we find the Nativity of our Lord in the flesh described in the manner it is described in both these cases, as taking place *in saeculo*. I believe I am right in saying that there is but one other instance of this known. Thus the Union-Creed of the Antiochenes has, *πρὸ αἰώνων μὲν ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς γεννηθέντα κατὰ τὴν θεότητα, ἐπ' ἐσχάτων δὲ τῶν ἡμερῶν τὸν αὐτὸν δι' ἡμᾶς καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν ἐκ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου κατὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα*: and so also the Definition of Chalcedon. St. Cyril uses a somewhat different phraseology: *γεννηθέντα μὲν θεικῶς πρὸ παντὸς αἰῶνος καὶ χρόνου, ἐν ἐσχάτοις δὲ τοῦ αἰῶνος καιροῖς τὸν αὐτὸν κατὰ σάρκα ἐκ γυναικός*[1]. To turn to Latin Confessions of Faith con-

[1] *Quod unus sit Christus.*

taining some note of date in reference to the Incarnation —the Creed of Damasus has 'ultimo tempore,' that of Bachiarius 'in novissimis diebus,' that of Pelagius 'in fine saeculorum,' that of Leporius known as his 'Libellus Satisfactionis'—drawn up about 426 A.D.—'novissimo tempore,' that of the fourth Council of Toledo A.D. 633 'ultimo tempore,' though it uses the same term as the *Commonitorium* and the *Quicunque* in reference to the first Nativity—'ante saecula genitus,' and the Anathematisms of the Lateran Council A.D. 649 have 'ante omnia saecula natus' in reference to the first Nativity, but 'in ultimis saeculorum' in reference to the second. St. Augustine in reference to the two Nativities twice has respectively 'sine tempore' and 'in tempore,' also 'aeterna' and 'temporalis[1].' Once he approaches very near to the terminology of our documents: 'Deus ante omnia saecula, homo in nostro saeculo[2].' The only instance of *in saeculo* being used in reference to the second Nativity, so far as I know, occurs in Fulgentius, who was made Bishop of Ruspe in Africa A.D. 507: 'Unus atque idem Deus, Dei Filius, natus ante saecula et natus in saeculo[3].'

These two verbal coincidences are not accidental, nor yet such as might be accounted for by the common use of Catholic phraseology. They exclude, as in the highest degree improbable, if not impossible, the hypothesis that the two documents in which they appear could have been drawn up by different authors independently one of another, the earlier of the two being unknown to the author of the later. It seems to me also improbable, though in a less degree, that two such peculiarities should

[1] *Sermones*, cxl. 2; also cxc. cap. 11, and cclxxx. 2.
[2] *Enchiridion*, cap. xxxv.
[3] *De Fide Liber*, cap. ii. sec. 11.

have been copied from one document to the other. The only alternative remaining is that both documents were by the same hand, that the author of the *Commonitorium* was also the author of the Athanasian Creed.

But as this conclusion rests only on a probable proof, let us see whether it is confirmed by any other identities or resemblances of thought or expression. Let the two subjoined sets of parallelisms be considered :—

Athanasian Creed.	*Commonitorium primum.*
'Fides autem Catholica haec est, ut ***unum Deum in Trinitate*** et ***Trinitatem in Unitate veneremur : neque confundentes personas neque substantiam separantes***' (verses 3, 4).	'Ecclesia Catholica . . . et ***unam Divinitatem in Trinitatis*** plenitudine et ***Trinitatis aequalitatem in una atque eadem maiestate veneratur***' (cap. xiii). Also : ***Unum Deum in Trinitatis*** plenitudine et item ***Trinitatis aequalitatem in una Divinitate veneratur ;*** ut ***neque*** singularitas ***substantiae personarum confundat*** proprietatem, ***neque*** item ***Trinitatis*** distinctio ***Unitatem separet*** Deitatis' (cap. xvi).
'***Alia est*** enim ***persona Patris, alia Filii, alia Spiritus Sancti : sed Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti una est Divinitas, aequalis*** gloria, coaeterna ***maiestas***' (verses 5, 6).	'Quia scilicet ***alia est persona Patris, alia Filii, alia Spiritus Sancti : sed*** tamen ***Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti*** non alia et alia, sed ***una eademque*** natura' (cap. xiii).

I have marked by italics the words occurring in both documents. In the first set of parallelisms both documents present the same cast of sentence, the same thoughts and principles, and some sameness of phraseology. The verbal conformity is more close and obvious in the second.

The following may also be considered :—

Creed.	*Commonitorium primum.*
'Est ergo fides ***recta***, ut credamus et ***confiteamur***, quia Dominus noster ***Iesus Christus***, Dei Filius, ***Deus pariter et homo*** est' (ver. 28).	'Ecclesia Catholica et de Deo et de Salvatore ***recta*** sentiens' (cap. xiii). 'Ecclesia Catholica . . . unum ***Christum Iesum***, non duos, eundemque ***Deum pariter atque hominem confitetur***' (cap. xiii).

The expression 'Deus *pariter* et homo' occurring in both is especially deserving of notice, as being unusual. So far as I can ascertain, it is not used by St. Augustine, though he has several times 'Deus et homo,' nor is it to be found in St. Hilary or St. Leo. There can be little doubt that *pariter* was in the original text of the *Quicunque*, though it is omitted generally by later MSS., as also in the texts of the Roman and Sarum Breviaries, and was passed over by the author of our own version.

Creed.	*Commonitorium primum.*
'*Deus ex substantia Patris . . . homo ex substantia matris*' (ver. 29).	'In uno eodemque Christo *duae substantiae* sunt; sed *una divina, altera humana; una ex Patre Deo, altera ex matre Virgine; . . . una consubstantialis Patri, altera consubstantialis matri;* unus tamen idemque Christus in utraque *substantia*' (cap. xiii).
Also: '*Perfectus homo ex anima rationali et humana carne subsistens*' (ver. 30).	'*Perfectus homo. . . .* In homine plena humanitas. Plena, inquam, quae *animam* simul habeat et *carnem*, sed *carnem*, veram, *nostram*, maternam, *animam* vero intellectu praeditam, mente ac *ratione* pollentem' (cap. xiii). 'Unus idemque Petrus, unus idemque Paulus, ex duplici diversaque *subsistens* animi corporisque natura' (cap. xiii).

The word *subsistens* in this passage of the Creed, defining our Lord's humanity, is particularly notable, because it was evidently a favourite and common word of St. Vincent's, who uses it three times within a short compass in the *Commonitorium*. In the passage quoted above he employs it in a similar connexion to that which it has in the Creed; for he is illustrating the Unity of our Lord's Person by the analogous unity belonging to any human individual notwithstanding his complex constitution

of the diverse elements of body and soul. What makes the use of this word in the Creed more remarkable and seems to identify it more clearly as coming from St. Vincent, is that a different word is found in Marius Mercator's translation of the very similar passage previously quoted in the Symbol of Theodore of Mopsuestia, 'hominem natura perfectum, ex anima rationali et humana carne *compositum*.' Another person would have copied this literally; Vincent, we may presume, prefers his own word.

It is observable also that the author of the *Commonitorium* is most explicit and emphatic in his assertion of our Lord's perfect humanity as regards both His soul and body. The man who thus expressed himself would not be unlikely in a doctrinal formulary to adopt the equivalent, but more concise and conventional, terms of St. Augustine, with whose writings, as we have seen, he was well acquainted—the terms which are found in the parallel passage of the Creed. And this probability gains strength when it is considered how largely the terminology of the *Quicunque* is borrowed from the great Latin doctor.

Lastly:—

Creed.	*Commonitorium primum.*
'*Unus* autem, *non conversione Divinitatis in carnem, sed* adsumptione *humanitatis in Deum*' (ver. 33).	'*Unam* personam . . . quia mutabile *non* est Verbum *Dei* ut ipsum *verteretur in carnem*' (cap. xiii). Also: 'Verbum *Deus* absque ulla sui *conversione* . . . non confundendo, non imitando factus est homo, sed subsistendo . . . *in se perfecti hominis suscipiendo naturam*' (cap. xiv).

It is obvious to remark that these parallelisms regarded collectively possess a force and significance which would not belong to them singly and severally.

There are other parallelisms, which seem to have arisen from both documents being drawn from a common source —the writings of St. Augustine. These require distinct consideration, as furnishing distinct trace of oneness of authorship.

Creed.

'*Aequalis Patri* secundum *Divinitatem, minor Patre* secundum *humanitatem*' (ver. 31).

Commonitorium primum.

'In *uno* eodemque Christo duae *substantiae* sunt: sed una *divina*, altera *humana*, . . . una co-aeterna *aequalis Patri*, altera ex tempore et *minor Patre*. . . . Non alter Christus Deus, alter homo, . . . non alter *aequalis Patri*, alter *minor Patre*, . . . sed *unus* idemque Christus *Deus et homo* . . . idem *Patri et aequalis et minor*' (cap. xiii).

We can scarcely fail to trace the common source of the two documents here in the following passages of St. Augustine: 'Aequalem Patri secundum Divinitatem, minorem autem Patre secundum carnem, hoc est secundum hominem[1].' Also, 'Minor Patre, quia homo: aequalis autem Patri, quia Deus[2].'

Again:—

Creed.

'*Unus* omnino, *non confusione substantiae, sed unitate personae*' (ver. 34).

Commonitorium primum.

'*Unus* autem *non* corruptibili nescio qua divinitatis et humanitatis *confusione* sed integra et singulari quadam *unitate personae*.'

'Altera *substantia* divinitatis, altera humanitatis' (cap. xiii).

In this case even more plainly than in the former the language of St. Augustine is the common source of both: 'Idem Deus qui homo, et qui Deus idem homo, non confusione naturae, sed unitate personae[3].' The man who

[1] *Epist.* cxxxvii. cap. iii.
[2] *Serm.* cclxiv. 4. See also *Enchiridion*, lib. i. cap. xxxv.
[3] *Serm.* clxxxvi. 1.

averred, as St. Vincent did, that in our Lord are two *substantiae—divinitas* and *humanitas*—would clearly not be unlikely to substitute *substantiae* for the *naturae* of St. Augustine. And the former word in the Creed is obviously the equivalent of *divinitatis* and *humanitatis* in the *Commonitorium*. *Unus* in the Creed seems to be drawn from the *Commonitorium*, and *omnino* is the summary of St. Augustine's *Idem Deus qui homo, et qui Deus idem homo.* Thus there are evident traces here of the same hand in the Creed and *Commonitorium.*

Thirdly:—

Creed.	*Commonitorium primum.*
'Nam *sicut anima rationalis et caro unus est homo,* ita *Deus et homo unus est Christus*' (ver. 35).	'Altera substantia divinitatis, altera humanitatis; sed tamen *deitas et humanitas* non alter et alter, sed *unus* idemque *Christus; . . . sicut* in homine aliud *caro* et aliud *anima,* sed *unus* idemque *homo anima et caro*' (cap. xiii).

Here again the common source may be found in St. Augustine, to wit: 'Sicut enim unus est homo anima rationalis et caro; sic unus est Christus Deus et homo[1].' Clearly the verse in the Creed is nothing but this passage with some transposition of words. The parallel language of Vincent would also appear to be drawn from it and founded upon it, some expressions being introduced with immediate reference to Nestorianism. Hence it is a probable conclusion that it was by his hand that these words of St. Augustine were transferred to the *Quicunque.*

And further, between the *Commonitorium* and the Athanasian Creed there exists, not only an accordance of particular thoughts and expressions, but they are pervaded by a unity of fundamental principle. Does

[1] *Tract. in Joh. Evangelium,* lxxviii. 3.

St. Vincent assert, that 'it is very necessary that the course of prophetic and apostolic interpretation should be guided in accordance with the rule of Ecclesiastical and Catholic doctrine: in the bosom of the Catholic Church also we should be specially careful to hold that which has been believed everywhere, always and by all': adding, 'This will be attained if we follow universality, antiquity, consent[1]'? Does he interpret St. Paul's charge to Timothy that he should guard the deposit as meaning—'Keep the talent of the Catholic Faith undefiled and undiminished: that which has been committed to thee, take heed that it abide with thee, that it be handed on by thee[2]'? Does he declare the unchangeableness of Christian dogma: 'It is lawful that those ancient dogmas of the heavenly philosophy should in process of time be expounded with greater accuracy, refinement, elegance; but it is unlawful that they be altered, mangled, mutilated: they may admit of being set forth with greater clearness, lucidity, distinctness, but they must needs retain their fullness, their antiquity, their essence[3]'? Does he maintain the necessity of accepting and teaching the Catholic Faith: 'It remains that all understand in like manner, as these moral precepts, so also the admonitions which

[1] 'Multum necesse est ut propheticae et apostolicae interpretationis linea secundum Ecclesiastici et Catholici sensus normam dirigatur. In ipsa item Catholica Ecclesia magnopere curandum est ut id teneamus quod ubique quod semper quod ab omnibus creditum est.' . . . 'Hoc ita demum fiet si sequamur universitatem, antiquitatem, consensionem.' S. Vincentii, *Commonitorium*, i. 2.

[2] '*Depositum* inquit,' i. e. S. Paulus, '*custodi*, Catholicae fidei talentum inviolatum illibatumque conserva. Quod tibi creditum, hoc penes te maneat, hoc a te tradatur.' *Ibid.* i. 22.

[3] 'Fas est ut prisca illa caelestis philosophiae dogmata processu temporis excurentur, limentur, poliantur; sed nefas est ut commutentur, detruncentur, mutilentur. Accipiant licet evidentiam, lucem, distinctionem; sed retineant necesse plenitudinem, antiquitatem, proprietatem.' *Ibid.* i. 23.

have been given respecting the Faith, and, as it is permitted to none to provoke or to envy another, so to none is it permitted to receive what is contrary to the gospel taught by the Catholic Church': and—'To preach to Catholic Christians anything contrary to that which they have received, never has been, never is, and never will be permissible, and to anathematize those who preach anything contrary to that which has been once received never has been, never is, and never will be wrong': and—'This is the proper duty of Catholics, to keep the deposits of the holy Fathers and the things committed to them, to condemn profane novelties, and as the Apostle said and again said[1], *If any one preach unto you what is contrary to that which has been received, let him be anathema*[2]'? The principles thus enunciated underlie the Athanasian Creed, which expresses the great verities of the Catholic Faith, as held and taught by the Fathers, and that for the most part in the very terms which they employed. In particular, it is plain from these utterances of St. Vincent of Lerins that the condemnatory clauses are not alien from his mind and might be attributed to him without any improbability.

There is nothing in the early history of the Athanasian Creed inconsistent with the hypothesis that it was

[1] Gal. i. 8, 9.

[2] 'Restat ut sicut haec morum mandata, ita etiam illa quae de fide cauta sunt, omnes pari modo comprehendant, et sicut nemini licet invicem provocare aut invidere invicem, ita nemini liceat praeter id, quod Ecclesia Catholica evangelizat, accipere.' Also, 'Annuntiare Christianis Catholicis aliquid praeter id, quod acceperunt, nunquam licuit, nunquam licet, nunquam licebit; et anathematizare eos, qui annuntiant aliquid praeterquam quod semel acceptum est, nunquam non oportuit, nunquam non oportet, nunquam non oportebit.' S. Vincentii, *Commonitorium*, i. 9. And, 'Catholicorum hoc proprium deposita sanctorum patrum et commissa servare, damnare profanas novitates, et sicut dixit atque praedixit Apostolus, si quis annunciaverit praeterquam quod acceptum sit anathema sit.' S. Vincentii, *Commonitorium*, i. 24.

composed by St. Vincent: on the contrary, there is much which supports this view. That Father was a Gaul and a monk of the celebrated monastery of Lerins, which was situated in an island not far from the coast of Provence, opposite Cannes—the school which reared St. Hilary and St. Caesarius and Virgilius, all three bishops of Arles, and Lupus of Troyes. If Lerins was the birthplace of the Creed, we should expect to find that it was first received and used in Gaul and the North of Italy. And this we have every reason to believe was the case. An early and important MS. of the *Quicunque*—the Vatican MS. Pal. 574—appears to have issued originally from this monastery, a document relating to an incident in its history being another of the contents of the volume. The earliest extant MS. of our Creed—that in the Ambrosian Library at Milan—is written in an Irish hand, and before it was transferred to its present domicile in the beginning of the seventeenth century it belonged to the monastery of Bobbio in North Italy, which was founded by the Irish Saint Columbanus. The Creed is also found in another Irish MS.—a book of hymns deposited in the Church of the Franciscans on the Merchants' Quay, Dublin, and written, in the judgement of Bishop Reeves, not later than A.D. 1100. These facts appear to indicate that the *Quicunque* was known to the ancient Irish Church, which in all probability received it from Gaul, where as we have seen it was accepted at an early period: for Ireland was in close communication with Gaul, and, there can be little doubt, derived from that country her Christianity and Episcopate. And according to Mabillon the ancient Irish Church was largely indebted not only to Gaul but to Lerins itself for her ritual; for he states that the *Cursus Ecclesiasticus* or the ordinary service as distinct from that

of the Eucharist, which obtained in the monasteries of Marseilles and Lerins, and which he describes as the Alexandrine to discriminate it from the other families of the *Cursus*, passed into Ireland[1]. St. Patrick is said to have visited Lerins and spent some time there[2], but the tradition, though possibly true, does not appear to rest upon any reliable evidence.

To sum up the grounds upon which the authorship of the Athanasian Creed may be attributed to St. Vincent of Lerins—he flourished at the epoch when from external and internal evidence it appears to have emanated; there is no other writer of the same epoch to whom it can be ascribed with any degree of probability; between it and his *Commonitorium* there exist several coincidences of phraseology, which seem to indicate that both works were by the same hand; and the principles avowed by him, particularly as to the necessity of holding the Catholic Faith, are such as we should expect to find in the author of the *Quicunque*. I do not venture to assert that the evidence I have produced is conclusive and demonstrative. It is a case in which we could scarcely look for such evidence. But I think I may without exaggeration describe it as highly probable: and this is no small matter, if Bishop Butler was right in saying that to us probability is the very guide of life. It is not superfluous to add that of all the authors to whom the Creed has been attributed, Vincent of Lerins is the only one to whom it has been attributed with any degree of probability. I have previously alluded to the fact that the evidence alleged by Waterland for the authorship of Hilary of Arles does not bear examination.

[1] Mabillon, *Disquisitio de Cursu Gallicano*, 3. See also Warren's *Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church*, p. 79.

[2] Stokes, *Ireland and the Celtic Church*, pp. 48 and 170.

The same may be said of the hypothesis of Quesnel, which ascribed the Creed to Vigilius Tapsensis[1], and of the theory broached about five and twenty years ago by Mr. Ffoulkes, which represented it as compiled by Paulinus Archbishop of Aquileia in or a little before the year 800.

[1] See Quesnelli, *dissertatio II. de variis fidei libellis*, § xvi. It was first printed in his edition of Leo's works. It is also printed in Galland's *De vetustis Canonum Collectionibus dissertationum Sylloge*, tom. i. p. 833; and in Migne, *Patrol. Latina*, tom. lvi. p. 1065. He was answered by Antelmi, who ascribed the *Quicunque* to Vincent of Lerins in his treatise *Nova de Symbolo Athanasiano disquisitio*, Paris, 1693, and also by the Ballerini, *Observationes in dissertationem II. Paschasii Quesnelli*, § iii. *De auctore Symboli quicunque*, printed in their edition of Leo the Great. See Migne, tom. lvi. pp. 1071–1075. Also Galland's *Sylloge*, tom. i. pp. 845, 846.

CHAPTER IV.

TITLES.

In the earliest MS. copy of the Athanasian Creed extant—Ambrosian Library, O. 212, of the eighth century—it has no title. It is the same also in another very early MS.—which is placed about 800 A. D. or a little earlier—the Paris MS. Latin 4858. The same is the case with the very interesting Psalter in the Paris MS. Latin 13159, which certainly belongs to the age of Charlemagne, and in all probability was executed between the years 795 and 800; but in this instance the omission of the title is devoid of any significance, as the leaf on which the Creed commences has clearly been inserted in order to supply the place of the original one, which must have been lost (with possibly one or two more) in consequence of some injury done to the book, and it is written in a different hand from that found in the book generally. Hence we cannot be certain whether or not the title was omitted originally[1]. The earliest title applied to the Creed appears to have been *Fides Catholica*. We have an instance of its being so entitled as early as the sixth century—in the *Epistola Canonica,* if the Ballerini are right, as they probably are, in

[1] See Part I. chap. iii. 5.

thinking that that document refers to our Creed[1]. Further, it is so described in the headings of all the oldest Commentaries. Thus the so-called Fortunatus Commentary in the Oxford Bodleian MS. Junius 25 is headed 'Expositio in Fide Catholica,' and in the Paris Latin MS. 1008, 'Expositio super Fidem Catholicam,' and in the two Paris Latin MSS. 2826 and 17448 similarly, 'Expositio super Fide Catholica,' where the mark of contraction over the final *e* and *a* may have been omitted inadvertently, and in the Milan MS. M. 79 it is headed 'Expositio Fidei Catholice Fortunati,' where no doubt the *expositio* is referred to as the work of Fortunatus, not the *Fides Catholica*. Again, the Paris Commentary is headed in the Paris Latin MS. 1012, 'Fides Chatholica cum expositione.' Again, the Troyes Commentary is headed in the Troyes MS. 804, 'Expositio fidei catholicae.' Also the Commentary lately edited by M. Cuissard from an Orleans MS., and believed by him to be the work of Theodulf, is headed 'Explanatio fidei catholicae.' The Milan MS. already mentioned as containing a copy of the Fortunatus Commentary contains two other Commentaries on the *Quicunque*, each having the same title, 'Expositio Fidei Catholice.' This same title is also applied to two more Commentaries—both distinct it must be remembered from any previously mentioned—which are severally found in two Milanese MSS., T. 103 and I. 152, both Milanese Liturgical books, written, as Dr. Ceriani assured me, in Milan[2]. It is worth noting that there is a uniformity of title in all the five Commentaries in Milan MSS., the Creed being described in all simply as

[1] See above, Part I. ii. 1. Also the Tractate of the Ballerini, *De auctore Symboli Quicunque*, among *Editorum Observationes in Dissertationem II. Paschasii Quesnelli* printed in their edition of St. Leo, and Galland's *Dissertationum Sylloge*, tom. i.

[2] See above, Part I. iv. 9 and 12.

'Fides Catholica.' And this is continued in the headings of Commentaries as late as the thirteenth century. Thus the Stavelot Commentary is headed in the Paris Latin MS. 12020 of the twelfth century, 'Tractatus de Fide Catholica,' and Necham's Commentary in the Bodleian, late thirteenth century MS., Auct. D. 2. 9, 'Expositio Fidei Catholice a Magistro Alexandro edita.'

And not only in the headings of Commentaries, but in other documents, we have evidence of the early application of the title 'Fides Catholica' to the *Quicunque*. It was thus described by Theodulf Bishop of Orleans at the end of the eighth or beginning of the ninth century, both in his Capitula and in his Capitulare addressed to his clergy. So also in the *Catachesis Theotisca* preserved in a Wolfenbüttel MS. of the middle of the ninth century [1]. So also in the heading of a Prayer to be said after the recital of the *Quicunque*—'Oratio post Fidem Catholicam'—which occurs in the Paris Latin MS. 13388 of the ninth century, a manual of devotion formerly the property of the Abbey of St. Germain des Près at Paris, where it was no doubt used. And it is so described in the Utrecht Psalter, which, though modern palaeography forbids us to regard it like our ancestors as executed in the time of Gregory the Great, may still be safely assigned to the first half of the ninth century: indeed, it is considered by Sir E. M. Thompson to have been written at the beginning of that century and to be the exact copy of an older codex [2]. It is so described also in another Psalter of the ninth century —Parker 272, O. 5 [3]. And this title was never dropped entirely, in proof of which let me adduce three notable

[1] See above, Part I. v. 3.
[2] *Handbook of Palaeography*, by Sir E. M. Thompson, pp. 64 and 189.
[3] Above, I. iii. 15.

examples of its occurrence at a later date: first, the Vat. MS. Reg. 12, a very beautiful and elaborately-executed Psalter, not previously noticed by me, which must have had, as is shown by several circumstances, the abbey at Bury St. Edmund's for its birthplace in the eleventh century, probably the latter half; secondly, the magnificent Cotton MS., Vesp. A. 1, commonly called the Augustine Psalter, from St. Augustine's, Canterbury, its former home: the Te Deum and Athanasian Creed in this book, it must be remembered, are by a hand of the eleventh century, dating, as Wanley thought, about the time of the Norman Conquest, and they are accompanied by an interlinear Anglo-Saxon gloss; but the preceding portion of the book, including the Psalter and Canticles, belongs, in Sir E. M. Thompson's judgement, to the early part of the eighth century[1]; and thirdly, Vat. 81, the only known example, so far as I am aware, of a Greek and Latin Psalter in which all the Canticles, including the Athanasian Creed, are found in Greek as well as Latin. According to my conjecture, which I only mention in the absence of any authority, the last-mentioned MS. belongs to the thirteenth or fourteenth century[2].

The earliest extant instance of the *Quicunque* being ascribed to St. Athanasius occurs in the Autun Canon dating in or about the year 670, in which it is entitled, 'Fides sancti Athanasi presolis' as in the Angers Collection, or 'episcopi' as in the Herovall[3]. The preface to the Oratorian Commentary gives us reason to believe that it was ascribed to his authorship even before that—as early probably as the commencement of the seventh century. It

[1] See *Fac-similes* of the Palaeographical Society, vol. ii. plate 18.
[2] For some account of this MS. see above, Part I. v. 1, 4 e.
[3] Above, I. ii. 2.

is so ascribed in the title applied to it in the Vat. MS. Pal. 574—'Fides Catholica beati Atanasi episcopi'—where it appears among certain documents which, according to the Ballerini, were collected together and annexed to the collection of Canons, which they follow, in the eighth century. We find it also so ascribed by the celebrated Vienna Psalter—believed to have been originally the property of Charlemagne—in the title, 'Fides Sancti Athanasii episcopi Alexandrini.' From the commencement of the ninth century downwards MSS. of our document are abundant, and it is commonly ascribed by the title to Athanasius, but with a great and remarkable variety of form. Thus we meet with 'Fides chatolica sancti Atanasii episcopi Alexandrine ecclesie' in Paris Latin 1451 of the ninth century, 'Fides Catholica Sancti Athanasii,' British Museum, Addit. 18043 of the tenth century, 'Fides Catholica sancti Athanasii episcopi' in the Bodleian MS., Rawlinson 163 of the eleventh century, and others similar: also with 'Fides sancti Athanasii Alexandrini,' B. M. Cotton, Galba A. xviii of the ninth century, 'Fides sancti Athanasii' in the Psalter of Charles the Bald of the same century, 'Fides sancti Athanasii episcopi' in Paris Latin 3848 B, also of the same century, and the like: also with 'Sermo Athanasii de fide' in the Capitula of Hincmar, A.D. 852; 'Sermo Athanasii' in the Profession of Adalbert, A.D. 871; 'Sermo Fidei Catholicae' in the Charge of Riculfus, A.D. 889; 'Sermo Athanasii episcopi de Fide Sanctae Trinitatis' in the Articles of Regino at the commencement of the tenth century, and in the Charge of Ratherius about 960 A.D.; in all which cases the form is doubtless derived from the 'admonitio synodalis' or Episcopal Visitation Articles current in France and Germany in the ninth century, perhaps earlier: also with

'Hymnus Athanasii de Fide Trinitatis' in the Salisbury MS. 150 and B. M. Bib. Reg. 2. B. v, both of them Psalters written in England in the tenth century: also 'Fides Catholica dicta a sancto Athanasio episcopo' in Paris Latin MSS. 2076 and 2341 of the tenth century, and 'Fides Catholica edita a beato Athanasio episcopo' in Vat. 84, assigned by Vezzosi to the tenth century, and 'Fides Catholica quam sanctus Athanasius dictavit' in Vat. 82, of the same epoch probably. Ratramn, A. D. 868. describes our document as 'Libellus de Fide quem edidit . . . beatus Athanasius Alexandrinus episcopus [1].'

The term *Symbolum*, as far as we know, was first applied to the *Quicunque* in the latter part of the twelfth century. It was thus used by Henry Abbot of Brunswick and John Beleth at that epoch [2]. Afterwards it grew into common use, particularly in the title 'Symbolum Athanasii' and the like, which appears in Breviaries. As it was applied by Beleth in the twelfth century to the Athanasian in common with the other Creeds, so in the thirteenth it was applied by Alexander Hales, Joannes Januensis and Durandus, in the fourteenth by Ludolphus Saxo—but with this difference, that Beleth reckoned four Creeds, the Apostles', the Athanasian, the Nicene and the Constantinopolitan; the others reckoned three only, the Apostles', the Athanasian, and the Constantinopolitan, called by them, as by us, but incorrectly, the Nicene. In the Roman Breviary and the Benedictine the *Quicunque* is headed 'Symbolum S. Athanasii,' in the Sarum 'Symbolum Athanasii,' in the Ambrosian rite—which is very remarkable—it is simply headed 'Symbolum [3].'

[1] *Contra Graecorum Opposita*, lib. ii. cap. 3.
[2] Above, Part I. i. 24 and 26.
[3] *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, vol. ii. p. 1753.

Waterland, following Sirmond, asserts that the Athanasian Creed is called *Symbolum* by Hincmar[1]. But the document quoted by Hincmar in his work *De Praedestinatione*, which he attributes to Athanasius and describes as *Symbolum*, is clearly not our Creed, but a Profession of Faith, called 'Fides Romanorum' and 'Fides Romanae Ecclesiae,' which has been very absurdly printed by Chifflet as the ninth book of Vigilius *de Trinitate*[2]. It is possible that Hincmar may have confounded the 'Fides Romanorum' with the Athanasian Creed; but this is not probable considering that he was thoroughly familiar with the latter, as appears from the frequent quotations from it and applications of its language which he has made in his treatise *De una et non trina Deitate*.

The title 'Fides' occurs in the Trèves MS. 1001, a Psalter of the ninth or tenth century: it is used also by Honorius of Autun.

Still more remarkable is the title 'Athanasius' which is found in a glossed Psalter executed about A.D. 1200, originally the property of St. Peter's, Erfurt, now in the British Museum, Addit. MSS. 10924. Possibly the *Quicunque* may have been so called occasionally for the sake of brevity.

The title 'Psalmus Quicunque vult' occurring about the middle of the thirteenth century in the Constitutions of Walter de Cantilupe, Bishop of Hereford, and Walter de

[1] *Critical History*, chap. ii. p. 28, Oxford edition.

[2] The passage in Hincmar is as follows: 'Et Athanasius in Symbolo, dicens se credere in Christum, praemissis aliis, assumptum in caelis, sedere in dextera Patris, inde venturum iudicare et mortuos exspectamus, in huius morte et sanguine remissionem peccatorum consecuturi.' *De Praedestinatione*, cap. xxxv. It is remarkable that in the ninth century Ratramn, as well as Hincmar, quotes both the Fides Romanorum and the Athanasian Creed as works of Athanasius.

Kirkham, Bishop of Durham, is simply attributable to the fact of its being said as a Psalm in the service of the Church.

For a considerable period and in various countries our document was ascribed to another person besides Athanasius; viz. Anastasius. This ascription appears sometimes in the titles of the Creed and clearly calls for attention. The first instance known of it is mentioned by Waterland as occurring in a MS. of the twelfth century, written for Church use in Augsburg, in which the Creed is described as 'Fides Anastasii episcopi.' But probably it was ascribed to Anastasius prior to the twelfth century, for towards the close of that century Beleth speaks of the belief in his authorship as by no means uncommon, though erroneous [1]. This belief having once gained a footing, another step necessarily followed. If Anastasius was the author, he must needs be Pope Anastasius. Accordingly in a MS. of the twelfth century the Creed is entitled 'Fides Anastasii Papae,' and the initial note or gloss of the same MS., which is a glossed Psalter, commences 'Hic beatus Anastasius liberum arbitrium posuit,' instead of 'Hic beatus Athanasius, &c.,' as in other MSS. of the same gloss or series of notes—a very clear proof of the belief of the writer in the authorship of Anastasius [2]. The thirteenth century added the crowning stone to the edifice. Simon Tornacensis, who flourished early in that century, in his Commentary distinctly asserts that the Creed was drawn up by Pope Anastasius in a large assembly of

[1] 'Ab Athanasio Patriarcha Alexandrino contra Arianos hereticos compositum est, licet plerique eum Anastasium fuisse falso arbitrentur.' Beleth, *de divin. Offic.* c. 40, quoted in a note in the Oxford edition of Waterland's *History*.

[2] See Waterland's *History of the Athanasian Creed*, Oxford edition, pp. 54, 55 *note*: also above, I. iv. 8.

prelates, and he repeatedly attributes it to the same authorship, never to any other. His Commentary concludes with the colophon : ' Explicit feliciter expositio super symbolum beati Anastasii.' In the Merton College MS. 208 of the same century—a glossed Psalter—the initial note commences with the same words as that in the twelfth century MS. before mentioned, ascribing the Creed to Anastasius ; and in the Laud MS. Misc. 493 of the end of the same century, which contains the Commentaries of Alexander of Hales on the three Creeds, the *Quicunque* is several times entitled ' Symbolum Anastasii,' once only—and that in the Commentary on the Nicene Creed—' Symbolum Athanasii.' We have also the ascription to Pope Anastasius in the curious title to a French version of the *Quicunque* recorded in Montfaucon's *Diatribe*—' Ce chant fust S^t^. Anastaise qui Apostoilles de Rome.' And this ascription to Anastasius continued apparently as late as the early part of the sixteenth century, judging from the title ' Fides Catholica sancti Anastasii episcopi ' found in the Harleian MS. 2953, a Psalter of that date originally the property of Charles, the son of Conrad Peutinger of Augsburg. Nor was it in Germany only, as Waterland appears to think, that the Athanasian Creed was thus believed to be the work of Anastasius and expressly attributed to him, but in France and England also : for Beleth and Simon of Tournay were both theologians and doctors of Paris, men of note and influence, and well acquainted with the opinions of the age in which they lived ; and Alexander of Hales, the Irrefragable Doctor, though he spent much of his life in teaching at Paris, was an Englishman by birth ; and the Merton College MS. seems to have been executed in England. It is not to be supposed that the belief and the ascription we are referring to prevailed universally or even very

generally in these countries; but that they should have spread so widely and continued through so long a period is a very remarkable circumstance. How did it arise? Waterland thinks, and I believe rightly, that the ascription originated in the mistakes of copyists. We are in fact able to trace the change from *Athanasius* to *Anastasius* through two stages of error, of which we have extant examples. Thus in the Bodleian MS. of the eleventh century, Canonici Patr. Lat. 88, the title of our Creed is 'Fides Anathasii episcopi.' Every one is aware that the transposition of words and letters is a fertile cause of error in MSS. Here the change arises from the transposition of *th* and *n*. Next a copyist meeting with this *Anathasii* inserts the letter *s* before *th*: thus in the Cambridge Corpus Christi MS., Parker 411. N. 10, assigned by the late Mr. Bradshaw to the eleventh century, we find the title 'Fides sancti Anasthasii episcopi.' From *Anasthasii* to the better known *Anastasii* the transition by the omission of *h* is easy and natural.

It only remains to mention the titles of the Athanasian Creed in our own English Prayer-Book. In the rubric prefixed to it in the first Prayer-Book of Edward the Sixth, in 1549, it was described as 'this Confession of our Christian faith': and this continued until 1662, when it was changed, as the result of the Savoy Conference, to the form which has been retained ever since—'this Confession of our Christian faith, commonly called the Creed of Saint Athanasius.' Also in the rubric preceding the Apostles' Creed, as altered by the Savoy Conference and retained ever since, it is described as 'the Creed of Saint Athanasius.'

The titles ascribed to the Athanasian Creed at various times form an essential feature in its history. The Ballerini conclude from the facts that in some early MSS. it

has no title and in others is entitled 'Fides Catholica,' that it was not ascribed to Athanasius by the author, but became associated with his name in a subsequent epoch[1]. With this conclusion we may well rest contented. There is no positive evidence of the ascription to Athanasius being in vogue before the seventh century; and it is inconceivable that the author of the Creed, whether St. Vincent or any other Latin theologian, should have put it out, as the work of the great Greek Father, especially when he had drawn the terminology largely from St. Augustine. Moreover this would be impossible, if the earliest title was 'Fides Catholica,' as it was in all probability. Whether or not it was first issued without any title must needs be uncertain, because although the earliest extant MS., that at Milan, and another very early one, Paris 4858, are both without any title and were doubtless copied from still earlier MSS., we cannot from thence conclude for certainty that those earlier codices were likewise without title, still less that the autograph was so. Probably, however, the author drew up the document in the first instance simply for use in his own community, or at the request of an ecclesiastical superior, and in either case we might expect he would abstain from prefixing a title and still more his own name, especially if he was none other than St. Vincent of Lerins, who describes himself as 'minimus omnium servorum Dei peregrinus[2].' And if it was issued originally without title, it would naturally soon attract to itself the

[1] 'Athanasii itaque nomen non ab auctore initio adscriptum, sed posteriori tempore inductum fuit; unde posteriora tantum exemplaria et scriptores septimi, octavi, et noni saeculi illud praeferunt.' *Observationes in dissertationem II. Paschasii Quesnelli*, § iii. 3, *De auctore Symboli Quicunque*. See Gallandii, *Dissertationum Sylloge*, tom. i. p. 844. Also Migne, *Patrol. Latina*, tom. lvi. p. 1073.

[2] *Commonitorum primum*, 1.

title 'Fides Catholica,' of which it was by its own profession an exposition and statement. Then, probably in the latter part of the sixth century, as we should conclude from the fact of its being ascribed in MSS. at the commencement of the following century to Athanasius, the name of that illustrious Father began to be used in connexion with it. As to the immediate cause which led to this we know nothing for certain: we can only form conjectures, but it may be probable conjectures. In the judgement of Waterland it was first spoken of as the Catholic Faith or Faith of St. Athanasius simply as containing in substance his doctrine, not from any belief that it was actually his work [1]. This was most likely the case, especially considering the circumstances of the latter part of the sixth century. At that time the Catholics in the North of Italy and South of France were brought face to face with Arianism, which was the dominant faith of the Lombards in the former country and of the Goths in the latter. It was not a critical age, and they did not know, nor did it concern them to inquire, who was the author of the Creed, which they had received as 'the Catholic Faith.' This they were assured of, that the truths taught by it were the same for which Athanasius contended in opposition to Arius, which they also must maintain in opposition to his followers. And when it had thus come to be spoken of as the Faith of Athanasius, the exposition of his principles, the badge of fidelity to the truths of which he was the most distinguished champion, the next step would follow ere long—the title would be understood to signify that the formula was actually composed by him and be alleged in evidence to that effect. The same process is observable in the history of the Apostles' Creed, which no one now

[1] *Critical History*, chap. viii.

would maintain to have been drawn up by the Apostles themselves. For all that it is no forgery. Neither is the Athanasian Creed a forgery because it is not really the work of the man to whom long ages have ascribed it.

There is another way of accounting for the ascription of our document to Athanasius. Possibly it may have been the result of the ignorance or carelessness of copyists, which were no doubt a fertile cause of the attribution of works to a wrong authorship in the Middle Ages. Several books or treatises in Latin on dogmatic subjects are extant, which must have been ascribed to Athanasius considerably before the ninth century, being quoted as his by two writers of that age—Theodulf and Hincmar. Their genuineness is however with one exception universally denied by modern scholars. The cause of their being originally thus ascribed to Athanasius, though not written by him, is patent, most of them being cast into the form of a discussion between the great Catholic Doctor and a heretic. Down to the latter half of the seventeenth century these books continued to be considered the genuine productions of Athanasius, and were so edited. In 1664 Chifflet collected them all and edited them, as the work of Vigilius on the Trinity. But his grounds for so assigning them are clearly insufficient; and the bulk of them are attributed in preference to Idatius Clarus by Montfaucon and the Ballerini[1]. In the Benedictine edition of St. Athanasius one only—the last in order in Chifflet's edition—was retained among his genuine works, the rest being relegated

[1] See *In libros de Trinitate admonitio* in *S. Athanasii Opera*, Paris 1698, tom. ii. p. 601; also the tractate of the Ballerini, *De auctore Symboli Quicunque*, v, under the head of *Editorum observationes in dissertationem II. P. Quesnelli*, printed in the third volume of their edition of St. Leo—Migne, *Patrol. Latina*, tom. lvi. pp. 1073, 1074—and in Galland's *Dissertationum Sylloge*, tom. i. p. 845.

to the spurious list. What have these books to do with our point? In his work *De Spiritu Sancto* written in 809 Theodulf quotes the Athanasian Creed as the work of Athanasius in conjunction with some of these books, which suggests not indeed that it must, but it may have been mixed up in his time with them in the MS. or MSS. which he used[1]. And if this was the case, it may have led to the connexion of the name of Athanasius with it in the first instance. If a copyist found the *Quicunque* with the title 'Fides Catholica' simply or with no title at all following in a MS. of some or one of these books ascribed to Athanasius, he would very possibly assume that that also must belong to his authorship, and would prefix his name accordingly. Such assumptions are not uncommon. The erroneous attribution once introduced would be easily multiplied and propagated by other copyists.

These are two alternative possible ways of accounting for the ascription to Athanasius. But nothing certain can be determined upon the point. This is not to be wondered at considering our ignorance of the remote period when the circumstance occurred. Moreover, it is not a matter of any practical importance. For the claims of the Creed to our belief and esteem do not rest upon the fact of its ascription to Athanasius, but chiefly and primarily upon its intrinsic excellence as a faithful exposition of the great scriptural and Catholic verities of the Trinity and Incarnation. This is especially pressed upon English Churchmen by the statement of the Article that 'the three

[1] The quotation of the Creed, from *Pater a nullo* to *de Trinitate sentiat*, is headed in Migne's edition, *Patrol. Latina*, tom. cv. p. 247—*Item idem* (*In Symbolo*) *quod Spiritus Sanctus procedat a Patre et Filio*. This might convey the impression that the Creed was styled *Symbolum* by Theodulf. Such, however, is not the case, in Sirmond's edition, of which Migne's is a reprint, the words *In Symbolo* being printed in the margin the same as Scripture references.

Creeds, Nicene Creed, Athanasius's Creed, and that which is commonly called the Apostles' Creed, are most thoroughly to be received and believed: for they may be proved by the most certain warrant of Holy Scripture.' If we are to reject the 'Confession of our Christian Faith commonly called the Creed of St. Athanasius,' because it is not his composition, upon the same principle we must reject also 'that which is commonly called the Apostles' Creed.' And it must fare the same with the Nicene Creed, as we incorrectly call the Creed recited in the Communion Service. For it is not identical with the Creed drawn up at the Council of Nice, the former containing much important matter which is not found in the latter and omitting important matter which is found in the latter.

CHAPTER V.

THE TEXT.

CONSIDERING the very great number of MSS. of the Athanasian Creed which are still extant, they present a remarkably small diversity of text. There is but one variant of any importance. This remark does not apply to the Trèves fragment, which, as I maintain for reasons before stated [1], is a portion of a sermon delivered at the 'Traditio Symboli,' not of our document.

There is no evidence to show that the *Quicunque* existed at one time in a kind of embryo state and attained its present form and dimensions by a process of growth and accretions, like the other two Creeds and the Te Deum. There is no evidence of its having been combined into one from two separate documents, relating severally to the Trinity and the Incarnation. The homogeneous character of the two parts, as I have before pointed out, is a clear indication of the contrary. Nor can it be proved that the condemnatory clauses were subsequent additions to the doctrinal expositions. We have every reason to believe that such as the Creed is now, such it was when it issued from the hands of its author.

In Appendix E. I have reproduced the text as printed by Waterland, with collations made by me from early and

[1] Above, Part I. chap. i. 4.

important MSS.; but there are some particulars which seem to call for special notice.

In verses 7, 8, 9, 10, 13, 15, and 17 *et* is read before *Spiritus* in most early MSS., but it is omitted in later codices, as also in the printed Breviaries, Roman and Sarum.

Verses 20, 21, 22, *Pater a nullo . . . sed procedens.* These verses are the only portion of the Creed respecting which there can be any question whether they belonged to the original text. They are not quoted in the so-called Fortunatus and Troyes Commentaries. On the other hand, they are found in all the MSS. and are quoted in the other early Commentaries, including the Paris, which may be as early as either the Troyes Commentary or the Fortunatus. Possibly the two last-named documents may have omitted to quote them, because their doctrinal teaching is in substance contained in their comments on the fourth verse. The evidence therefore is in favour of the verses belonging to the original text. The mere fact, moreover, of the omission of a Commentary to notice a particular portion of the document which is its subject-matter, is no proof of its absence from the text. It may be added that the quotation by Theodulf in his work *De Spiritu Sancto* of these important verses concerning the relations of the divine persons together with some other verses of the Creed is alone a sufficient proof that they could not have been inserted in the Creed after or during the controversy respecting the Procession which took place at the end of the eighth and the beginning of the ninth century, but must have belonged to it some considerable time before. For Theodulf's treatise was written early in the ninth century before that controversy had ceased. And the internal evidence, as well as the external, excludes the notion of these verses

being subsequent additions. There is nothing as regards doctrine or style to discriminate them from the rest of the Creed, as the work of a later age or different hand. They are perfectly homogeneous with the rest, being cast in the same mould of Augustinian teaching and phraseology. This is particularly true of the doctrine of the Procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father and the Son, stated in the twenty-second verse, which was repeatedly asserted by St. Augustine: for instance, 'non tantum *a* Patre sed et *a* Filio procedere Spiritum Sanctum,' *de Trin.* iv. 29, and 'Spiritus quoque Sanctus non sicut creatura, ex nihilo est factus; sed sic *a* Patre Filioque procedit, ut nec a Filio nec a Patre sit factus,' *Ep.* clxx. 4.

Verse 22. After the words *sed procedens* the Milan MS. adds *Patri et Filio co-aeternus est.* As the addition is supported by no other MS. it can be of no significance, and I should not deem it worth noticing but for the strange inference drawn from it by Professor Lumby in his *History of the three Creeds*, a book which has obtained a wide circulation, especially among young theological students. In his judgement the addition 'is of such a character as to stamp this MS. with a date posterior to the great controversy on the Procession of the Holy Ghost. It is an expansion and affirmation of the preceding portion of the verse which could hardly be expected before that controversy had excited a considerable degree of attention, that is at the end of the eighth or beginning of the ninth century[1].' This is indeed an astonishing argument, especially from such a quarter! How could an assertion of the doctrine of the co-eternity of the Holy Spirit with the Father and the Son be an expansion and affirmation of the doctrine of the Procession of the Holy Spirit from the

[1] Chap. v. p. 218.

Father and the Son, seeing that the two doctrines are perfectly distinct the one from the other? The position is clearly untenable; and if it falls, the conclusion built upon it must fall too. And further, the insertion of the words in question in this MS. is easily accounted for. Therein the Athanasian Creed is preceded by the 'Liber de dogmatibus ecclesiasticis' commonly attributed to Gennadius, and by the 'Bachiarii Fides,' and it is followed, though not immediately, by the 'Damasi Fides' erroneously headed 'Hieronymi Fides.' In all these three Confessions of Faith after the respective statements respecting the Procession of the Holy Spirit, there are found the words *Patri et Filio co-aeternus*. The scribe being thus made familiar with them very naturally added them in the other Confession, comprised in his book, to the clause relating to the Holy Spirit. It is almost unnecessary to remark that these Confessions were all prior in date to the eighth century, the 'Bachiarii Fides' and 'Damasi Fides' considerably so. The co-eternity of the Holy Spirit with the Father and the Son was repeatedly affirmed long before that epoch in opposition to the Arian and Macedonian heresies, particularly by St. Augustine. Its affirmation therefore in this copy of the *Quicunque* cannot afford the slightest ground for assigning it to a subsequent date.

Verse 25. *Unitas in Trinitate et Trinitas in unitate.* This is the later reading and is found in Breviaries. Earlier MSS. generally have *Trinitas in unitate et unitas in Trinitate*, as may be seen by reference to the collations in Appendix E.

Verse 28. *Deus pariter et homo.* This is the reading of Milan O. 212, the Paris MSS. 3848 B, 2076 and 2341, British Museum MSS. Bib. Reg. 2. B.V. and Cotton Galba A. xviii, Vat. Palat. 574, Bodleian Canonici Patr. Lat. 88,

Parker 272 O. 5, and Salisbury 150. It was also originally the reading of Paris 13159 and Parker 391, but in both *pariter* has been erased, and in Palat. 574 there has been an attempt to erase it. The same erasure appears in the Lambeth MS. 427, a Psalter written in England and assigned to the ninth century. The word is found in the quotations of the verse in all the earlier Commentaries, the Fortunatus so-called, the Troyes, the Paris, and the Oratorian. Considering this together with the fact of its being found in almost all the earlier MSS., it appears clearly to have belonged to the original text. It is a word upon which special stress seems to have been laid in connexion with the doctrine of the Incarnation at the time of the Nestorian controversy, and hence is a confirmatory indication that the *Quicunque* is the product of that epoch. Thus St. Vincent of Lerins in his first *Commonitorium*, sec. xiii: 'Ecclesia Catholica et de Deo et de Salvatore nostro recta sentiens . . . unum Christum Iesum, non duos, eundemque Deum *pariter* atque hominem confitetur.' And St. Cyril's *Apologeticus pro duodecim capitibus* in the contemporary Latin translation by Marius Mercator represents 'Orthodoxus' as saying in reference to the Tenth Anathematism: 'Cur non magis unum eundemque et Deum esse dicunt et hominem, ut omnia sint ipsius et divina *pariter* et humana[1]?' Also St. Cyril's *Scholia de Incarnatione Unigeniti* according to Marius Mercator's translation, cap. xiii: 'Discernere cupientes quid sit tandem incarnatum esse et hominem factum Dei Verbum, cernimus quod non hoc est hominem assumere tanquam in coniunctione, . . . magis autem fieri iuxta nos hominem (ita tamen ut nulla conversio vel commutatio subsequatur) et sublevare *pariter* cum sua natura eum, qui in adsumptione fuit carnis et

[1] Migne, *Patrol. Latina*, tom. xlviii. 959.

sanguinis dispensative[1].' The 'Deus pariter et homo' of the Creed precisely corresponds with the expression repeatedly used by St. Cyril, Θεὸς ὁμοῦ καὶ ἄνθρωπος, so that the former might be a translation of the latter. It only remains to add that *pariter* is generally omitted in later MSS. and in Breviaries.

Verse 33. *Unus autem, non conversione Divinitatis in carnem, sed assumptione humanitatis in Deum.* By reference to the collations of the text in Appendix E, it will be seen that the early MSS. generally read *in carne* and *in Deo* instead of *in carnem* and *in Deum* which are found in the received text. The Vatican MS. however, Palat. 574, likewise an early MS., being of the ninth century, has the latter readings, of course in the usual abbreviated forms *in carnē* and *in dm̄*; and that these were the original readings is shown in a very marked manner by the fact of an attempt having been made to change the *m* in *dm̄* into *o*. The evidence of this codex I venture to consider specially valuable on account of its apparent connexion with Lerins[2]. These readings are also found in the St. Gallen MS. 27, a Psalter of the ninth century; they are also the readings of the Oratorian Commentary according to the Vatican MS. from which it is edited by Mai, but the Troyes MS. has *in carne* and *in Deo*: the text, however, of that Commentary in the former codex is clearly preferable to that of the latter[3]. The Bouhier Commentary has *in carnem* in Troyes 1979, the earliest of the three MSS. from which I have printed it, *in carne* in the two others, Troyes 1532 and B. M. Addit. 24902; in all three it has *in Deum*[4]. The so-called Fortunatus Commentary has *in carne* and *in Deo* I believe in all MSS., and they are the

[1] Migne, *Patrol. Latina*, tom. xlviii. p. 1016.
[2] See Part I. iii. 12. [3] See Appendix H. [4] See Appendix I.

readings also of the Paris Commentary: they are supported too by the Troyes Commentary, which has 'non conversione Divinitatis in carne neque humanitatis in Divinitate.' Down to the eleventh century the same readings occur in most MSS. But subsequently *in carnem* and *in Deum* became usual; in Breviaries, manuscript and printed, I believe they are always found.

The readings *in carne* and *in Deo* are clearly an important variation, affecting the sense. It is necessary to consider whether or not they should be regarded as the true readings which issued from the hand of the author. They were not so esteemed by Waterland [1], although he was unacquainted with the Vatican MS. Palat. 574. I venture to submit that he was right, that that MS. and the St. Gallen codex have preserved for us the true readings. I think so, firstly, because *in carnem* and *in Deum* are in accordance with the doctrinal terminology of St. Augustine, which is followed generally in the Creed: secondly, because they are also in accordance with the terminology prevalent at the epoch when in all probability it was produced; and lastly, because they yield incomparably the best and most intelligible meaning. In support of my first reason let me adduce the following passages from the writings of the great Latin Father: 'Verbum caro factum est, a Divinitate carne suscepta, *non in carnem* Divinitate mutata.' *Enchir.* cap. xxxiv. 10. '*In unitatem personae Unigeniti assumptus* est homo.' *Tractatus in Ioan. Evan.* lxxiv. 3. 'Dei Filius factus est hominis filius, *assumptione* inferioris, *non conversione* potioris, accipiendo quod non erat, non amittendo quod erat.' *Ser.* clxxxvi. cap. 11. Passages to the same effect may be found in *Ser.* clxxxvii. cap. iii, *Enchir.* cap. xxxvi, and *Epis.* cxlix. 7. Secondly, precisely similar

[1] See his note *in loco.*

to this phraseology was that used by the Catholics in contending against Nestorius. Thus St. Vincent of Lerins: 'Mutabile non est Verbum Dei ut ipsum *verteretur in carnem*'; and 'Absit ut . . . *Deus* Verbum . . . personam hominis suscepisse credatur, sed ita potius ut incommutabili sua manente substantia, et *in se* perfecti hominis suscipiendo naturam ipse caro, ipse homo . . . existeret.' *Commonitorium*, i. 13 and 14. What St. Cyril specially insisted upon was the Unity of Christ's Person—that 'the Logos from God the Father hypostatically,' i.e. in Person, 'united Himself with flesh,' i.e. human nature, 'and with that which has become His own flesh is one Christ, the same Person, as is clear, at once God and man[1].' The oneness of Christ was not the effect of a conversion of the Godhead into flesh: for in vindicating himself from the charge of Apollinarianism brought against him more than once by Nestorius, he repeatedly and emphatically disclaimed the teaching of any such doctrine[2]. Rather it rested upon this ground, that the Word 'became partaker of flesh and blood . . . and came forth man from woman, not having cast away the Divine essence and the generation from God the Father, but even in *the assumption of flesh* continuing to be what He was[3].' Such was the union of the two natures that, although they retained their several distinctive properties, 'in Christ in a wonderful manner

[1] Σαρκὶ καθ' ὑπόστασιν ἡνῶσθαι τὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ Πατρός, ἕνα τε εἶναι Χριστὸν μετὰ τῆς ἰδίας σαρκός, τὸν αὐτὸν δηλονότι Θεὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ ἄνθρωπον. The words of his second Anathematism.

[2] For instance: Οὔτε . . . τὴν σάρκα φαμὲν εἰς θεότητος τραπῆναι φύσιν, οὔτε μὴν σαρκὸς εἰς φύσιν τὴν ἀπόρρητον Θεοῦ Λόγου παρανεχθῆναι φύσιν, ἄτρεπτος γάρ ἐστι καὶ ἀναλλοίωτος. S. Cyrilli *ad Nestorium tertia Epistola*. He denies, it will be observed, the change of the Divine nature σαρκὸς εἰς φύσιν.

[3] St. Cyril's second Epistle to Nestorius, afterwards sanctioned by the Council of Ephesus. He uses the words ἐν προσλήψει σαρκός, of which *adsumptione humanitatis* in the Creed might be a translation.

beyond the power of the human mind to conceive they were brought together *into* oneness without confusion and change [1].' And with still greater definiteness St. Cyril speaks of the grace and dignity conferred upon the flesh or nature of man by the Incarnation, that it has 'passed up into the glory of the Godhead' and 'become the flesh of God [2].'

Such being the Catholic terminology current during the Nestorian controversy, it is impossible to doubt, that if the Athanasian Creed was drawn up at that epoch, as I believe to have been the case, the readings *in carnem* and *in Deum* were from the hand of the author, especially it might be added if he was none other than St. Vincent of Lerins. They distinctly re-echo that phraseology, and are not less distinctly opposed, as might be proved at length, to the Nestorian hypothesis. And thirdly, these readings yield incomparably the best and most intelligible sense. Their meaning is obvious. With them the verse formulates the precious Catholic verity, taught, as we see, explicitly by St. Augustine in opposition to Apollinarianism and St. Cyril of Alexandria in opposition to Nestorianism, that in the Person of His Only-begotten Son Almighty God has vouchsafed to unite to Himself in a mysterious but real manner the nature of man. Thus understood, it harmonizes perfectly with the remaining portion of the Creed relating to the Incarnation. On the other hand, it is

[1] Ἕτερον μέν τι καὶ ἕτερον θεότης τε καὶ ἀνθρωπότης . . . ἀλλ' ἦν ἐν Χριστῷ ξένως τε καὶ ὑπὲρ νοῦν εἰς ἑνότητα συνδεδραμηκότα συγχύσεως δίχα καὶ τροπῆς. S. Cyrilli *Quod unus est Christus*, edit. Pusey, 744 A.

[2] Εἷς γὰρ Κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς . . . εἰς τὴν τῆς θεότητος δόξαν ἀναφοιτώσης αὐτοῦ τῆς σαρκός. *De recta fide ad Arcadiam et Marinam*, 78 b, and ἡ γὰρ σὰρξ σάρξ ἐστι καὶ οὐ θεότης, εἰ καὶ γέγονε Θεοῦ σάρξ. Epist. *ad Succensum*. The latter passage is quoted *in extenso* by Hooker, *Ecclesiastical Polity*, V. liii. 2.

difficult to perceive what doctrine precisely, what phase of thought the readings *in carne* and *in Deo* in their literal interpretation symbolize; they jar, like a discordant note, upon our sense of the fitting and appropriate. It is inconceivable that the author, who in drawing up this Confession of Faith was evidently careful, as he naturally would be, to adhere closely to the dogmatic phraseology of approved Catholic Doctors and Fathers, should in one particular, and an important one, have allowed himself to diverge from it. No doubt it is a sound rule of criticism that of two readings the more difficult is likely, generally speaking, to be the true one; but this can only hold within limits.

It may be argued that it is very improbable that the fitting and grammatical reading should have been changed into the unfitting and ungrammatical reading. But a little consideration will suffice to show, that in this instance such a change might have easily taken place, especially in the sixth or seventh centuries. It must be remembered that the words *carnem* and *Deum* would not be written in full in MSS., but thus—CARNĒ—DM̄; the *m* in *carnem* being represented by the mark of contraction over *e*, and *Deum* written in an abbreviated form, which would also be indicated by a mark of contraction. It is by no means unlikely that these marks of contraction might have been omitted inadvertently by a copyist, such an occurrence being far from uncommon. Another copyist finding CARNE and DM would be tempted to substitute O for M in the latter word in order to make it harmonize with the former, adding the mark of contraction (manifestly omitted) over it. Such a change would be more readily made in the sixth and seventh centuries, as falling in with the corrupt Latinity of the age; and for the same reason the error would be multiplied and propagated with greater facility.

Verse 36. *Ad inferos.* This is in my belief the true reading. For my reasons for so thinking see above, Part II. chap. ii. pp. 368, 369 note.

Tertia die resurrexit. By reference to the collations in Appendix E, it will be seen that several of the earliest MSS. omit *tertia die* and some read *surrexit.* Probably therefore *surrexit* simply was the original reading.

Verse 37. *Ad dexteram Patris.* It will be seen on reference to Appendix E that all the MSS. from which I have produced collations, with three exceptions, read *ad dexteram Dei Patris omnipotentis.* The three exceptions are Paris 4858, Milan O. 212, and Vat. Palat. 574. The first of these cannot be adduced as a witness for either reading, because it contains only the commencement of the Creed down to the words 'non tres aeterni.' The second—Milan O. 212, the oldest MS. extant, it must be remembered, of the Creed, and a transcript from a yet earlier document, reads *ad dexteram Patris.* The third exception is Vat. Palat. 574, which evidently in the first instance had the same reading; but above *Patris* has been written *Dei*, obviously by the same hand which has made other additions and some erasures; and at the foot of the page the following note indicating an omission appears—*omnipotentis, Inde venturus iudicare vivos et mortuos.* The words are not in the original text, from *Inde* to *mortuos* being clearly omitted through inadvertence. The omission of *omnipotentis* from the original text could not have been accidental, any more than that of *Dei.*

And the evidence in support of *ad dexteram Patris*, as the original reading, does not rest on these two MSS. only, inasmuch as it is referred to, I may say quoted, as part of the text by all the earliest Commentaries

upon it, the Fortunatus so-called, the Troyes, the Paris, the Oratorian and the Bouhier. This is remarkable, and would alone dispose us to regard it as the earlier and therefore the true reading, since we have been led to the conclusion that these Commentaries were compiled prior to the close of the eighth century, the date of the oldest MS. which has the alternative reading—*ad dexteram Dei Patris omnipotentis*. But I do not rest my case upon this alone. It has been previously mentioned[1] that the latter form was first introduced into Confessions of Faith in the sixth century, the former being usual previously. The former therefore is without doubt the most ancient of the two, the source from which the latter grew: and it is in the highest degree improbable that the compiler of the Athanasian Creed should have adopted the latter in the fifth century, to which, as we have seen, both external and internal evidence points as the epoch of its composition. Still further, as the evidence of the Milan and Palatine MSS. and of the quotations in the earlier Commentaries proves that *ad dexteram Patris* was the reading during some considerable period preceding the ninth century, there is no room for doubt that it proceeded originally from the hand of the author. For, supposing for an instant that the other reading—*ad dexteram Dei Patris omnipotentis*—was the original one, how could it have been changed to *ad dexteram Patris*? Is it likely that a copyist would leave out the words *Dei* and *omnipotentis* in his transcript, if he found them in the MS. from which he copied? On the other hand, their insertion may be easily accounted for, inasmuch as after they had been admitted generally into the Apostles' Creed —say at the end of the seventh century or the beginning of the eighth—copyists would be likely to transfer them

[1] Part II. chap. ii.

from thence to the Athanasian Creed, in order to assimilate the latter document with the former. The Palatine MS. affords an example doubtless of the process by which the insertion was often made. A corrector would write the additional words between the lines above the original reading or in the margin of the page. Another person copying from this would adopt the words into the text.

Verse 38. It may be well to draw attention here to the fact, mentioned by me in the Appendix, that in Muratori's collations of Milan O. 212 the words *resurgere habent cum corporibus suis et* are erroneously described as wanting. In other particulars too his collations are inaccurate, and it is surprising it should be so considering that he was the Librarian at Milan; probably he was indebted for the collations to the hand of an assistant.

My collations were the result of two examinations of the MS. at different visits.

The Milan MS. reads *in* for *cum*.

CHAPTER VI.

RECEPTION AND USE.

THE *Quicunque vult* has during the whole course of its history been received in the Western Church as a Creed. This is shown in the first place by the earliest titles applied to it, 'Fides Catholica,' 'Fides Catholica Sancti Athanasii,' or the like, or simply 'Fides.' No Latin word so accurately represents what we mean by a Creed as 'Fides'—a formulated statement of truths necessary to be believed. It would be superfluous to adduce examples of its being so used. This also is shown by the fact that from the twelfth century it has been very commonly entitled, and particularly in Breviaries, 'Symbolum,' in such headings as 'Symbolum Athanasii.' In the Ambrosian rite, as already mentioned, it is entitled simply 'Symbolum.' Another and still more cogent evidence of the reception of our document as a Creed is found in the judgement of theologians who place it in the category of Creeds; as of Honorius of Autun at the beginning of the twelfth century, who reckons four Creeds, the Apostles', the Nicene, the Constantinopolitan, and the Athanasian[1]; of Beleth at the end of the same century, who also reckons four, the Athanasian being named second in order[2]; of Alexander Hales, Joannes Januensis, Durandus in the thirteenth, of Ludolphus Saxo at the beginning and

[1] Above, I. i. 24. [2] Above, I. i. 29.

Wyclif at the end of the fourteenth, or the author of the Wycliffite Commentary, all of whom reckon three Creeds only, the Apostles', the Nicene, and the Athanasian[1]. It is perfectly true that it is also spoken of, though comparatively seldom, as 'sermo,' 'libellus,' 'hymnus,' 'psalmus'[2]; but there is nothing in these terms inconsistent, as appears to be sometimes thought, with the belief that our document has been received by the Church as a Creed and should be so received and regarded by us now. The first two, 'sermo' and 'libellus,' are terms of wide application, and each of them may be used of any brief writing, or document, or formulary. In the Paris Bibliothèque Nationale MS. of the eighth century, Latin 3836—the same codex which contains the Trèves fragment—a Confession of Faith is headed 'Eiusdem sermo'[3]: and in Rufinus' Commentary on the Apostles' Creed we find the Creed itself referred to as 'sermo,' where after quoting the Articles, 'Ascendit ad caelos, sedet ad dexteram Patris, inde venturus est iudicare vivos et mortuos,' the commentator continues, 'Consequenti brevitate in fine sermonis haec continentur'; and what is yet more remarkable, in two instances single articles are so described, thus: 'In Ecclesiae Romanae symbolo non habetur additum, *Descendit ad Inferna*, sed neque in Orientis Ecclesiis habetur hic sermo,' and 'Ultimus sermo iste, qui *Resurrectionem carnis* pronunciat, summam totius perfectionis succincta brevitate concludit[4].' And if the *Quicunque* was entitled 'hymnus' and 'psalmus,' because it was sung in the service of the Church as a hymn and psalm, it does not

[1] Above, I. i. 31, 33, 34 and 35; also I. iv. 24.

[2] See chap. iv. in this Part.

[3] *Early History of the Athanasian Creed*, by G. D. W. Ommanney, p. 400.

[4] *De Fide et Symbolo*, edidit Carolus A. Heurtley, Editio tertia, 1884, pp. 142, 153, 164.

follow that it was not at the same time esteemed as a Creed. The latter term, viz. psalm, does not appear to have been used in reference to it prior to the thirteenth century.

I cannot refrain from adding the remark, that when persons exclude the Athanasian Creed from the category of Creeds on the ground that it never received the sanction of an Oecumenical Council, they forget that by this hard and fast rule they are equally excluding from the same category the Apostles' Creed, and the Creed which we recite in the Communion Service, now commonly, but inaccurately, called the Nicene Creed.

The *Quicunque* being thus received as a Creed was used in consequence in a twofold manner, as a formulary of faith, a confession before God with thanksgiving of the Catholic Faith, especially as regards the great revealed truths of the Trinity and Incarnation, which are its principal subject-matter, and also as a formulary and instrument of instruction in the same faith.

Of the first of these uses we possess abundant and interesting evidence in a vast number of manuscript Psalters written in all the principal countries of Western Christendom at dates ranging from the close of the eighth century to the end of the fifteenth, to which our document is subjoined, together with the Canticles of the Old and New Testaments wont to be said or sung in Divine service, the Lord's Prayer and the two other Creeds being sometimes but not always added, the Te Deum always. And the reason why it was thus subjoined to the Psalter together with the Canticles is obvious. It was together with them recited in the worship of the Church. For it must be borne in mind that these manuscript Psalters were the devotional books of our Christian forefathers, and are

therefore most interesting, real memorials of their worship, in which, being dead, they yet speak. Some of the earliest and most important I have expressly referred to above [1], probably at too great a length for the patience of many; I cannot say I have described them; and I have mentioned what were the Canticles usually found in them. Another thing to be borne in mind with respect to the ancient manuscript Psalters now extant is that, numerous as they are, they are but few compared with the whole number of books of the same class which once existed, the great bulk of which have perished from a variety of causes—decay, neglect, damp, war, fire, ignorance, and fanaticism.

Concurrent with this evidence of the Psalters, there is a wellnigh continuous testimony to the use of the Athanasian Creed in Divine worship in incidental historical notices, in episcopal charges and admonitions and conciliar decrees, enjoining its observance, and that under pain of canonical censure in the event of disobedience [2].

And, when in order to avoid the great inconvenience of using a multiplicity of books in the celebration of Divine worship, the Breviary was constructed in which the various Offices, with all their component elements of prayers and psalms and hymns and canticles and lessons, were arranged in one book, our document was appropriated to the Office for Prime—the hour at which it had been recited previously. This appears to have taken place in the eleventh century, the close of which produced the earliest Breviary extant [3].

The precise date when the Athanasian Creed began to be recited in Divine service cannot be determined with certainty. To argue from the fact of there being extant at

[1] Part I. chap. iii.

[2] See above, I. i. 17, 18, 19, 21, 24, 25, 28, 29, 31, 33; also I. ii. 3, 5, 6, 7, 10, 11, 12.

[3] Above, I. iii. 27.

present no Psalters containing it earlier than the close of the eighth century that it could not have been so recited before that epoch would be very precarious, for this reason, that, though there are no Psalters of an earlier date, so far as we know, now existing, which contain it, still there may have been and probably were many originally, which have perished in the course of time in the great wreck of ancient documents, already alluded to. How very possible this is we shall be better able to realize if we consider that a MS. of the *Quicunque* of the eighth century, which was preserved at Paris so late as the last century, is now lost to us[1]. Moreover, the use of the Athanasian Creed in the Church's worship was clearly not a new thing in the ninth century; and what was then such a general practice, at least in Gaul and Germany, could not have been the instantaneous product of the age: it is more likely to have been the result of a gradual growth and extension of the use during a previous period of some duration. And there are some indications of this. Florus the Deacon, writing to Hyldrad the Abbot about A.D. 830, speaks of the insertion of the *Quicunque* in Psalters as a long-established, recognized usage[2]. The Utrecht Psalter, which contains our document, is described by Sir E. M. Thompson as 'written in the beginning of the ninth century,' and at the same time is asserted by him to be 'an exact copy of an older codex[3].' At the time when the Oratorian Commentary was drawn up, i. e. about A.D. 700, the *Quicunque* was recited here and there in Churches, as we know by the express statement of the Preface[4]. And this guides us to fix the middle of the seventh century as the

[1] Above, I. iii. 2.

[2] Above, I. i. 12.

[3] *Handbook of Palaeography*, by Sir Edward Maunde Thompson, pp. 64 and 189.

[4] 'Illud fidei opusculum, quod passim in ecclesiis recitatur.' See Appendix H.

latest period when the use of the Athanasian Creed in Divine service could have commenced. For we can scarcely suppose that it could have attained the measure of growth, which we are thus led to believe that it did attain about the year 700, in less than fifty years.

The service at which the Athanasian Creed was said was invariably the Office of Prime, which was first introduced into the West by Cassian, having been originally instituted at Bethlehem, but does not appear to have obtained a wide and recognized use till the sixth century, when it was adopted by Benedict in his Rule, and also observed by Aurelian, a successor of Caesarius in the bishopric of Arles. Hatto or Ahyto, Bishop of Basle about A. D. 827, ordered that the *Quicunque* should be learnt by priests by heart and recited on Sundays at Prime [1]. In the early part of the tenth century it is recorded to have been sung at Prime daily by the brethren in the Church of St. Martin at Tours [2]. Honorius of Autun at the beginning and John Beleth at the end of the twelfth century, Alexander Hales in the first half of the thirteenth, Johannes Januensis late in the thirteenth, and the Wycliffite Commentary towards the close of the fourteenth, all speak of it as being said at Prime. The Breviaries in appointing it, as they did without any variation, to be recited at the same hour, did but perpetuate and stereotype the earlier practice.

But whilst there has been an unvarying uniformity of practice as regards the Office at which the *Quicunque* was said, no such uniformity is found to have existed as regards the frequency of its recital. In this respect considerable diversity is observable, and that not only in diocesan and parochial usage, but in monastic usage also. First of its secular use—the Capitulum or Injunction of Bishop Hatto

[1] Above, I. ii. 5.

[2] Above, I. i. 18.

or Ahyto of Basle, just mentioned, requiring the recitation of our Creed on Sundays at Prime, is the earliest extant enactment requiring its periodic recital in Divine service, to the best of my knowledge. It is but a local and diocesan capitulum, and we are unable to produce any similar enactments of the ninth century, but it cannot be assumed that none others of a like kind ever existed: rather the probability is that other bishops made capitula similar to that of Hatto, which have perished in the wreck of ancient documents. The geologist who finds the remains of an animal of an extinct species does not conclude that the individual associated with them was the only one of the species that ever lived; rather he infers the probable existence in a remote age of numerous individuals of the same family. In the 'Admonitio synodalis antiqua' the presbyter is enjoined to 'sing every day' 'omni die cantet' as well as learn by heart 'the Discourse of Athanasius concerning the Faith of the Holy Trinity [1],' but as the words 'omni die cantet' are found in one only of the three forms of this document printed by Baluze and do not appear in the 'Synodica' of Ratherius, I can scarcely suppose them to have been inserted before the eleventh century, or at the earliest the close of the tenth. Towards the close of the eleventh century it would seem that daily recital was the general but not universal practice; for Udalricus, referring apparently to secular Churches, says that in some 'no mention was made of the formula of the Faith written by Athanasius, to wit *Whosoever*, except on Sundays alone,' implying of course that the Churches where it was said on Sundays only were exceptional, the general practice being to say it daily [2]. This evidence may be understood to

[1] See above, I. ii. 10; also Appendix B.

[2] 'Textus fidei scilicet *Quicunque* a S. Athanasio conscriptus cuius non-

apply especially to Southern Germany, as Udalric was prior of an abbey in the Black Forest, and wrote his book at the request of Willelmus abbot of a monastery in the same locality. Early in the twelfth century Honorius of Autun affirms that 'the Catholic Church repeats the Creed *Whosoever will* daily at Prime, which Athanasius bishop of Alexandria issued [1].' And this distinct assertion that daily recital was the general practice of the Church at that time is confirmed by the fact of Abelard, who was a contemporary of Honorius, reproaching the Cistercians with being guilty of an innovation by decreeing that the Creed should be said on Sundays only [2]. Guyetus too states that it was daily said in all ancient Breviaries [3], meaning I presume Breviaries of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. But at the close of the latter century we find Johannes Januensis averring that it was not said every day, but only on Sundays and days of special solemnity; and, as he makes the statement expressly in reference to his own time [4], his language may imply a previous use of greater frequency. Certainly under the Roman use in the early part of the sixteenth century it was said on Sundays only, as I conclude from a Roman Breviary printed at Venice in 1522, entitled 'Breviarium Romanum completissimum,' and another entitled 'Breviarium Ritu romane curie' and described by the colophon as 'Officium . . . approbatum a sanctissimo domino nostro Leone X. 1515, 8 idus novembris in Castello Viterbii in camera sue residencie.' The

nullae ecclesiae nec meminerint nisi in sola Dominica.' Udalricus, *Cluniacenses Consuetudines*, lib. i. cap. iii; apud Migne, *Patrol. Latina*, tom. cxlix. p. 633.

[1] Above, I. i. 24.

[2] Above, I. i. 25.

[3] 'In omnibus antiquis Breviariis quotidie dicebatur.' *Heortologia*, lib. iii. cap. xix. Quest. v. *de forma Primae.*

[4] 'Ideo *nunc* non in singulis diebus dicuntur.' He is speaking of the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds. See above, I. i. 33.

frequency therefore of recital would appear to have been reduced at Rome sometime between that epoch and the early part of the twelfth century, when it may be presumed that daily recital was in use there as well as elsewhere. Possibly, if I might hazard a conjecture, this reduction was made by the shortened Breviary authorized by Nicholas III, 1277–1280. If so, this would account for Januensis stating in 1286 so emphatically that the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds 'are *now* said not every day' but on days of special solemnity, when the Churches are most frequented. The daily recital it is well known has always been the use of the Milanese Church according to the Ambrosian rite[1]. Such also appears to have been the general practice in England and Scotland, at any rate in the centuries immediately preceding the Reformation, if we may judge from the Sarum and York and Aberdeen Breviaries. The point is put beyond doubt by the title in Bishop Hilsey's Primer: 'The Symbole or Crede of the great doctour Athanasius dayly red in the Church[2].' So too it was at Würzburg, as I should gather from an early printed Breviary in the Bodleian. With regard to its modern use, by which I mean its use during the last three centuries, in the Churches on the Continent, Bona in the seventeenth century says that 'formerly it was sung daily at Prime'—for which he alleges the authority of Honorius —but in his own time it was 'recited on Sundays only when the people were assembled in larger numbers[3].' Grancolas, writing in the eighteenth century, states that in his time it was said only on Sundays in most Churches; but it appears

[1] See *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, vol. ii. p. 1753.

[2] See a copy in the Bodleian, printed by John Wayland, 1539.

[3] 'Olim quotidie ad Primam cantabatur, ut Honorius scribit, nunc diebus tantum Dominicis congregata in unum maiori frequentia populi recitatur.' Bona, *De divina Psalmodia*, Paris 1663, p. 399.

to have been still said in some Churches daily, for he adds that this was the case at Sens [1]. These statements respecting the recital of the *Quicunque* on Sundays must be understood with a certain limitation, inasmuch as it is asserted by Gavantus, who like Bona was a theologian of the seventeenth century—he wrote in the first half of it—that there are some exceptions to the Sundays on which it is said, that it is not said on the Sundays within the octaves of the Nativity, the Epiphany, the Ascension and Corpus Christi, nor yet on Easter Day and Whitsunday, because on these the Dominical Office proper is not used [2]. And this appears to be the rule of the Roman Breviary, which in all probability Gavantus had before him [3]. It seems then that the practice of foreign Churches in general has been for the last three centuries, and is now, to recite the Athanasian Creed on Sundays with the above exceptions, consequently on most Sundays in the year.

Here it may be most convenient to notice the Post-Reformation use and reception of our Creed in the Church of England. In the first Prayer-Book of Edward VI, A.D. 1549, it was ordered to be sung or said on the Feasts of Christmas, Epiphany, Easter, the Ascension, Pentecost and Trinity Sunday. In the second Prayer-Book of Edward VI, which was adopted only three years later in 1552, its recital was required on these and other Feasts also, viz. St. Matthias, St. John Baptist, St. James, St. Bartholomew, St. Matthew, St. Simon and St. Jude, and St. Andrew,

[1] 'Maintenant on ne le dit plus que le Dimanche dans la plupart des eglises.' Then after mentioning its daily recital by the Carthusians he continues: 'On le dit aussi tous les jours à Sens.' Grancolas, *La Liturgie—De l'Office divin*, Paris 1753, p. 333.

[2] Gavanti, *Thesaurus—De Symbolo S. Athanasii*, sec. v. cap. xix. tom. ii. p. 167, edit. 1753.

[3] *Breviarium Romanum—Rubricae generales*, xxxiii.

making thirteen days in the year altogether. And no alteration as regards the days of its recital has been made by any subsequent revision of the Prayer-Book. The increased recital enjoined by the second book of Edward is a very notable circumstance, considering that in other particulars that book as compared with the first was an evident departure from previous Catholic usage. It has been accounted for by the fact that the excesses of the Anabaptists and other fanatics, who had traversed the country openly denying the essential doctrines of Christianity such as the Trinity and Incarnation, had alarmed the minds of Archbishop Cranmer and the authorities of the Church, and led them to attach a higher value to the great Confession of the Faith, in which those doctrines are most distinctly and explicitly enunciated.

In the rubrics of the first Book relating to the Apostles' Creed and that of St. Athanasius there was an obvious inconsistency, which was no doubt the result of haste or inadvertence. After the Benedictus came the rubric, 'Then shall be said daily through the year the prayers following, as well at Evensong as at Mattins, all devoutly kneeling.' The short Litany followed, and next the rubric, 'Then the Minister shall say the Creed and the Lord's Prayer in English with a loud voice.' On the other hand, the rubric preceding the Athanasian Creed ordered that on certain feasts already mentioned it should 'be sung or said immediately after Benedictus.' In the second book some alterations were made apparently for the purpose of removing this inconsistency. The Apostles' Creed was printed immediately after the *Jubilate*, which was inserted in this book as an alternative Canticle after the *Benedictus*; and in the rubric preceding it the words 'daily through the year' were omitted: it ran thus—'Then

shall be said the Creed by the Minister and the people standing.' No alteration was made in the rubric preceding the Athanasian Creed beyond the insertion of the additional feasts on which it was to be recited. Still there remained a want of clearness and harmony in the rubrics taken literally. This was completely rectified at the last revision of the Prayer-Book in 1662, when to the rubric before the Apostles' Creed was added 'except only such days as the Creed of St. Athanasius is appointed to be read,' and in that before the Athanasian Creed the words 'immediately after Benedictus' were altered to 'at Morning Prayer instead of the Apostles' Creed.' No doubt the alteration thus made by the Savoy revisers was in accordance with the previously existing usage, and was intended to give express confirmation and sanction to it.

No alteration, as has been already mentioned, was made at the last revision in regard to the days appointed for the recital of the *Quicunque*. But an alteration was then made in its position in the book. Before, it was placed immediately after the third Collect for Evensong and was followed by the rubric, 'Thus endeth the Order of Morning and Evening Prayer throughout the whole year,' or the like. In 1662 it was printed, as it has been ever since, separately after Evening Prayer, headed by the words 'At Morning Prayer.'

It must be borne in mind that the Church of England since the Reformation has not only constantly maintained the use of the Creed of St. Athanasius in her services, but has accepted and authorized it in the most emphatic and explicit manner by declaring in the Thirty-nine Articles, which were passed by Convocation finally in the year 1571, that together with the other two Creeds it 'ought

thoroughly to be received and believed.' In the Latin version of the Articles, which is equally authentic with the English, as both versions were submitted to Convocation, it is entitled 'Symbolum,' the heading of the eighth Article being 'De tribus Symbolis,' and the three Creeds being described as 'Symbola tria, Nicaenum, Athanasii, et quod vulgo Apostolorum appellatur.'

To pass on to the monastic use of our Creed. It has been already stated that we have the authority of an ancient catalogue of the early abbots of Fleury on the Loire for believing it to have been sung daily in that important Benedictine abbey as early as the ninth century[1]. And probably the practice was not peculiar to that monastery. Martene in mentioning this refers also to its use, apparently its daily use at Prime—in two other monasteries, St. Aper or St. Evre at Toul in Lorraine and St. Denys. In these two instances he specifies no dates; but it is natural to presume that they are of some antiquity, if not coeval with the first-named. Both are derived from authoritative documents[2]. The same writer affirms that in the celebrated Church of St. Martin at Tours—also a Benedictine monastery—the brethren resolved unanimously in the year 922 to sing the *Quicunque* on festivals as well as ordinary days[3]. But in a Breviary in accordance with the rites and customs of the Benedictine Order, as observed at Monte Casino, including apparently corrections from the rubrics of the Roman Breviary, described as being decreed by a general Chapter of the Order in 1502 and confirmed by Pope Julius II in 1505, it is ordered to be said only on Sundays at Prime, when the Dominical

[1] Above, I. i. 11.
[2] Martene, *De antiquis monachorum ritibus*, lib. i. cap. iv p. 17, ed. 1788.
[3] Above, I. i. 18.

Office is said[1]. And such seems to be the use of the Order at present[2]. The Cluniacs, who originated in the tenth century, recited the Athanasian Creed daily. So it is expressly stated by Udalric, who wrote his account of their customs at the close of the following century[3]. And the fact supplies an additional argument in support of the daily recitation of the *Quicunque* among the Benedictines in the ninth century, if not earlier, inasmuch as the Cluniac customs were not new institutions, but the observance or revival of practices sanctioned by much earlier use[4]. But notwithstanding this ancient use of the Creed by the Cluniacs, their modern Breviary omits it entirely[5]. A copy of this book, printed at Paris in 1686, may be seen in the Bodleian Library. It is entitled 'Breviarium monasticum sacri ordinis Cluniacensis iuxta regulam sancti Benedicti et mentem Pauli V Pontificis Maximi.' There is a prefatory statement by 'Emmanuel Theodosius a turre-Arverniae

[1] The title of the book is *Breviarium monasticum secundum ritum et morem monachorum ordinis sancti Benedicti de observantia Casinensis congregationis . . . Decretum capituli generalis* 1502 *per Julium II. Pontificem Maximum VI. Cal. Feb. confirmatum: Correctionem a praedicto Augustino de Venetiis factam de rubricis Breviarii nostri approbantes, illam inseri Breviariis impressis et imprimendis omnino statuimus.* It was printed at Venice in 1550.

[2] *Breviarium monasticum*, &c. Mechliniae, 1871.

[3] 'Textus fidei, scilicet *Quicunque*, a Sancto Athanasio, nullo die omittitur, ut non dicatur a nobis.' *Antiquiores consuetudines Cluniacensis monasterii collectore Udalrico monacho Benedictino.* See Migne, *Patrol. Lat.* tom. cxlix. p. 633.

[4] The Benedictine D'Achery, in his *Monitum* on Udalricus's book, says:—'At enim non eo quo collegit tempore Udalricus illas consuetudines primum fuisse conditas, sed a multis retro temporibus iam usu receptas legenti palam fiet, ut id confirmari opus non sit. Quare eas vetustiores nuncupare non dubitavi.' u. s.

[5] After referring to the daily recitation of the *Quicunque* by the monks of Fleury in the ninth century, Meratus continues: 'Sed novum Breviarium Cluniacense hunc morem non servavit, immo Symbolum hoc penitus praetermisit.' Merati *Observationes ad Gavanti Commentarium*, p. 174. So also Grancolas.

miseratione divina S. R. E. tituli S. Petri ad vincula Presbyter Cardinalis Bullionius, Magnus Franciae Eleemosynarius, Electus Abbas, Caput . . . Sacri monasterii ac totius Ordinis Cluniacensis, Omnibus et singulis monachis et monialibus praedicti Ordinis.' It is dated at Clugni in November, 1685, and gives a succinct account of the book, upon what authority it rested, at what time and under what circumstances it was drawn up, how it was accepted and issued by the Order, and what was its design and scope. The Council of Trent decreed that ecclesiastical books should be corrected. A beginning was made with the Roman Breviary, which was revised under Pope Pius V. Then came the turn of the books of the Regular Orders, and the Breviary of the 'Italica familia' of St. Benedict was revised by authority of Paul V. But circumstances delayed the revision of the Cluniac Breviary until during the vacancy of the abbacy in 1676 a solemn assembly of the Order was held, which committed the work to competent hands. The revisers worked with such success that in two years their labours were completed, and the result met with the approval of the assembled Fathers. The book thus revised was also unanimously accepted in a general Chapter held after the appointment of a new abbot, to whom it had been referred; the title already mentioned was decided upon with the same unanimity; and permission was granted to all monasteries and monks of the Order to use it, all other Breviaries in use at the time being abrogated. The object was to restore the Cluniac Breviary to its original condition and to bring it into conformity with the Rule of St. Benedict. Hence if any person should argue that the new Breviary contained some things at variance with the usages of other Churches, the answer was that the Blessed Benedict so willed it. Some

of these discrepancies are specified, one of them being that the Apostles' Creed was not recited at Prime. Nothing is said about the omission of the Athanasian Creed. It may be presumed that this, like the Apostles' Creed, was omitted because it was not inserted originally by Benedict in his Rule. This new Cluniac Breviary did not escape criticism and censure, and at the commencement of the last century was assailed by Jean Batiste Thiers, who urged against it a variety of objections. Particularly he objected to the omission of the Athanasian Creed, alleging that previously it had been said in the whole Church, in the Order of St. Benedict, and in the congregation of Clugni, and was still said in many places daily, although it was not so in the greater number of Churches which were contented with reciting it on Sunday only[1]. The omission however continued to be adhered to, and is to this day I presume adhered to by the Cluniacs, judging from a revised edition of their Breviary which was issued under authority of their Abbot and General in 1779. To resume our point after this brief digression respecting the new Cluniac Breviary, the Athanasian Creed has always been said daily at Prime by the Carthusians[2]. The Cistercians recite it only on Sundays at Prime: such at least I gather to be their modern practice from a corrected Breviary of their Order printed at Paris in 1632; and such appears to have been their practice from the first, for, as before mentioned, it is alleged against them reproachfully, as though it were an innovation at the time, in a letter from Abelard to

[1] *Observations sur le nouveau Breviaire de Cluni*, par Jean Batiste Thiers, Bruxelles, 1702. In reference to the Athanasian Creed, see tom. ii. p. 16.

[2] Bona, *De divina Psalmodia*, Parisiis, 1663, p. 452. Also Martene, *De antiquis Ecclesiae ritibus*, lib. iv. cap. viii. ed. 1788, tom. iii. p. 19. Meratus and Grancolas affirm the same.

St. Bernard[1]. As the Mendicant Orders used the secular Breviary[2], it may be inferred that a recitation on Sundays only was their practice.

In the next place, with regard to the use of the Athanasian Creed in the Church, we stated that it was not only used as a formula of worship, said or sung in the services of the Church as a Canticle or Psalm, but also as a formula or instrument of instruction in the Faith.

The earliest evidences of this latter use of it are found in the employment of its language in sermons on the Apostles' Creed addressed to catechumens at the 'Traditio Symboli,' of which I have produced three instances, the most conspicuous being supplied by the Trèves fragment[3]. This is an evidence which dates as early as the sixth century. In these cases the text is necessarily dealt with in a fragmentary and incidental manner, and the terminology is not always adhered to exactly, but sometimes modified or altered Much more frequently the document as a whole or the greater part of it is made the groundwork and instrument and subject-matter of instruction in the Faith by means of exposition and comment. In some instances, as in the Oratorian Commentary, verse by verse is quoted with its proper comment subjoined, none being passed over without some gloss or note. The reason why the Athanasian Creed was thus made the frequent subject of exposition is emphasized by the author of the Commentary just mentioned, who describes it in his Preface as very helpful to a knowledge of the Faith when supplemented by the sayings of doctors and scholars[4]. Of the fact we

[1] 'Qui Symbolum Athanasii diebus tantum dominicis recitare decrevistis.' *Abelardi Epistolae*, x.

[2] *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, vol. ii. p. 1751.

[3] Above, Part I. chap. i. secs. 2, 3, 4.

[4] Appendix H.

have in our hands the most plain and ample evidence in a series of Commentaries, which were composed during a long period, beginning probably with the end of the sixth or commencement of the seventh century and terminating with the close of the fifteenth, which were moreover not the product of a single country, but, I may say, of all the principal countries within the domain of the Western Church. These Commentaries are sometimes found in Psalters in the form of a succession of notes written either in the margin by the side of the text which is their subject-matter or between the lines—the shorter ones necessarily in the latter position. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries very commonly they occupy two marginal columns, one on each side of the text, which is written in the central column between them. Numerous as are the Commentaries known to us, I believe it would be a mistake to assume that they are all that were ever produced. Future research will probably bring yet more to light; and some we can have little doubt have perished.

The fact that the Athanasian Creed was thus made the frequent subject of comment by our Christian forefathers and used by them as a manual of teaching during a period of considerable duration is an undeniable proof of the great esteem in which they held it, as an exposition of the vital doctrines of the Trinity and Incarnation.

Further, from these circumstances of the Creed being recited in the services of the Church and also used for the purpose of instruction two consequences resulted. For, in the first place, the clergy were of old required to learn it by heart, that they might be able to use it in both ways, in celebration of Divine worship and in teaching the people. That this obligation was imposed upon presbyters I think I have shown sufficiently; firstly, from its being expressly

and repeatedly enjoined by ecclesiastical authority in Canons and Conciliar or Episcopal Capitularies or enactments or charges[1]; then from the circumstance that their knowledge of it was a subject of inquiry at episcopal visitations[2]; and, thirdly, from its being mentioned with the Apostles' Creed and Lord's Prayer in a list of documents dating from the ninth century which the clergy were bound to learn[3].

The second practical consequence of the twofold use which we have noticed of the Athanasian Creed was its translation into the vulgar tongue. It has been already shown[4] that there are versions of it extant at the present day in Greek, English, German, French, Spanish, Bohemian, Italian, the principal languages of Europe; and in four of them, viz. Greek, English, German, and French, there are several different versions. It must be added that the versions, like the commentaries, are spread over a wide tract of time, beginning with the ninth century and ending with the sixteenth. The benefit of the laity was plainly the object of their composition, that they might be able to follow the *Quicunque*, if not to join in it, in Church devoutly and intelligently, to sing with the spirit and to sing with the understanding also, and at the same time to derive from it, whether directly or through the expositions of the clergy, all the instruction it is calculated to impart. Hincmar's Capitulum directed his presbyters to enuntiate it *in common words*, which Waterland understands to mean, and no doubt rightly, the vulgar tongue.

It is obvious to remark that these versions are a clear evidence of the widespread use and reception of the *Qui-*

[1] Above, Part I. chap. ii. secs. 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, and 12.
[2] Part I. chap. ii. secs. 4 and 9.
[3] Above, I. ii. 4.
[4] Part I. chap. v.

cunque in Europe generally in the Middle Ages. But they also prove, as I particularly wish to point out, that its use was not confined to the clergy, as is sometimes asserted to have been the case. Had its use been confined to the clergy, what need could there have been to translate it into the vernacular at all, the clergy necessarily possessing a sufficient knowledge of the original? Had it been so, speaking solely with reference to our own country, to what purpose were those Saxon glosses and versions, which we find in Psalters of the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries, written between the lines of the text; or the French versions compiled in our country between the Norman Conquest and the fourteenth century for the use evidently of the French-speaking upper classes; or the two English versions, attributed respectively to Schorham and Wyclif, produced in that century, when the English language was growing into wider use and beginning to assert for itself the supremacy?

In the late Middle Ages we have another evidence of its popular use in its occasional appearance in books of Hours, which were books of devotion for the use of the laity more especially. A remarkable instance of this is found in its insertion in a Greek version of the Latin Hours, first edited by Aldus at the end of the fifteenth century[1].

Next, we shall proceed to trace the early reception and use of the Athanasian Creed in the various countries and Churches of Western Christendom. In approaching this part of our subject it is necessary to dismiss from the mind the notion of a prevalent uniformity of ritual in ancient times, as though ceremonies had been 'in all places one and utterly like,' whereas 'at all times they have been divers[2].' Though it may safely be asserted that our docu-

[1] Part I. chap. v. 1.

[2] Article xxxiv.

ment has been received and used for more than a thousand years in the Western Church, we cannot prove to demonstration its universal reception even in the West for so long a period. Necessarily it was received and used in some countries and local Churches earlier than others, spreading from one to another by a gradual advance, not bursting upon all at once with the irresistible force and instantaneous rapidity of lightning. One more preliminary remark suggests itself, that to expect full and exact and explicit information respecting the early history of the *Quicunque* would be unreasonable considering our great ignorance of the remote ages into which it penetrates and how very few (comparatively speaking) of the documents which they produced have survived to our times. The evidence is from the nature of the case limited and incomplete, but still of real value, so far as it goes.

The evidence on the whole appears to point to France as the country in which the Athanasian Creed was first received and used. So early as the sixth century it must have been esteemed there a document of credit and authority, if we may judge from the adoption of its terminology in two sermons on the Apostles' Creed preached at the 'Traditio Symboli,' both belonging to that epoch and country[1]. And in the next century we learn from the Canon of Autun that in Burgundy at least the clergy were required to learn it by heart under penalty of ecclesiastical censure in the event of disobedience; from which it would appear probable that in the same century they recited it in Divine service. And this indeed is corroborated by the Preface to the Oratorian Commentary, a work, as we have seen reason to believe, of the end of the seventh century or beginning of the eighth, which speaks of its being recited

[1] Above, Part I. chap. i. 2, 3.

in Churches here and there[1]. As it is uncertain in what country the so-called Fortunatus and Troyes Commentaries were composed, they cannot be adduced as witnesses to the early reception and use of our document in France. But the Oratorian and the Paris Commentaries, the latter being a work either of the eighth or seventh century, prove that in the former century, if not earlier, it must have been well known in that country and studied and valued as an authoritative exposition of Christian dogma. And this is confirmed by the statement found in the Oratorian Preface that in manuscripts even then old it was ascribed by the title to Athanasius. In the Canon of Autun too, dating a little earlier, it is actually so entitled. No doubt our Christian forefathers were mistaken in their belief that the great opponent of Arianism was the author of the *Quicunque*, but none the less the fact of their so believing is a proof of the esteem in which they held it. And at the close of the eighth century we have evidence of its use in France in two remarkable Psalters, both connected with Charlemagne, one being dedicated to him by the scribe, now deposited in the Imperial Library at Vienna, the other written in triumphal celebration of his victories, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris[2]. It must be added that the evidence of these Psalters, though it applies particularly to France, cannot be limited to that portion of Charlemagne's dominions, inasmuch as it proves that the use of the *Quicunque* had his approval and sanction; and his sovereign authority, it must be recollected, was freely exercised in regard to spiritual matters as well as secular. In the ninth century the proofs of the use and reception of our Creed in France are ample and clear. Theodulf, Bishop of Orleans, exhorts his presbyters to learn it by

[1] Appendix H.

[2] Part I. iii. 4 and 5.

heart, to study so as thoroughly to understand it and to preach it to the people, i.e. to recite and explain it in the congregation [1]. Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims, in his Capitula enacts that every presbyter should commit it to memory and understand its meaning and be able to explain it in the vernacular [2]. Similarly Riculfus of Soissons charges each one of his presbyters to learn it, as well as the Psalms, by heart, and that truthfully and accurately [3]. And these were not exceptional instances: rather what was thus enjoined seems to have been generally enjoined from the time of Charlemagne by bishops in the visitation of their dioceses, and to have been one of the subjects of official inquiry upon the same occasion [4]. Accordingly our document is found in a list of documents which the clergy were required to learn [5]. All this would be sufficient illustration of our point. But in addition we find mention of the Athanasian Creed being sung daily in the important abbey of Fleury on the Loire [6]; and we have in our hands tangible proof of its use both in monastic and secular Churches in two Psalters of this century which contain it, one monastic—the Achadeus Psalter in the Parker Library at Cambridge [7], the other secular—the costly Psalter of the Emperor Charles the Bald now at Paris [8]. And the letter of Florus the Deacon of Lyons, which treats of its admission to Psalters as a customary and long-established practice at the time, is a comment upon its appearance in these Psalters, teaching us to see in this nothing peculiar, nothing abnormal, and showing that they are not to be regarded as the only Psalters of their age and country which contained it, but rather as samples of

[1] See above, I. ii. 3. [2] Above, I. ii. 7. [3] Above, I. ii. 8.
[4] I. ii. 4, 9 and 10. [5] I. ii. 4. [6] I. i. 10. [7] I. iii. 15.
[8] I. iii. 14.

a vast multitude of others which did so, all of which are now lost to us through the waste and destruction of documents which have been continually going on. I have omitted any mention here of the Utrecht Psalter, although most probably it may be assigned to the early part of this century, as nothing seems to be known for certain respecting the locality which produced it.

It might possibly be argued from the fact of the Athanasian Creed not being mentioned in Amalarius's account of the Office of Prime contained in his work *De Ecclesiasticis Officiis*, that it could not have been recited in Divine service in France during the reign of the Emperor Louis the Meek, to whom that work was dedicated, and still less during the reign of his father. But this negative argument cannot overthrow the positive evidences of its recital in both reigns furnished by the two Psalters above mentioned as connected with Charlemagne, by the letter of Florus the Deacon [1], and by the Capitulare and Capitula of Theodulf [2]. Moreover, from the writings of two contemporary divines, both men of reputation for learning in their age and of eminence and weight in the Church of Lyons in which Amalarius held the office of Chorepiscopus, we are able to gather in what estimation he was held, and whether the ritual described in his work was strictly observed in that Church, where if anywhere we might expect it would have been observed. The first of these is Agobard, who was Bishop of Lyons it may be said during the whole of Louis' reign. He not only composed a book criticizing and censuring the work of Amalarius, but also describes him as 'a foolish and unprincipled person,' who 'was constantly harassing our holy Church, the Church of Lyons, not only by words, but also

[1] I. i. 12. [2] I. i. 8.

by his writings, as though it did not celebrate rightly nor after the manner and use of our fathers the solemn offices of Divine worship[1].' The second—Florus the Deacon of Lyons, whose letter to Hyldrad has been previously noticed—is if possible even more severe in his strictures. In a letter addressed to several bishops he speaks of the work of Amalarius as 'being full of absurdities and errors, so much so as to make him the object of ridicule and contempt,' and concludes by stating that he had 'endeavoured to introduce scandalous errors and superstitions contrary to the truth of the Scriptures, the authority of the Fathers, and the reasonable order of the Church[2].' He also says that the case of Amalarius was submitted to a Council of bishops specially assembled by command of Louis the Meek, and his teaching was condemned as at variance with the true faith and unknown to any of the orthodox Fathers[3]. Such being the sentiments of bishops and clergy, who were contemporaries and fellow-countrymen of Amalarius, respecting him and his work on the Offices of the Church, is it possible to suppose that it was accepted by them as the code of ritual for their Church and ministry?

After France it would appear that the Athanasian Creed was received and used in North Italy earlier than in any country; and this we should expect to find if, as I believe to be probable, it emanated from Lerins. It must have been received and used in some diocese of that country as early as the sixth century if the Ballerini are right respecting the date of the 'Epistola Canonica' and the reference of

[1] See Migne, *Patrol. Lat.* tom. civ. p. 339; also *ibid.* p. 325.

[2] Migne, *Patrol. Lat.* tom. cxix. pp. 77–79, *Epistola Flori adversus adinventiones Amalarii.*

[3] Flori *opusculum de causa fidei apud Carisiacense episcoporum concilium nuper habita*; u. s.

its first Capitulum[1]; and the opinion of those learned canonists is entitled to some deference. In the tenth century Atto, Bishop of Vercellae, drew up for the use of his own diocese a new Capitulare or series of injunctions, and adopted as one of them this first Capitulum of the Epistola Canonica, clearly understanding it and intending others to understand it as referring to the *Quicunque*[2]. Here then is a testimony to the sense in which that Capitulum was received by a learned man of the tenth century, a bishop of the same country, possibly of the same province, it may be of the same diocese, in which it was originally issued, as well as to the use of the Creed under authority at that epoch. In the same century also we are informed that in another diocese in North Italy, situated at some distance from Vercellae and in a different province, viz. Verona, the clergy were required by their bishop to learn it by heart together with the two other Creeds, as well as to recite it[3]. In connexion with these authoritative injunctions it should be considered that our document is found in an extant contemporaneous Psalter, which from internal evidence appears to have been compiled either in the diocese of Milan or some other diocese of the province to which it belonged—Liguria[4]. But the most important evidence of the early reception and use of the *Quicunque* in North Italy is furnished by the fact of its being said—as we have every reason to believe from a remote antiquity—in the Milanese or Ambrosian rite or office of Divine worship, being sung daily at Prime, as already mentioned. The Ambrosian rite or book of Offices, it must be remembered, is distinct in origin and type from other rites of the Western Church, whether secular or monastic, from the former as repre-

[1] Above, I. ii. 1. [2] Above, I. ii. 11. [3] I. ii. 12.
[4] I. iii. 21.

sented principally by the Gregorian or Roman Breviary, from the latter as represented principally by the Benedictine Two of its peculiarities may be worth mentioning, as they are both indications of antiquity—its retention of the Roman Psalter, and the fact of its showing Greek influences, particularly in regard to the Canticles, which are different from those usually found in Latin Psalters [1]. Hence the appearance of the Athanasian Creed in the Ambrosian Offices possesses a peculiar significance as an independent testimony to its early origin and use. Dr. Ceriani, the learned custodian of the Ambrosian Library and Canon of Milan Cathedral, with his usual readiness to communicate information, has written in answer to my inquiries that 'he is not aware of any manuscript evidence of the use of the Athanasian Symbol in the Ambrosian Office earlier than the MS. dating about the eleventh century of the Ambrosian Breviary, which is preserved in the Library of the Chapter of Milan Cathedral. Just towards the end there occurs the Ordinary of the First, Third, Sixth, and Ninth Hours and Compline; and in the Hour of Prime is indicated the recital of the Athanasian Symbol at the same place, where it is recited even now, immediately after the Epistolella. Other manuscript Breviaries of the tenth and eleventh centuries are mutilated and do not include the Order of the small Hours of the Office. But the Breviary of the Metropolitan Chapter agrees with them in the most ancient parts, and its testimony proves the use of its time; but there is nothing to indicate that that use commenced then only.' Dr. Ceriani went on to express his regret at not being able to supply more ample information,

[1] See *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, article on *Psalmody*, vol. ii. p. 1752. The Abbé Duchesne traces Greek influence in the Ambrosian Liturgy also; *Origines du Culte Chrétien*, chap. iii. § 2.

adding: 'Whilst we have MSS. of the Ambrosian Mass of the commencement of the ninth century, complete or nearly so, in regard to the Breviary we are less fortunate.' I must avouch that the regret expressed by the learned Librarian appears to me to be groundless. Neither the Roman nor the Benedictine Breviaries, there seems every reason to believe, were compiled before the time of Gregory VII, i. e. earlier than the latter part of the eleventh century, and the earliest MS. known of either is dated A.D. 1099[1]. How then could we expect to find a MS. of the Ambrosian Breviary, which compared with either of those rites was used within a very small area, of earlier date than the eleventh century? In all probability the MSS. of the Ambrosian Breviary, from which the Offices for the small Hours, including of course the Athanasian Creed, are absent in consequence of their mutilation, in their original complete condition contained the Creed. However this be, whenever it was inserted in the Ambrosian Breviary—and, as we see, that could not have taken place later than the eleventh century, and most probably took place earlier—we may be sure that it must have been previously used for some considerable time in the services of the Milanese Church.

Next, we pass to Germany. And here the Trèves fragment meets us on the threshold; but, notwithstanding the importance of that document as a proof of the antiquity of the Athanasian Creed, clearly it would be irrelevant to adduce it in testimony to its early use and reception in Germany, or indeed any other particular country, for this very obvious reason, that we are in perfect ignorance as to the locality in which the sermon, of which the said

[1] See *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities,* article *Breviary*; also above, I. iii. 27.

fragment formed a portion originally, was preached, no less than as to the person who preached or composed it. We do not know in what country that sermon was composed, whether Germany or France or Italy or any other country. We do not even know that the MS. at Trèves, in which the writer of the Paris MS. containing this fragment found it and from which he copied it, was written at that place. It may have been written there, but there is no proof that it was; it may have been brought there from some other place. Apart from this, however, there is abundant evidence of the reception and use of the Athanasian Creed in Germany from the close of the eighth century downwards. This is found first of all in the two remarkable Psalters of that epoch connected with Charlemagne, which have been already mentioned in this section, one deposited at Vienna, the other at Paris, and which, as bearing so to speak his image and superscription, obviously point to the conclusion that under his sovereign approval and in his time the Creed was used in Divine service in Germany as well as France. The Vienna Psalter too is specially associated with the former country by the recorded tradition that it was for some time one of the treasures of the Church of Bremen, having been presented to it originally by Charlemagne himself[1]. And the testimony of these Psalters is corroborated by other evidence, which shows that from the time of Charlemagne the *Quicunque* was required within his dominions, and therefore in Germany, to be learnt and expounded by the clergy, and was made a subject of direction and admonition by bishops in the visitation of their dioceses, and also of inquiry[2]. Thus early in the ninth century Hatto or Hetto or Ahyto of Basle in his Capitula ordered his clergy to learn our document

[1] Above, I. iii. 4.

[2] Above, I. ii. 4.

by heart and recite it on Sundays[1]. And in a more important series of Capitula and of wider application—which has hitherto escaped notice—drawn up in the reign of the Emperor Lothair and within his dominions, its use and observance are enjoined upon clergy, and that as matters of canonical obligation concerning which they must render account to the bishop in synod[2]. As illustrating this canonical use of it in the time of Lothair and with his sanction, we can point to a sumptuous Psalter—also lately come to light—written in honour of that Emperor and containing his portrait[3]. Side by side with this may fitly be considered another Psalter of the same epoch—that commonly called Athelstan's Psalter in the Cotton Collection—which Sir Edward Thompson has shown as far as regards its substance, i. e. the Psalms and Canticles, including of course the Athanasian Creed, to have been written in Germany[4]. So early as the middle of this century it was used in that country for purposes of devotion and instruction by the laity as well as the clergy, as we learn from the fact of its being inserted, together with the Lord's Prayer, a list of *Peccata criminalia*, the Apostles' Creed, and the Gloria in excelsis, in the *Catechesis Theotisca*, each document being accompanied by a German translation[5]. Other evidences of the early use and reception of the Athanasian Creed in Germany occur in the request made for its recital at his death-bed by Anscharius, Archbishop of Hamburg and Bremen[6], and in the work upon Ecclesiastical Discipline, compiled by Regino Abbot of Prum at the beginning of the tenth century, wherein one of the inquiries to be made of presbyters by the bishop or his representatives has respect to their knowledge of

[1] I. ii. 5. [2] I. ii. 6. [3] I. iii. 9. [4] I. iii. 11. [5] I. v. 3. [6] I. i. 14.

'the discourse of Bishop Athanasius concerning the Faith of the Holy Trinity[1].' It must be remembered that Regino's book is avowedly drawn from earlier documents, and may therefore be considered a record of long-established usage.

Of the use and reception of the Athanasian Creed by our Saxon forefathers in our own Church and country ample proof has been alleged. At the end of the eighth century Denebert in his profession of faith at his consecration to the bishopric of the Wiccii or Worcester quotes several verses of it as the expression of his belief in the doctrine of the Holy Trinity: and he introduces his quotation by a term which would be most unfitting unless it were used in reference to a well-known and authoritative document[2]. Of its use in the Offices of the English Church prior to the Norman Conquest visible memorials exist in three Psalters of the tenth century, one deposited in the British Museum, another in the Lambeth Library, the third in the Cathedral Library at Salisbury[3]. And their witness is continued down to the Norman Conquest and later by other Psalters, three of which only I have deemed it sufficient to mention[4]. This testimony is confirmed and illustrated by Abbo of Fleury, a competent witness in the matter, inasmuch as he had spent some time in England, who, writing at the close of the tenth century, states from his own knowledge that in the Church of England as well as in France the *Quicunque* was then sung antiphonally[5]. Contemporaneous with this evidence of its devotional use in our country we have an indication of its being used also for the purposes of popular instruction in the fact that language and phrases obviously borrowed from it are incorporated into Ælfric's Homily

[1] I. ii. 9. [2] Above, I. i. 5. [3] I. iii. 17, 18, and 19.
[4] I. iii. 23, 24, 25. [5] I. i. 21.

on the Catholic Faith[1]. And we can point to a still more conspicuous proof of its use not being confined to the clergy in another fact, viz. that in Psalters dating from the tenth century to the twelfth it is accompanied by an interlinear Saxon gloss or version[2]. What was the object of this vernacular gloss or version but to enable the people or laity better to understand the meaning of the original document, to sing with the understanding as well as the heart?

The fact of the earliest known MS. of the Athanasian Creed being written in an Irish hand of the eighth century obviously points to the inference that our document must have been known and esteemed in the Irish Church at that period[3]. And this is a point of real interest considering the independent position of that Church in the early Middle Ages, the peculiarities of its organization and ritual, and its great missionary activity. Another evidence of the connexion of the *Quicunque* with the ancient Irish Church has been adduced in a manuscript written not later than A.D. 1100, which the late Bishop Reeves was the first to draw attention to[4].

Of the early use and reception of the Athanasian Creed in Central Italy and Rome we possess comparatively but little information. Grancolas asserts it to be impossible to say at what time it was inserted in the Roman Office[5], Meratus makes the same assertion[6]. No doubt they are

[1] I. i. 22.

[2] The Eadwin Psalter of the time of Stephen, belonging to Trinity College, Cambridge, contains a Saxon as well as a French version, as previously mentioned. Saxon glosses appear also in all but one of the six Psalters just referred to, besides others.

[3] I. iii. 1. [4] I. i. 23.

[5] 'On ne peut dire à quel temps on a inséré *Quicunque* dans l'Office Romain.' *La Liturgie*, Paris, 1752, p. 333.

[6] 'Quo tempore hoc Symbolum Romano Officio insertum fuerit, exploratum

right; but it may be worth while to inquire how far back the evidence we can produce enables us to trace its connexion with the Roman Office. Its appearance in Roman Breviaries, both printed and manuscript, necessarily points to the inference that it had a place in the Roman Breviary from the time when that book was originally compiled and adopted into use. And this inference is confirmed by the statement of Guyetus, above mentioned, that it is found in *all* ancient Breviaries, and by the fact that Honorius of Autun describes it at the commencement of the twelfth century as one of the four Creeds which 'the Catholic Church preserves in their integrity in the four regions of the world'—if so, in Italy and Rome; and he adds that it was recited at Prime daily[1]. It must be particularly considered that it appears in the earliest manuscript Breviary extant, a book written in the Benedictine monastery at Monte Casino at the end of the eleventh century, and probably used there[2]. And this is a consideration of some moment, as the compilation of the Breviary is commonly attributed to Gregory VII, meaning I presume that it was executed under his authority and direction, at any rate during his pontificate, which was but a little antecedent in date—1073 to 1085. There is thus good reason for believing that our document had a place in the Roman Breviary as originally constructed. And this being the case, it must have been previously used, probably for some considerable time, in the Roman Office. This we might

non habemus.' Gavanti *Thesaurus cum Observationibus* Merati, Paris, 1763, tom. ii. p. 173.

[1] 'Fidem Catholicam quatuor temporibus editam, imo roboratam, Ecclesia Catholica recipit et in quatuor mundi climatibus custodit'; and afterwards, 'Quarto, fidem *Quicunque vult* quotidie ad Primam iterat.' See above, I. i. 24 note, where the passage is quoted *in extenso*.

[2] Above, I. iii. 27.

conclude *a priori*. But we are not without evidence in support of such conclusion. Of the monastic use of the *Quicunque* in Central Italy, and probably in Rome or its neighbourhood, in the eleventh and tenth centuries, we have seen proof in two manuscript Psalters above noticed—Canonici Patr. Lat. 88 and Vat. 84 [1]. But these, being Benedictine books, can prove nothing as to its contemporaneous use in secular Churches in Central Italy or Rome. For evidence on this point we may turn to the very remarkable letter addressed by Abelard to St. Bernard, probably about 1130 A.D.[2] Abelard had been accused by St. Bernard of allowing an innovation in the daily Hour services. He replies by retorting sharply the charge of innovation upon the Order, viz. the Cistercians, to which his accuser belonged, and that in several particulars: 'You, who are but newly sprung into being and who delight exceedingly in novelty, by certain novel decrees have appointed the Divine Office to be celebrated among yourselves in a manner different from the custom of all, clerks as well as monks, which had been long before in use and continues to be so at the present day [3].' One of the innovations with which he charges the Cistercians was that they had 'decreed that the Symbol of Athanasius should be recited on Sundays only [4].' This was clearly an innovation at the time when the Cistercian Order was founded—the close of the eleventh century—the daily recital of the Creed being then the general, if not the universal practice, as we have before noticed in accordance with the testimony of Honorius of

[1] I. iii. 22, 26. [2] Migne, *Patrol. Lat.* tom. clxxviii. pp. 335–339.

[3] 'Vos quippe, quasi noviter exorti ac de novitate plurimum gaudentes, praeter consuetudinem omnium, tam clericorum quam monachorum, longe ante habitam et nunc quoque permanentem, novis quibusdam decretis aliter apud vos divinum officium instituistis agi.'

[4] 'Symbolum Athanasii diebus tantum dominicis recitare decrevistis.'

Autun and Udalricus. And it is inconceivable that the Roman Church could have been an exception to the general practice. Abelard in making this charge of innovation must have been well aware of the 'custom of clerks as well as monks' in that great centre, long before in use and still continuing, and indeed must have had it before his mind, for in this very letter he makes a distinct and express allusion to a remarkable diversity of use connected with the Divine Office between the Lateran, its mother Church, and its other Churches, including the Basilica of St. Peter's, thus showing that he possessed an accurate knowledge of the religious observances prevalent there in his own day and for some time previous. It seems then certain that the Athanasian Creed was recited in the Roman Office in the eleventh century before its revision by Gregory VII, and probably it was so yet earlier in the tenth. In the ninth century—probably about 820—Amalarius in his account of Prime, which is full and particular, makes no mention of it, as we have before stated, speaking only of the Apostles' Creed as being recited[1]. Hence it is obvious that at that time it could not have been inserted in the Roman Office, if the work of Amalarius is descriptive of that, as Monsieur Batiffol considers[2]. But this does not appear to be the case if we may judge from the author's own words. In his prologue to another work, *De Ordine Antiphonarii*, he, i.e. Amalarius, dwells upon the manifold discrepancy between the Roman Antiphonary and that in use in his own Church and country—'in nostra provincia,' the province of Lugdunensis Prima, of which Lyons was the metropolis. He had compared the two,

[1] Amalarius, *de Officiis Ecclesiasticis*, iv. 2. See Migne, *Patrol. Lat.* tom. cv. pp. 1165–1169.

[2] *Histoire du Bréviaire Romain*, p. 282.

and his plan in arranging his own book was to follow neither exclusively, but in some places one and in some the other, as the one or the other appeared to him preferable, and in passages, where neither approved itself to his judgement, he inserted something more in accordance with reason[1]. This would lead us to expect that if the Roman Office had been before him when he composed his work on the Offices of the Church, or if he had followed it in whole or in part, he would have said so. But neither in his dedicatory preface addressed to Louis the Meek nor his other preface does he mention the Roman Office at all; he speaks only of 'our Offices' and 'our Office,' the Offices clearly of his own Church of Lyons. 'My ardent desire,' he says, 'was to know what the early authors and framers of our Offices had in their minds'; but adds: 'I could scarcely affirm that I had put into writing precisely what they thought out': hence he apprehended the censure of his critics for having written a dangerous book, not giving a true representation of 'the minds of the authors of our Offices[2].' Thus it appears that in the composition of his work on Church Offices he made no use of the Roman Office, that he had the Offices of his own Church alone before him, but these he did not follow closely nor literally nor fully—a circumstance which goes far to account for the hostility manifested against him and his book by the Metropolitan and other Bishops and authorities of the Church of Lyons. It may be added that it was not till

[1] Amalarius, *de Ordine Antiphonarii, Prologus*; Migne, *Patrol. Lat.* tom. cv. pp. 1243, 1244.

[2] 'Ardor mihi inerat ut scirem quid priores auctores haberent in corde, qui nostra officia statuerunt. Sed quia difficillimum mihi est affirmare ut identidem scripsissem quod illi meditabantur,' &c. 'Defendar ab illis qui me voluerint carpere, quasi periculose scripsissem, eo quod mentes auctorum officii nostri non praesentes haberem.' Amalarii *de Ecclesiasticis Officiis libri, Praefatio*; Migne, u. s. p. 987.

after he wrote his work on the Offices that he visited Rome, when he was sent there by the Emperor and applied on his behalf to the Pope—then Gregory IV—for a copy of the Roman Antiphonary. And if his book was not based upon the Roman Office, clearly the absence of any mention of the Athanasian Creed is no proof that it was not at the time recited in the basilicas and secular churches at Rome. But, on the other hand, there seems no evidence that it was. When it was inserted in the Roman Office is a matter of uncertainty, as the Liturgists assert. And this want of evidence of its use at Rome, at least as regards the secular churches, in the ninth century is a striking fact, considering the abundant evidence which we have of its use at the same epoch to the north of the Alps in France and Germany. It did not come to us from Rome, we have reason to believe, but from France.

We cannot be surprised at the absence of any early evidence of the use and reception of the Athanasian Creed in South Italy and Sicily, as it appears that the Greek rite was prevalent in the former country as late as the twelfth century, and in the latter later still—in the thirteenth [1].

Our document, having no place in the Mozarabic rite, could not have been used in Spain and Portugal until the year 1091, when that rite was finally abolished and the Gallican Office and Psalter substituted for it; the change being carried through, to the great sorrow of the people,

[1] 'The natives of Calabria were still'—A. D. 1155—'attached to the Greek language and worship, which had been inexorably proscribed by the Latin clergy.' Gibbon's *History*, Milman's edition, 1839, vol. x. p. 304. See also pp. 239, 240. Milman says that in the thirteenth century 'the Greek Christians were still in considerable numbers in the kingdom of Sicily, had their own priests, and celebrated undisturbed their own rites.' *Latin Christianity*, vol. iv. p. 262.

by Alphonso VI, king of Castile and Leon, actuated by two very potent influences, that of the Pope and that of his wife, Constance daughter of Robert, duke of Burgundy, who was fondly attached to the religious usages of her native country[1]. The Gallican Office being thus introduced into Spain, the *Quicunque* necessarily came into use with it.

Thus far I have referred to the use and reception of the Athanasian Creed in the Western Church only. In the Eastern Orthodox Church it has never been received as a Creed, nor in any of its branches, including of course its most important and vigorous branch, the Russian Church. Nor has it ever been recited in the Offices of the Eastern Church, nor those of any of her branches. The same may be said of the Apostles' Creed. Both these Creeds are Western documents. The Constantinopolitan Creed of course without the *Filioque* clause—the Nicene so-called—is the Creed said in the Eastern Offices, as in the Eastern Liturgy, viz. at Compline and the Midnight Office[2]. An undue significance has been attached, it must be admitted, sometimes of late to the insertion of our document in the only form in which the Greeks acknowledge it—without the καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ in ver. 22—in the Appendix of the modern Greek Horologium, as though proving its reception by the Greek Church, whereas that very position shows that it has no place in the Offices of the Horologium. At the same time, the fact of its being admitted to this position under the express and repeated sanction of the ecclesiastical authorities at Constantinople may be understood apparently to indicate the acceptance and approval

[1] Appendix D.

[2] See Neale, *Eastern Church*, pp. 910 and 912. Also Ὡρολόγιον τὸ μέγα, Venice, 1868, pp. 15 and 157.

of our Creed on the part of the Eastern Church as a doctrinal formula, barring the doctrine of the double Procession of the Holy Ghost. On this point, the marked exclusion of the words 'and of the Son,' especially when considered in connexion with the evident allusion to it in the subjoined note, can only be regarded, I fear, as accentuating the difference between the Eastern and Western Churches[1]. With a similar reservation it is necessary to understand the guarded language of Plato, Archbishop of Moscow, in regard to its use and acceptance by the Russian Church: 'Our Church acknowledges the Symbol of St. Athanasius and it has a place among ecclesiastical books, we are also enjoined to follow the faith which it teaches, but it is never recited. It is sufficient for us that it contains nothing which is not agreeable with sound and orthodox doctrine[2].' This must have reference to the Creed only in the text regarded as authentic by Eastern theologians. It is necessary to add that the insertion of it in the Horologium, dating as has been shown above[3] from so recent a period as the latter part of the eighteenth century, can have no significance except as regards the modern Eastern Church.

The Armenian Church, to the best of my knowledge, is the only Eastern community which receives the Athanasian Creed. According to Neale, it 'possesses nine principal confessions of Faith. Three of these are the Apostles', the Nicene, and the Athanasian Creeds;

[1] See above, I. v. 1, g. pp. 300–304.

[2] 'Symbolum Sancti Athanasii Ecclesia nostra agnoscit, et inter libros ecclesiasticos reperitur, et ut eius fidem sequamur inculcatur, tamen nunquam recitatur. Satis pro nobis est, quod nihil quidquam in se contineat, quod sanae atque orthodoxae doctrinae non sit consentaneum.' Quoted by Nares, *Discourses on the Three Creeds*, p. 82.

[3] See I. v. 1, g. pp. 300–304.

the first and last of which it probably received through Rome[1].' I should apprehend that it does not receive it with the words 'and the Son' in reference to the Procession, but on this point I am unable to state anything for certain. The same author adds that he believes 'that the Armenians, however much unhappily separated from the Eastern Church, are not really heretical[2].' They are separated from the Eastern Church, it must be remembered, in consequence of their lying under the imputation of Monophysitism and rejecting the Council of Chalcedon.

[1] *Holy Eastern Church*, Part I, p. 1083.
[2] See u. s., *Dissertation II.*

OPUS FINITUM EST. DEO GRATIAS.

APPENDIX.

A.

Copy of the fragment of a discourse in the Paris Bibliothèque Nationale MS. Latin, 3836 (Colbert, 784), closely related to the Athanasian Creed. This fragment has been frequently, but inaccurately, described as the Colbertine MS. of the Creed.

HAEC INVINI TREVERIS IN UNO LIBRO SCRIPTUM . SIC INCIPIENTE DOMINI NOSTRI IHESU CHRISTI . ET RELIQUA DOMINI NOSTRI . IHESU CHRISTI FIDELITER CREDAT. Est ergo fides recta ut credamus et confitemur quia dominus ihesus christus dei filius. Deus pariter et homo est. Deus est de substancia patris. Ante saecula genitus. Et homo de substancia matris in saeculo natus. perfectus deus. perfectus homo ex anima rationabili. et humana carne subsistens aequalis patri saecundum divinitatem minor patri. secundum humanitatem qui licet deus. sit homo non duo tamen sed unus est christus. unus autem non ex eo quod sit in carne. Conversa divinitas. sed quia est in deo adsumpta dignanter humanitas. unus christus est non confusione substanciae sed unitatem personae qui secundum fidem nostram passus et mortuos ad inferna discendens. Et die tertia resurrexit adque ad celos ascendit. Ad dexteram dei patris sedet sicut vobis in simbulo tradutum est Inde ad iudicandos vivos et mortuos. credimus et speramus eum esse venturum. Ad cuius adventum erunt omnes homines. sine dubio in suis corporibus resurrecturi et reddituri de factis propriis rationem ut qui bona egerunt eant in vitam aeternam qui mala in ignem aeternum. Haec est fides. sancta et catholica. quam omnes homo qui ad vitam aeternam pervenire desiderat scire integrae debet. et fideliter custodire.

In the above transcript I have endeavoured to reproduce accurately the spelling and punctuation of the MS. as represented in the facsimile of the Palaeographical Society. The capitals also have been copied. The contractions I have omitted: besides those of the sacred name, there are but three. The line in the MS. commencing *de substancia patris* and ending *natus. per* appears to have been rewritten, but by the original writer, as it is in smaller and more compressed characters than the rest, though evidently by the same hand: it shows marks also of erasure throughout, which are perceptible in the MS. though they cannot be detected in the facsimile. Probably, after the scribe had copied the fragment, he found that some words had been omitted from this line, and he rewrote it on purpose to bring them in. What confirms this conjecture is, that the words *dō est* seem to have been added on at the end of the preceding line. Dr. Swainson asserted that the words thus omitted in the first instance were *ante saecula genitus*[1]: but there could be no ground for the assertion, as it must be quite impossible to determine what the words were.

B.

Copy of the latter part of the 'Admonitio synodalis antiqua' relating to ritual.

De ministerio etiam vobis commisso vos admonere curamus, ut unusquisque vestrum, si fieri potest, expositionem Symboli et Orationem Dominicam iuxta traditionem orthodoxorum Patrum penes se habeat scriptam et eam pleniter intelligat et inde praedicando populum sibi commissum sedulo instruat: si non, saltem teneat vel credat. Orationes quoque Missarum et praefationes et Canonem bene intelligat. Et si non, saltem distincte ac memoriter proferre valeat. Epistolam et Evangelium bene legere possit: et utinam saltem ad literam eius sensum posset manifestare. Psalmorum verba et distinctiones regulariter ex corde cum canticis consuetudinariis pronuntiare sciat. Sermonem Athanasii de fide sanctae Trinitatis, cuius initium est *Quicunque vult*, memoriter teneat et omni die cantet. Exorcismos et

[1] *The Nicene and Apostles' Creeds*, p. 319 note.

orationes ad Catechumenum faciendum, ad fontem quoque consecrandum, aut reliquas preces super masculum et feminam pluraliter et singulariter valeat et sciat distincte proferre. Similiter ordinem baptizandi ad succurrendum infirmis. Ordinem quoque reconciliandi iuxta modum sibi canonice reservatum atque ungendi infirmos, orationes quoque eidem necessitati competentes, bene saltem sciat legere. Similiter ordinem et preces in exsequiis atque agendis defunctorum. Similiter exorcismos et benedictiones salis et aquae memoriter teneat. Canticum nocturnum atque diurnum noverit. Computum, si non maiorem, saltem minorem, id est, epactas, concurrentes, regulares, terminos paschales, et reliquos, si est possibile, sapiat. Martyrologium et Paenitentiale habeat, ut secundum quod ibi scriptum est interroget confitentem.

See Regino *de Ecclesiasticis Disciplinis*, edidit Baluzius, 1671, Paris. p. 604; *Appendix actorum veterum*, No. 2. Also Migne, *Patrol. Lat.* tom. cxxxi. pp. 455–8.

C.

Confession of Faith in the Sarum 'Ordo ad visitandum infirmum.'

Rubric: *Deinde priusquam ungatur infirmus aut communicetur, exhortetur eum sacerdos hoc modo.*

Frater carissime, quia viam universae carnis ingressurus es, esto firmus in fide. Qui enim non est firmus in fide, infidelis est: et sine fide impossibile est placere Deo. Et ideo, si salvus esse volueris, ante omnia opus est, ut teneas Catholicam Fidem: quam nisi integram inviolatamque servaveris, absque dubio in aeternum peribis.

Rubric: *Deinde bonum et valde expediens est ut sacerdos exprimat infirmo XIIII articulos fidei, quorum VII primi ad mysterium Trinitatis et VII alii ad Christi humanitatem pertinent: ut si forte prius in aliquo ipsorum erraverit, titubaverit, vel dubius fuerit, ante mortem, dum adhuc spiritus unitus est carni, ad fidem solidam reducatur: et potest sacerdos dicere sic.*

Fides autem Catholica haec est, frater. Credere in unum

Deum: hoc est, in unitate divinae essentiae: in trium personarum indivisibili Trinitate. II. Patrem ingenitum esse Deum. III. Unigenitum Dei Filium: esse Deum per omnia coaequalem Patri. IIII. Spiritum Sanctum, non genitum, non factum, non creatum: sed a Patre et Filio pariter procedentem: esse Deum Patri Filioque consubstantialem etiam et aequalem. V. Creationem caeli et terrae, id est, omnis visibilis et invisibilis creaturae a tota indivisibili Trinitate. VI. Sanctificationem Ecclesiae per Spiritum Sanctum et gratiae sacramenta ac caetera omnia, in quibus communicat Ecclesia Christiana: in quo intelligitur, quod Ecclesia Catholica cum suis sacramentis et legibus per Spiritum Sanctum regulata, omni homini, quantumcunque facinoroso peccatori, sufficit ad salutem: et quod extra Ecclesiam Catholicam non est salus. VII. Consummationem Ecclesiae per gloriam sempiternam, in anima et carne veraciter suscitanda: et per cuius oppositum intelligitur aeterna damnatio reproborum. Si vis ergo salvus esse, frater, ita de mysterio Trinitatis sentias.

Rubric: *Deinde exprimat ei sacerdos alios septem articulos ad Christi humanitatem pertinentes hoc modo.*

Similiter, frater carissime, necessarium est ad aeternam salutem, ut credas et confitearis Domini nostri Iesu Christi incarnationem per Spiritum Sanctum ex sola Virgine gloriosa. II. Veram incarnati Dei nativitatem ex Virgine incorrupta. III. Veram Christi passionem et mortem sub tyrannide Pilati. IIII. Veram Christi descensionem ad inferos in anima ad spoliationem Tartari, quiescente corpore eius in sepulchro. V. Veram Christi Dei tertia die a morte resurrectionem. VI. Veram ipsius ad caelos ascensionem. VII. Ipsius venturi ad iudicium certissimam expectationem. Haec est Fides Catholica, frater, quam nisi fideliter firmiterque credideris, sicut Mater Ecclesia credit, salvus esse non poteris.

If the sick person is 'laicus vel simpliciter literatus,' the priest may require his assent to a more brief Confession of Faith, which is not, it may be observed, the Apostles' Creed.

The above is copied from Maskell's *Monumenta Ritualia*, 2nd edition, 1882, vol. i. p. 89.

D.

Latin Psalters.

The various versions of the Psalter in Latin are called respectively Italic, Roman, Gallican, and Hebraic.

(*a*) St. Augustine speaks of the great number of Latin versions of the Holy Scriptures current in his time, but singles out one from the whole number—distinguished by the name of *Itala*—as preferable on account of its accuracy and perspicuity[1]. By the Italic Psalter is denoted the Psalter of this old Latin version of the Old Testament, which was originally translated from the LXX, in all probability in Africa—called *Itala* because accepted and used in Italy, called also *Vetus* by St. Gregory the Great, and *Vulgata* by St. Jerome. It was the Psalter, we may say, of the Latin Church before the time of St. Jerome—possessing the highest authority and most generally used: it is the Psalter used by St. Augustine in quotations and in his Commentaries on the Psalms; and therefore presumably used in the African Church in his time.

(*b*) About A.D. 383 St. Jerome with the view of removing obscurities, which offended the fastidious taste of the Romans, corrected the Psalter by the text of the LXX at the request of Pope Damasus: but his recension, as we learn from his epistle to Paula and Eustochium, was for the most part of a cursory nature[2]. This first revision by Jerome is the Roman Psalter—called so because it was adopted and used by the Roman Church, supplanting the old version. It was also accepted and used by the ancient Spanish Church, as appears from the fact that the version of the Mozarabic Psalter varies but little from it.

[1] 'Qui enim Scripturas ex Hebraea lingua in linguam Graecam verterunt numerari possunt, Latini autem interpretes nullo modo.' Aug. *de doctrina Christiana*, lib. ii. cap. 11. 'In ipsis autem interpretationibus Itala caeteris praeferatur; nam est verborum tenacior cum perspicuitate sententiae.' *Ib.* lib. ii. cap. 15.

[2] 'Psalterium Romae dudum positus emendaram et iuxta LXX interpretes licet cursim magna ex parte correxeram.' *Prologus in Psalterium Gallicum.* See also *Prologus in Psalterium Romanum*: 'Legi litteras Apostolatus tui poscentis ut secundum simplicitatem LXX interpretum canens psalmographum interpretari festinem propter fastidium Romanorum, ut ubi obscuritas impedit apertius et latine trahatur sensus.'

(*c*) But in a few years the text had become so corrupted through the carelessness of copyists, that St. Jerome was induced to make another and more complete revision, in which he attempted to represent at once readings found in the LXX but not in the Hebrew, and those found in the Hebrew but omitted by the LXX, the former being indicated by an obelus, the latter by an asterisk. His Hebrew readings however he did not draw directly from the Hebrew text, but from Theodotion's version [1]. This second revision by Jerome is the Gallican Psalter, which in the course of time found its way into general use in the Western Church. It is also the version of the Vulgate. It was called the Gallican Psalter from being first received in the Gallican Church. Walafrid Strabo, writing in the ninth century, says that it was then sung by the Gauls and by some Germans; and he mentions Gregory of Tours as reputed to have introduced it into Gaul [2]. But Mabillon doubts this being the fact, because Gregory of Tours quotes the old version, which appears in the Psalter of St. Germain, still preserved in the Paris National Library. He therefore believes that the Gallican Psalter was adopted into Gaul between the time of Gregory and of Walafrid [3]. Probably its acceptance was gradual. Its use also spread into Italy, but only partially, for it could not have become the rule even in the fourteenth century, when Urban V authorized its adoption by the Abbey of Casino: and, according to Zaccaria, the Roman Psalter continued in use in Rome and its suburbicarian Churches within a radius of forty miles from the city down to the pontificate of Pius V, which lasted from 1566 to 1572. This Pope prescribed the general use of the Gallican Psalter, but the Roman

[1] 'Notet sibi unusquisque vel iacentem lineam vel radiantia signa, id est obelos vel asteriscos. Et ubicunque viderit virgulam praecedentem, ab ea usque ad duo puncta quae impressimus, sciat in LXX interpretibus plus haberi; ubi autem stellae similitudinem perspexerit, de Hebraeis voluminibus additum noverit aeque usque ad duo puncta iuxta Theodotionis dumtaxat editionem.' *Prologus in Psalterium.*

[2] 'Psalmos autem cum secundum LXX interpretes Romani adhuc habeant, Galli et Germanorum aliqui secundum emendationem, quam Hieronymus pater de LXX editione composuit, Psalterium cantant; quam Gregorius, Turonensis episcopus, a patribus Romanis mutuatam, in Galliarum dicitur ecclesias transtulisse.' Walafrid. Strabo, *de Rebus ecclesiasticis*, c. 25.

[3] Mabillon, *de Cursu Gallicano*, § ii.

was still retained at St. Peter's, Rome, at Milan, and at St. Mark's, Venice; also in the Mozarabic rite in Spain. The Gallican Psalter, there can be little doubt, passed from Gaul into England; but as to the precise period when this took place, nothing can be affirmed with certainty. Hody states that it was received by the Churches of Britain and Ireland before the coming of Augustine; but we know too little of the condition of those Churches to justify us in accepting this conclusion; we have already seen that Mabillon disputes the fact of the Gallican Psalter being received even in Gaul before that epoch: and in all probability the ancient Irish and British Churches in their isolated position would adhere to the use of the old Psalter or the Roman, whichever they used, with the same tenacity which they showed in clinging to their own peculiar customs respecting the tonsure and the time of keeping Easter. That the Gallican Psalter obtained to some extent in England as early as the tenth century is shown by the fact of there being extant even at the present day two manuscript copies of it, both written in England at that epoch—Salisbury 150 and Lambeth 427; and there are several copies, also English MSS., of the succeeding century. But the Roman Psalter must also have been used in England, at least in the diocese of Canterbury, previous to the Norman invasion, probably as late as that event. We cannot suppose that St. Augustine coming from Rome, where the Roman Psalter was in use at the time of his mission, would fail to bring it with him, and to continue his accustomed use of it. Wanley relates too, on the authority of a MS. written in the reign of Henry V by a monk of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, that two Psalters were placed at that time on the altar of the abbey church, which together with other valuable presents had been sent by Gregory the Great to St. Augustine. The MS. in Wanley's time had been transferred to the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, and no doubt is still there [1]. We might expect therefore to find that the Roman Psalter obtained more or less in the Church founded by St. Augustine. And we have evidence that this was the case. Among the Cotton MSS. at the British Museum is a Roman

[1] Humfredi Wanleii, *librorum veterum septentrionalium . . . catalogus*, Oxon. 1725, pp. 221, 222.

Psalter, Vesp. A 1, written about A.D. 700, and written it is believed at St. Augustine's Abbey, to which it formerly belonged. Another Roman Psalter somewhat later—of the early part of the tenth century—is preserved among the Royal MSS. in our National Library—Reg. 2. B. v; it was once the property of Archbishop Cranmer, whose autograph it bears, and appears from internal evidence to have had its original home in some Kentish monastery, where probably it was written: it is certainly an English MS. A third, also of the tenth century, is to be found in the Bodleian—Junius 27: that this is a Roman Psalter is evident not only from the text of the Psalter itself, but from the Kalendar, which is distinctly Roman in substance with the addition of a few Gallican festivals, and the obit of Alfred and the commemoration of St. Augustine; it was clearly written in England, and the notice of St. Augustine would seem to point to Canterbury or some Kentish monastery as its birthplace. A fourth Roman Psalter, likewise written in England and not improbably at Winchester, is in the University Library at Cambridge—Ff. 1. 23: this MS. shows that the use of the Roman Psalter was not extinct at the Norman Conquest, for according to Wanley it was executed a little before that event. But the Gallican Psalter must have found its way to Christ Church, Canterbury, by the beginning of the eleventh century; for the Canute Psalter—so called because written in the time of Canute—which contains the Gallican version of the Psalms, appears to have belonged to that Church: it is now in the Arundel collection at the British Museum, numbered 155. And we have further evidence of the two versions co-existing at Christ Church, Canterbury, the later possibly gradually superseding the earlier, in the magnificent triple Psalter at Trinity College, Cambridge, which was written by one Eadwin, a monk of Christ Church, about the time of Stephen. This book contains the three Psalters of Jerome, the Roman, Gallican, and Hebraic. Thus it appears that in England between the coming of Augustine and the Norman Conquest the Roman and Gallican Psalters were both extant side by side, and were both used, possibly struggled together for the mastery. It may be the Roman was never used in the Anglo-Saxon Church except in the diocese of Canterbury:

but of this we cannot be certain. That the Gallican ultimately prevailed and became the Psalter of the English Church we know from the fact of its being the version of the Sarum Breviary. Lastly, the Gallican Psalter was not received into use in Spain until the year 1091, when it was substituted generally in the Churches of that country for the Roman Psalter, which they had previously used in accordance with the Mozarabic or ancient national Office. This change, which was opposed to the wishes of the nation, was principally brought about by Alphonso VI, king of Castile and Leon, who was influenced in favour of the Gallican Office by his wife Constance, daughter of Robert, duke of Burgundy. First he solicited the Pope, according to Roderic Toletanus, 'ut in Hispaniis, omisso Toletano, Romanum seu Gallicanum officium servaretur[1],' and then he enforced obedience to the papal missive by threats of death and confiscation. And, when the change was completed, to cite the same authority, 'cunctis flentibus et dolentibus inolevit proverbium: *Quo volunt reges, vadunt leges.* Et ex tunc *Gallicanum* officium, tam *in psalterio* quam in aliis, nunquam ante susceptum, fuit in Hispaniis observatum[2].' These words make it perfectly clear—however paradoxical the statement may sound considering that Gregory the Seventh is generally said to have introduced the Roman use into Spain—that the change really effected in obedience to him was as regards the daily Offices the substitution of the Gallican Psalter, which was then said in France, for the Roman Psalter, which hitherto had been used in Spain and was still used in Rome and the suburbicarian Churches and in Italy generally. Otherwise there would have been no change of Psalter. The ritual imposed upon the Spaniards in reference to the daily Offices as well as the Mass was in point of fact that then in use in France. It was this which especially roused their hostility, the national pride being touched in the most tender point. The contest was looked upon as lying between the Toletan Office and the Gallican Office. And the two Offices, described by

[1] Roderic was Archbishop of Toledo in the thirteenth century, and wrote a work, *de rebus Hispaniae*. The quotation is given by Pinius, *Tractatus Historico-Chronologicus de Liturgia antiqua Hispanica*, Rome, 1740, vi. 4.

[2] *Ibid.* vi. 6.

Roderic as 'el officio Frances' and 'el officio Toledano,' are said to have been submitted to the tests of a duel between two champions and of fire, the Toletan in both cases proving victorious. Still the Mozarabic rite, though thus abolished generally in Spain towards the close of the eleventh century, continued to be observed in six parish churches of Toledo as late as the thirteenth century, notwithstanding repeated endeavours of the Roman See to effect its extinction. But by the latter part of the fifteenth century it had fallen into almost complete desuetude and neglect even in these Churches; and Cardinal Ximenes, finding it in this moribund condition on his accession to the archbishopric of Toledo in 1495, at once set himself to provide a remedy. For this purpose he not only caused the Mozarabic Missal and Breviary to be printed and edited, but also erected a Chapel at the west end of Toledo Cathedral, called the Chapel of Corpus Christi, wherein their ritual might be daily celebrated in perpetuity by a college of thirteen priests, founded and endowed by him. There the Mozarabic Office is celebrated to this day: and there, as part and parcel of it, the Roman Psalter is still sung, as it is also at St. Peter's, Rome, and at Milan; whether it is still used at St. Mark's, Venice, I am unable to say [1].

(*d*) The Hebraic Psalter is Jerome's translation from the Hebrew, which he made some time after his other versions. It has never been used in Church Offices.

The Athanasian Creed being very commonly found in MS. Latin Psalters owing to its being recited as a Canticle or Psalm in Church Offices, it is clearly of importance in reference to its history to note to what particular version the several Psalters, in which it appears, belong. We shall thus obtain a clue by which we may in some degree ascertain in what Churches and countries it was received and used, and at what dates. But we can only expect to find it in Roman and Gallican Psalters. In the very few MSS. of the Old Latin version which are extant it does not

[1] For the history of the Mozarabic rite, see especially the work of Pinius, quoted and referred to above; also *Praefatio Alexandri Lesleii in Liturgia Mozarabica*, Migne, *Patrol. Lat.* tom. lxxxv; also Florez, *España Sagrada*, tom. iii. Madrid, 1754.

appear, nor could we expect to find it in them, as that Psalter, though necessarily the first used, had passed or was passing out of use at the time when the *Quicunque* began to be recited in the Office. Nor can we look for it in a Hebraic Psalter for the reason above mentioned, that it was never used in Divine worship, except in MSS. containing also a Roman or Gallican Psalter or both.

Numerous MSS. are extant containing two or more of these Latin versions of the Psalter. Among them may be mentioned Paris Bibliothèque Nationale, Latin 2195—a MS. written at Tournay A.D. 1105—containing the Gallican, Roman, and Hebraic, and in addition the LXX version in Latin characters in parallel columns; another quadruple Psalter now at Bamberg, containing the same four versions, written A.D. 909; the magnificent Eadwin Psalter of the twelfth century at Trinity College, Cambridge, containing the Gallican, Roman, and Hebraic; and in the Bodleian Library, Laud. Bibl. 35, also a triple Psalter, Gallican, Roman and Hebraic, assigned to the tenth century; in the Cathedral Library at Salisbury, No. 180, a double Psalter, Gallican and Hebraic, written in France in the tenth century. Manuscripts of the Roman and Old Latin Psalters are necessarily scarce—the latter especially so—compared with those of the Gallican version, which are very abundant owing to its coming into more general use in the Middle Ages. Some MSS. of the Roman Psalter have been already mentioned: a copy of the Old Latin appears in a double Psalter belonging to the cathedral at Verona, and described by Blanchini as written before the seventh century, the other version being that of the Septuagint in Latin characters[1]. A *Quincuplex Psalterium*, comprising the Gallican, Roman, Hebraic, and Vetus versions, with a fifth called *Conciliatum*, and constructed by a harmony of the Gallican and Hebraic, was printed by Stephens at Paris in 1509 and 1513, being edited with a preface and expositions by Jacobus Faber Stapulensis; and the same book was reprinted at Caen in 1515 by Peter Olivier. Faber does not specify the MSS. from which his text is derived: but, as regards the three Hieronymian versions, it is identical with that of the Paris Psalter previously

[1] Blanchini *Vindiciae Canonicarum Scripturarum*, Romae, 1740.

noticed—Latin 2195, if we may judge from the collation of the facsimile of it, produced among the publications of the Palaeographical Society, vol. iii. plate 156.

E.

The Text of the Athanasian Creed.

The text as it appears in Waterland's *Critical History*, with various readings from the following MSS.:—Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Latin 13159, 4858, 1451, 3848 B, 2076; Rome, the Vatican Library, Vat. 82, 84, and Palat. 574; Milan, Ambrosian Library, O. 212; British Museum, Bib. Reg. 2. B. v, and Cotton Galba A. xviii; Oxford Bodleian Library, Canonici Patr. Lat. 88; Cambridge University Library, F. f. 1. 23; Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, Parker 272. O. 5 and 391; Salisbury, Cathedral Library, 150; the Utrecht Psalter.

I have purposely omitted collations from the Trèves fragment, because it cannot be regarded as an authority for the text, inasmuch as it is not a copy of the Creed nor of a portion of it, but of a portion of a sermon delivered at the 'Traditio Symboli,' in which the preacher adapts, but with large variations, the clauses relating to the Incarnation.

Paris 4858, it will be recollected, contains only the commencement of the Creed, ending with the words 'non tres aeterni,' the deficiency being caused by the mutilation of the MS.

In some of these MSS. the Creed bears no title, viz. the Ambrosian MS. O. 212; Paris 13159 and 4858; Cambridge University, F. f. 1. 23, Parker 391. It should be noted that in the Parker MS. the Canticles and Lord's Prayer and Apostles' Creed all appear without any title. In the other MSS. the title is as follows:—Paris 1451, *Exemplar fidei chatolice sancti Atanasii episcopi alexandrine ecclesie*; Paris 3848 B, *Fides Sancti Athanasii Episcopi*; Paris 2076, *Fides dicta a Sancto Athanasio Episcopo*; Vat. 82, *Fides catholica quam sanctus Athanasius dictavit*; Vat. 84, *Fides catholica edita a Beato Athanasio episcopo*; Palat. 574, *Fides catholica beati Atanasi episcopi*; British Museum, Bib. Reg. 2. B. v, *Hymnus athanasii de fide trinitatis quem tu*

concelebrans discutienter intellege; British Museum, Cotton Galba A. xviii, *Fides sancti Athanasii Alexandrini*; Bodleian, Canonici Patr. Lat. 88, *Fides Anathasii episcopi*; Parker 272. O. 5, *Fides catholica*; Salisbury 150, *Hymnus athanasii de fide Trinitatis quem tu concelebrans discutienter intellege*; Utrecht Psalter, *Fides Catholicam* (*sic*).

Abbreviations used in the notes:—B. M. for British Museum; B. L. for Bodleian Library; C. U. L. for Cambridge University Library; S. C. L. for Salisbury Cathedral Library; and U. P. for Utrecht Psalter.

1. Quicunque vult salvus esse, ante omnia opus est ut teneat Catholicam Fidem.

2. Quam nisi quisque integram inviolatamque servaverit, absque dubio in aeternum peribit.

3. Fides autem Catholica haec est, ut unum Deum in Trinitate et Trinitatem in Unitate veneremur.

4. Neque confundentes personas, neque substantiam separantes.

5. Alia est enim persona Patris, alia Filii, alia Spiritus Sancti.

6. Sed Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti una est divinitas, aequalis gloria, coaeterna maiestas.

7. Qualis Pater, talis Filius, talis et Spiritus Sanctus.

Ver. 1. *salvus esse*: Milan O. 212 *esse salvus*. After *opus est* B. M. Reg. 2. B. v. adds *enim*. *Catholicam*: Paris 13159 *chatolicam*.

2. *quisque*: Milan O. 212 *quis*. *absque dubio* is omitted by Paris 4858.

3. *ut* is omitted by Paris 2076. *Trinitatem*: Paris 13159 and 2076 *trinitate*, the mark of contraction above the *e* being omitted, doubtless through inadvertence.

4. *confundentes*: Milan O. 212 *confudentes*, Paris 13159 and 1451, B. M. Reg. 2. B. v, and Cotton Galba A. 18; also C. U. L. F. f. 1. 23, *confundantes*. *substantiam*: Paris 4858 *substantia*, omitting the mark of contraction.

5. *enim*: Paris 2076 *ergo*. Milan O. 212 inserts *persona* before *Filii* and *Spiritus*. Vat. 84 inserts *et* before *Spiritus*.

6. *sed Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti* were omitted originally in Milan O. 212, but have been inserted above the line by another but still early hand; only *fili* is written for *filii*. The ink is so pale that the four last words are almost illegible. The omission is clearly due to inadvertence, being caused by the repetition of the words *Spiritus Sancti*. *coaeterna*: Paris 4858 and 1451 *quoaeterna*.

7. In Vat. 84 *et* is omitted. In Parker 391 it seems to be erased.

8. Increatus Pater, increatus Filius, increatus et Spiritus Sanctus.

9. Immensus Pater, immensus Filius, immensus et Spiritus Sanctus.

10. Aeternus Pater, aeternus Filius, aeternus et Spiritus Sanctus.

11. Et tamen non tres aeterni, sed unus aeternus.

12. Sicut non tres increati, nec tres immensi, sed unus increatus et unus immensus.

13. Similiter, omnipotens Pater, omnipotens Filius, omnipotens et Spiritus Sanctus.

14. Et tamen non tres omnipotentes, sed unus omnipotens.

15. Ita Deus Pater, Deus Filius, Deus et Spiritus Sanctus.

16. Et tamen non tres Dii, sed unus est Deus.

17. Ita Dominus Pater, Dominus Filius, Dominus et Spiritus Sanctus.

8. *et* is omitted in Milan O. 212. It is also omitted in S.C.L. 150, but there is an appearance of erasure before *Spiritus* in the latter MS. In Vat. 84 it is omitted. In Parker 391 it seems to have been erased. This and the two following verses in Paris 1451 stand thus: *Aeternus Pater, aeternus Filius, aeternus et Spiritus Sanctus. Increatus Pater, increatus Filius, increatus et Spiritus Sanctus. Inmensus Pater, inmensus Filius, inmensus et Spiritus Sanctus.* This reading clearly derives support from the received text of verses 11 and 12.

9. *et* is omitted in Milan O. 212, also in Vat. 84. In Parker 391 it seems to have been erased.

10. *et* is omitted in Milan O. 212; also in Vat. 84. In Parker 391 it seems to have been erased.

12. *unus increatus et unus immensus*: Milan O. 212 *unus inmensus et unus increatus*. Paris 2076 has *incretus*.

13. *et* is omitted in Milan O. 212; also in Vat. 84. In Palat. 574 it was evidently omitted originally, but there is a later insertion above of the symbol representing it.

14. *tamen* is omitted in Milan O. 212.

15. *et* is omitted in Milan O. 212; also in Vat. 84 and Canonici Pat. Lat. 88. And as in ver. 13, it was also omitted originally in Palat. 574, but the symbol denoting it has been inserted later above the line. In Parker 391 it seems to have been erased.

16. *est* is omitted in Milan O. 212; also in Paris 13159. In Parker 391 it seems to have been erased.

17. *et* is omitted in Milan O. 212 and Vat. 84; also it was omitted originally in Palat. 574, but here again, as in vv. 13 and 15, the symbol denoting it has been inserted later above the line. In Parker 391 it seems to have been erased.

18. Et tamen non tres Domini, sed unus est Dominus.

19. Quia sicut singillatim unamquamque personam et Deum et Dominum confiteri Christiana veritate compellimur; ita tres Deos aut Dominos dicere Catholica religione prohibemur.

20. Pater a nullo est factus, nec creatus, nec genitus.

21. Filius a Patre solo est, non factus, nec creatus, sed genitus.

22. Spiritus Sanctus a Patre et Filio, non factus, nec creatus, nec genitus est, sed procedens.

23. Unus ergo Pater, non tres Patres; unus Filius, non tres Filii; unus Spiritus Sanctus, non tres Spiritus Sancti.

24. Et in hac Trinitate nihil prius aut posterius, nihil maius aut minus, sed totae tres personae coaeternae sibi sunt et co-aequales.

25. Ita ut per omnia, sicut iam supra dictum est, et unitas in Trinitate, et Trinitas in unitate veneranda sit.

26. Qui vult ergo salvus esse, ita de Trinitate sentiat.

18. *est* is omitted in Milan O. 212. The whole verse was omitted originally in Canonici Patr. Lat. 88, but has been added in the margin. In Parker 391 *est* seems to have been erased.

19. *sicut* is omitted in Paris 13159. *personam et Deum*: Paris 13159 and 1451, Cotton Galba A. xviii, B. M. Reg. 2. B. v, Canonici Patr. Lat. 88, C.U.L. F. f. 1. 23, and U.P. *personam Deum* omitting *et. personam*: Paris 2076 *persona,* omitting the mark of contraction. *Christiana*: Paris 13159 *Christiane. Dominum*: in Palat. 574 *nos* has been written above it by a later hand, and *deum* appears to have been similarly altered. *aut Dominos*: Paris 1451, 3848 B, and U.P. insert *tres* after *aut. dicere*: Paris 3848 B *dici.*

20. After *creatus* a word has been erased in Paris 2076.

22. *est* is omitted in Paris 1451 and 2076, C.U.L. F. f. 1. 23, S. C. L. 150, and U.P. After *procedens* Milan O. 212 adds *patri et filio co-aeternus est.*

23. *Sanctus* is omitted in Paris 13159. That MS. reads *tris* for *tres* here, as well as in ver. 19.

24. *hac*: Paris 1451 *ac,* but *h* has been written above by a corrector. *co-aeternae*: Paris 13159 *quoeterne,* Paris 1451 *quohaeternae. coaequales*: Paris 13159 *quoequales.*

25. *supra*: Paris 13159 *superius,* but *supra* has been written above by a corrector. *unitas in Trinitate et Trinitas in unitate*: Milan O. 212, Paris 13159, 1451, 2076, Vat. 82 and 84, B. M. Reg. 2. B. v, Canonici Patr. Lat. 88, C.U.L. F. f. 1. 23, Parker 272 O. 5, and U.P. all read *trinitas in unitate et unitas in trinitate*; Palat. 574 has *trinitas in unitatem et unitas in trinitatem,* but the *m* both in *unitatem* and *trinitatem* seems to be an after-addition.

26. *ergo* in Palat. 574 is written above the line, no doubt omitted originally.

27. Sed necessarium est ad aeternam salutem, ut Incarnationem quoque Domini nostri Iesu Christi fideliter credat.

28. Est ergo fides recta, ut credamus et confiteamur, quia Dominus noster Iesus Christus, Dei Filius, Deus pariter et homo est.

29. Deus est ex substantia Patris ante saecula genitus, homo ex substantia matris in saeculo natus.

30. Perfectus Deus, perfectus homo ex anima rationali et humana carne subsistens.

31. Aequalis Patri secundum divinitatem, minor Patre secundum humanitatem.

32. Qui licet Deus sit et homo, non duo tamen sed unus est Christus.

33. Unus autem, non conversione divinitatis in cárnem, sed adsumptione humanitatis in Deum.

27. *est* is omitted in Paris 13159. *salutem* is repeated in Paris 2076. The same MS. has *Incarnatione*, the mark of contraction over *e* being omitted. *quoque* was omitted originally in Palat. 574, but has been inserted above. After *Christi*, Canonici Patr. Lat. 88 adds *unusquisque*.

28. Paris 1451 and 2076, also S.C.L. 150, insert *et* before *Deus*. *pariter* is omitted in Paris 13159 and 1451, Vat. 82 and 84, C.U.L. F.f. 1. 23, Parker 391, B. M. Cotton Galba A. xviii, and U.P., but in Paris 13159 and Parker 391 it has evidently been erased, as appears by the hiatus after *Deus*. In Palat. 574 there has been an attempt to erase it.

29. *ante saecula genitus* omitted in the text of Milan O. 212, but written in the margin in another hand. *et* is inserted before *homo* in Paris 13159, 1451, 2076, Vat. 82 and 84, Palat. 574, B. M. Reg. 2. B. v, and Galba A. xviii, Canonici Patr. Lat. 88, Parker 272. O. 5, S.C.L. 150, and U.P. *est* is added after *homo* in Milan O. 212, Paris 13159, 1451, 2076, Vat. 82 and 84, Palat. 574, B. M. Reg. 2. B. v, and Cotton Galba A. xviii, Canonici Patr. Lat. 88, Parker 272 O. 5, and U.P. In Parker 391 there are evidences of erasure both before and after *homo*, from which it would appear that *et homo est* was the original reading. *in saeculo*: Paris 13159, B. M. 2. B. v, and C.U.L. F.f. 1. 23, *in saecula*; Palat. 574 *in saeculum*.

30. *rationali*: Milan O. 212 *rationabili*; Paris 13159 and Palat. 574 *rationale*. *humana carne*: S.C.L. 150 *humanę carnę*, Paris 1451 *umana*.

31. In Palat. 574 the letter *s* has been added by a later hand to *Patri*. *secundum*: Paris 1451 *sedum*, the error being the result possibly of the omission of the mark of contraction over *e*. *Patre*: Paris 13159, 1451, and 2076, B. M. Cotton Galba A. xviii, and U.P. *patri*.

33. *conversione*: Milan O. 212 evidently had originally *conversatione*, and this is the reading of S.C.L. 150. In the former MS. the letters *at* have been erased, leaving a hiatus between *s* and *i*; in the latter a corrector has written the letter *i* above the *s*; Palat. 574 reads *conversionem*, i. e. *conversione* with

34. Unus omnino, non confusione substantiae, sed unitate personae.

35. Nam sicut anima rationalis et caro unus est homo, ita Deus et homo unus est Christus.

36. Qui passus est pro salute nostra, descendit ad inferos, tertia die resurrexit a mortuis.

37. Adscendit ad caelos, sedet ad dexteram Patris, inde venturus iudicare vivos et mortuos.

38. Ad cuius adventum omnes homines resurgere habent cum corporibus suis, et reddituri sunt de factis propriis rationem.

the mark of contraction over the final *e*: this may possibly be by the later hand which has clearly made several additions in this MS.; C.U.L. F. f. 1. 23 has *confusione*. *carnem* and *Deum*: Milan O. 212, Paris 13159, 1451, 3848 B, 2076, and 2341, B. M. Reg. 2. B. v, and Cotton Galba A. xviii, Canonici Patr. Lat. 88, Parker 272. O. 5, S.C.L. 150, and U.P. all read *carne* and *deo*. *adsumptione*: Paris 13159 *adsuptione*, probably owing to the inadvertent omission of the mark of contraction over the letter *u*; Palat. 574 read originally *adsumptionem*, but the final *m* has been erased.

34. *unitate personae*: Paris 1451 and 2076 *unitatis persone*, but *unitatis* has been partially erased in the latter MS.

35. *rationalis*: Milan O. 212 *rationabilis*.

36. *salute nostra*: Paris 2076 *salutem nostram*, the mark of contraction being inadvertently added over the final *e* and *a*; U.P. has *saluta*. *tertia die*: omitted in Milan O. 212, Paris 13159, 1451, and 2076, Palat. 574, B. M. Cotton Galba A. xviii, and Parker 391. In the last MS. the words appear to have been erased. *resurrexit*: Milan O. 212, Paris 1451 and 2341 *surrexit*; this also was evidently the original reading in Palat. 574, but *re* has been added above by a later hand.

37. *sedet*: Milan O. 212, Paris 13159, 1451, 3848 B, 2076, B. M. Reg. 2. B. v, Parker 391, and U.P. read *sedit*. *ad dexteram*: Paris 13159 *a dexteram*. After *ad dexteram*, Paris 13159, 1451, 3848 B, and 2076, Vat. 82 and 84, B. M. Reg. 2. B. v, and Cotton Galba A. xviii, B. L., Canonici Patr. Lat. 88, C.U.L. F. f. 1. 23, Parker 391 and 272. O. 5, S.C.L. 150, and U.P. add *Dei*; the same MSS. after *Patris* add *omnipotentis*. In Palat. 574 *Dei* has been inserted above *Patris*, but was evidently not part of the original text. In the same MS. the words *omnipotentis, Inde venturus iudicare vivos et mortuos* are omitted from the text, but they are written, apparently in a different hand, in a note at the foot of the page. *Inde venturus iudicare vivos et mortuos* were probably omitted through mere inadvertence, but in all probability *omnipotentis* was absent from the text which the copyist followed, as well as *Dei*. After *venturus* Vat. 82 and 84, B. M. Reg. 2. B. v, and S.C.L. 150 add *est*. For *et mortuos* Milan O. 212 reads *ac mortuos*.

38. *cum*: Milan O. 212 *in*. Waterland asserts that the words *resurgere habent cum corporibus suis et* are wanting in the Milan Ambrosian MS., but in

39. Et qui bona egerunt, ibunt in vitam aeternam; qui vero mala, in ignem aeternum.

40. Haec est Fides Catholica, quam nisi quisque fideliter firmiterque crediderit, salvus esse non poterit.

F.

Copy of the first Commentary on the Athanasian Creed contained in Troyes 804, *and entitled,* '*Expositio fidei catholicae.*'

Quicunque vult salvus esse, ante omnia opus est ut teneat catholicam fidem. Fides dicitur credulitas sive credentia: Catholica vero universalis vocatur, quod ab universa ecclesia tenere oportet. Ecclesia autem est congregatio fidelium, sive conventus fidelium populi. Fides vera haec est, ut credamus et confiteamur *unum* et verum *Deum in Trinitate et Trinitatem in Unitate; neque confundentes personas* ut Sabellius hereticus, qui ipsum dixit esse Patrem in persona quem et Filium, ipsum Filium quem et Spiritum Sanctum. *Fides autem catholica est* nec personas confundere neque Deitatem separare, quoniam tres personae, una vero Divinitas, Deitatis. Est enim gignens, genitus, et procedens: gignens est Pater, qui genuit Filium; Filius vero est a Patre; Spiritus autem Sanctus nec genitus, quia non est Filius, neque ingenitus quoniam non est Pater, sed ex Patre et Filio procedens. Quae tres personae, Pater videlicet et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus, consubstantiales sibi sunt et co-aeternae et co-aequales atque cooperatores, de quibus in Psalmo scriptum est: *Verbo Domini*

this, as in some other particulars, he was obviously misled by Muratori's collation.

39. *ibunt*: Palat. 574 *hibunt*. Before *qui* B. M. Reg. 2. B. v, C.U.L. F. f. 1. 23, and U.P. insert *et*; in Palat. 574 it has been added above *qui*. *vero* is omitted in Milan O. 212, Paris 13159, and U.P. *mala*: Paris 2076 *malum*. After *aeternam* Paris 1451 adds *erunt in resurrectionem vitę*; and just before *erunt* there appear the letters *sa* with a line drawn through them, as if the scribe had begun to write some word commencing with those letters, as *salvi* or *salvabuntur*.

40. *Fides* in Paris 1451 is written twice. The same MS. reads *chatholica* and *firmiterquae*.

caeli firmati sunt, et spiritu oris eius omnes virtus eorum[1]. In persona quippe Domini Pater intellegitur, in Verbo vero eius Filius accipitur, in spiritu autem oris eius ipse Spiritus Sanctus designatur. Quae tres personae deitatis et singillatim tres sunt et singulariter substantiae[2] unum existant, non essentiae divisę[3], sicut Arrius impie predicare ausus est, qui sicut tres personas in Deum[4] esse credidit, ita et tres substantias commentatus est[5]. Filium Dei minorem esse dixit Patri, non de substantia eius genitum, sed ex nichilo temporaliter creatum; Spiritum autem Sanctum similiter non creatorem sed creaturam plus quam minorem quam Filium, et Patris et Filii ministrum asserunt[6], et ideo non creatorem cum Patre et Filio neque verum Deum eundem Spiritum Sanctum, sed creaturam, ut dictum antea, predicare ausus est; quasi quosdam gradus impietatis suae in Deum, qui unus est, arbitratus, Patrem scilicet, ut aurum, Filium vero, quasi argentum, Spiritum autem Sanctum eramentum[7]. Nos autem impietatem eius anathematizantes credimus et confitemur aliam esse personam Patris, quem ingenitum ideo appellamus, quia a nullo est genitus, aliam personam Filii, quia Patre solus est genitus, aliam vero personam Spiritus Sancti, qui neque in-

[1] In the Vulgate, Ps. xxxii. 6.

[2] So the MS.

[3] *e* with a cedilla is often written for *ae*.

[4] Several times in this Commentary the accusative case is used where we should have expected the ablative—'duas voluntates atque operationes in singularitatem personae'—'non duos Christos neque duas personas . . . in eum credere oportet'—and elsewhere. This note of barbarous Latinity appears in other writings of the age: in Paris 3836, a MS. of the eighth century, we have 'omnia facta sunt sive quae in caelo sive que in terram'; and in Paris 1451, a MS. belonging to the commencement of the ninth century, 'in nicenum concilium fuerunt damnati arrius et fotinus et sabellius.'

[5] In the corresponding passage in Fortunatus' Commentary we have 'tres substantias esse mentitur.' 'Commentatus est' gives an equally good sense—*invented, devised.*

[6] *Asserunt* is probably a copyist's error for *asseruit.*

[7] 'Opus ex aere confectum' Ducange, *Glossarium* sub voce *aeramentum.* The analogy of the three substances of gold, silver, and brass, as representing the Arian doctrine of the Trinity, is found in St. Augustine, *de Agone Christiano,* lib. i. cap. xv, and in the Synodical Epistle of St. Athanasius and the Council of Alexandria held A. D. 362: ἡ ὥσπερ διαφόρους οὐσίας, ὥσπερ ἐστὶ χρυσὸς ἢ ἄργυρος ἢ χαλκός, οὕτω καὶ αὐτοὶ λέγωσιν. S. Athanasii *Tomus ad Antiochenos,* 5; Opera, tom. i. p. 773, edit. 1698.

genitus, ut Pater, neque genitus, ut Filius, sed ex Patre Filioque procedit. Et in his tribus personis, *Patris* videlicet *et Filii et Spiritus Sancti*, *una est* essentia divinitatis, *aequalis gloria*, *coaeterna maiestas*, unita potestas communisque operatio. *Qualis Pater*, *talis Filius*, *talis et Spiritus Sanctus*. *Increatus Pater*, *increatus Filius*, *increatus et Spiritus Sanctus;* hoc est, a nullo creatus. *Inmensus Pater*, *inmensus Filius*, *inmensus et Spiritus Sanctus;* quia metiri omnino non possunt. Incircumscriptus Pater, incircumscriptus Filius, incircumscriptus Spiritus Sanctus; quia non loco continentur, sed ubique presentes existunt. Invisibilis Pater, invisibilis Filius, invisibilis et Spiritus Sanctus; quia videri a nullo queunt: *Aeternus Pater*, *aeternus Filius*, *aeternus et Spiritus Sanctus; non tamen tres aeterni*, *sed unus aeternus*, neque initium habens, neque fine concluditur. *Omnipotens Pater*, *omnipotens Filius*, *omnipotens et Spiritus Sanctus; non tamen tres omnipotentes*, *sed unus omnipotens*, quia omnia que vult potest. Hoc enim non potest, quod non vult, hoc est, quod non expedit. Veritas est, quia falli omnino non potest. Virtus est, quoniam infirmari omnino non potest. Vita est, quia mori nullo modo potest, *Deus Pater*, *Deus Filius*, *Deus et Spiritus Sanctus; non tamen tres dii*, *sed unus est Deus*. Deus enim nomen est potestatis, non proprietatis. Proprium nomen est Patri, quod Pater est; proprium nomen est Filio, quod Filius est; et proprium nomen est Spiritus Sancti Spiritus Sanctus. Ita *Dominus Pater*, *Dominus Filius*, *Dominus et Spiritus Sanctus; non tamen tres Domini*, *sed unus est Dominus*. Dominus autem ideo appellatur pro eo quod omnem creaturam caeli ac terrę dominetur. *Sicut* enim *singillatim*, ut dictum est, *unam quamque personam et Deum et Dominum* digne *confiteri Christiana veritate compellimur*, *ita tres Deos* vel *tres Dominos* credere, ut predicare, auctoritate divina et ratione veritatis *prohibemur*. Si autem quislibet quempiam ex doctoribus interrogare voluerit, quid sit Pater; ratione veritatis et auctoritate divina, ut dictum est; respondere illi necesse est, Deus et Dominus. Similiter si inquirat, quid est Filius; respondere illi oportet, Deus et Dominus, sicut et Pater. Si autem sciscitetur ab eo, quid sit et Spiritus Sanctus; similiter ei respondere convenit, Deus et Dominus, quemadmodum Pater et Filius. Sed in his tribus personis non tres Deos neque tres

Dominos, sed unum Deum et unum Dominum esse confirmet. *Unus ergo Pater*, qui nunquam fuit sine Filio, *non tres Patres. Unus* est *Filius* co-aeternus Patri, *non tres Filii. Unus* est *Spiritus Sanctus* ex Patre et Filio procedens, *non tres Spiritus Sancti*, neque posterior aut inferior vel minor Patri et Filio, a quibus procedit. *Et in hac* sancta *Trinitate* deitatis *nichil prius* nichil *posterius* nichilque inferius aut inaequale, *sed totę tres personae*, ut dictum est, *co-aeternę sibi sunt et quo-aequales* et consubstantiales atque inseparabiles. Sed quia omnipotens Deus ita invisibilis est ut a mortali creatura, id est, ab homine videri omnino, sicuti est, non possit, idcirco a mundi creatura quantulacunque comparatione ad Deum nobis adtrahere convenit apostolica auctoritate informati[1], qua dicit: *Invisibilia enim ipsius mundi creatura que facta sunt intellecta conspiciuntur, sempiterna quoque eius virtus*[2]. Solis, qui cum sit unus in natura, tres habere videtur efficientias; id est, sol, splendor, et calor. Tria quidem vocabula, sed res una est. Splendor quoque illuminat, calor vero exurit. Haec duo ita in sole naturaliter consistunt, ut unum absque alio, et utrumque sine tertio esse non possint; quia neque splendor sine calore, neque calor sine splendore, neque utrumque, id est, splendor et calor sine splendore[3] fieri possunt[4]. Quod etiam de natura ignis prudens

[1] So the MS.

[2] In this quotation from Rom. i. 20 the copyist has inadvertently omitted the preposition *a* before *mundi* and *per ea* before *que*. Something too must have been omitted before *solis*.

[3] Obviously for 'sole,'—the error being attributable, like the omissions just noticed, to the carelessness of the copyist.

[4] This illustration of the doctrine of the Trinity is found also in the Commentary attributed to Fortunatus, which has, according to the Milan and Paris copies, 'sol, candor, calor; tria sunt vocabula, et tria unum.' It is found also in the *Rhythms* of S. Ephrem Syrus: 'Look at the sun in his height, which is thought to be one; descend, and look, and behold in his light, a second; try, and feel, and search his heat, a third. They are like, and yet not like one to another. . . . Light also and the sun are individual subsistences; there are in them three kinds, mingled in a threefold way, himself, and also the light, and the heat the third, dwelling one in the other, and agreeing without grudging.' *Rhythm* xi. § 1; *Select Works of S. Ephrem*, Oxford translation, p. 232. Also in *Rhythm* lxxiii. § 1: 'Lo, there is a similitude between the sun and the Father, the radiance and the Son, the heat and the Holy Ghost; and though it be one, a Trinity is beheld in it.' *Ibid.* p. 339. On the first of these passages the learned translator and editor remarks in a note, 'The use of the

contemplator colligere potest. Ita Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus tres proculdubio extant personae, sed individua maiestate Deitatis et gloria aeternitatis. Fides autem catholica haec est, *ut credamus et confiteamur, quia Dominus noster Ihesus Christus Dei* Patris est *Filius, Deus pariter et homo est*[1]; Deus scilicet ex Patre sine initio, homo vero ex matre a certo initio, unus atque idem Filius Dei; *aequalis Patri secundum Divinitatem, minor vero Patri* iuxta *humanitatem;* co-aeternus Patri in Divinitatem, contemporalis vero matri erga humanitatem, consubstantialis matri in assumptam humanitatem; similis Patri per omnia secundum Divinitatem, dissimilis vero omni creaturae, consimilis autem nobis hominibus in humanitate, excelsior vero omni creaturae caeli ac terrae; unus atque idem Ihesus Christus Dominus ac redemptor noster. Cuius nominis aetimologia hęc est. Ihesus Ebreo sermone Latine salvator sive salutaris interpretatur. Christus autem Hebraice Messias vocatur, Greca vero lingua Christus dicitur, Latine vero unctus appellatur. Ihesus autem ideo nuncupatur pro eo quod ipse salvum facit populum suum. Christus autem secundum humanitatem ideo vocatur, quia Spiritu Sancto a Patre unctus est, sicut ex ipsius Christi persona Esaias Propheta ait: *Spiritus Domini super me, propter quod unxit me*[2]; et in Psalmo Propheta ad ipsum Christum Dominum: *Sedes tua, Deus, in saeculum saeculi; virga equitatis virga regni tui; dilexisti iustitiam et odisti iniquitatem; propterea unxit te Deus; Deus tuus, oleo letitiae pre consortibus tuis*[3]. Unctus Deus, Filius Dei, a Patre et Spiritu Sancto, non in Divinitatis essentia, sed in humanitate assumpta. Duas quippe in Christo credimus esse naturas, duasque formas, duasque nativitates, duas etiam voluntates atque operationes in singularitatem personae. De prima

sun as furnishing by its light a type of the Father generating the Son is very frequent indeed in the Fathers. The use made of it here and *R.* lxxiii. § 1 is much less frequent: indeed, I am not able to furnish any other instance of a passage exactly parallel, as they speak rather of the Holy Spirit, as Light of Light, than as heat of Light.' The illustration being so rare, its appearance in these two Commentaries is one proof among many of the close connexion between them.

[1] This Commentary, it will be observed, like that of Fortunatus, passes over the twenty-fifth, twenty-sixth, and twenty-seventh verses of the Creed.

[2] Isai. lxi. 1. [3] In the Vulgate, Ps. xliv. 7, 8.

quippe nativitate eius, quę secundum Divinitatem ex Patre est, David Propheta ex persona Patris ad Filium ait: *Ex utero ante luciferum genui te*[1]. Ex utero inquit, hoc est, de mea substantia; ante luciferum, id est, ante omnem creaturam. De secunda vero generatione eius, quę iuxta humanitatem temporalis facta est, beatus Paulus Apostolus sua nos informans auctoritate, *At ubi venit,* inquit, *plenitudo temporis, misit Deus Filium suum, factum ex muliere, factum sub lege, ut eos, qui sub lege erant, redimeret, ut adoptionem filiorum reciperemus*[2]. De prima generatione, quę secundum Deitatem est, Esaias Propheta clamat: *Generationem eius quis enarrabit*[3]*?* De generatione autem eius, quę secundum carnem est, Mattheus Evangelista scripsit: *Liber generationis Ihesu Christi, filii David, filii Abraam*[4]. De duabus vero voluntatibus in eo ipse sibi Dei Filius testis est, qui tempore passionis suae Patrem efflagitans ait: *Pater, si fieri potest, transeat a me calix iste; verumtamen non sicut ego volo, sed sicut tu*[5], Pater. Similiter et de duabus operationibus qui nosse cupit, ex evangelica predicatione plenius scire potest. Idcirco autem Dei Filius, qui verus Deus est ex Patre, verus homo dignatus est fieri ex matre[6], *ex anima rationabili et carne* consistentibus suis in singularitate personę, ut totum hominem *ex anima rationabili et carne* mortali subsistente[7], qui in Adam peccando perierat, per suam passionem ac mortem de mortis potestate redimeret, et per resurrectionem suam aeternae vitae participem efficeret. Non sicut Apollinaris hereticus predicare ausus est, qui eundem

[1] In the Vulgate, Ps. cix. 3.
[2] Galat. iv. 4, 5.
[3] Isai. liii. 8.
[4] S. Matt. i. 1.
[5] S. Matt. xxvi. 39.

[6] The terms *verus Deus, verus homo* are repeatedly used, it may be observed, in this as well as the Fortunatus Commentary, in reference to our blessed Lord. It has been said that this terminology was not introduced till after the Adoptionist controversy, which may be assigned to the end of the eighth century. The untruth of the assertion might be abundantly proved; but it will be sufficient to quote two passages from so early a writer as St. Hilary of Poictiers: 'Iesus Christus . . . homo ac Deus . . . habens in se et totum verumque quod homo est, et totum verumque quod Deus est' (*de Trin.* x. § 19), and 'Nescit vitam suam, nescit, qui Christum Iesum ut verum Deum ita et verum hominem ignorat' (*ibid.* ix. § 3).

[7] The mark of contraction over the final *e* has been evidently omitted by an oversight: with it the reading would have been 'subsistentem.'

Filium[1] animam non habuisse asseruit; hoc tamen rationabile existimans, quod Divinitas ei sufficeret pro ratione. Catholica vero fides eundem *Dei Filium* Dominum ac redemptorem nostrum, sicut verum Deum ex Patre, ut dictum est, ita et verum hominem ex matre *animam* habere *rationabilem et carnem* cum sensibus suis credit et confitetur. *Qui licet Deus sit et homo, non tamen duos* Christos neque duas personas neque duos filios Dei in eum credere oportet, sed *unum Christum* unumque Dei Filium in duabus, ut dictum est, naturis; singularis vero persona[2]. Sicut enim quilibet homo, *ex anima rationabili et carne* mortali *subsistens*, non duo sed *unus est homo, ita* et Christus, et *Deus et homo* in unitatem personae, non duo sed *unus est Christus*; unus salvator mundi ac redemptor humani generis: *aequalis Patri* in forma Dei, *minor* vero ei in forma servi, creator matris suae et dominus *secundum* potentiam Divinitatis, creatus vero ex ipsa filius iuxta *humanitatem*[3]. Nam simul ex ea Deus et homo absque ulla corruptione gemina substantia, simplici autem persona, *non conversione Divinitatis in carne* neque humanitatis in Divinitate: id est, neque Divinitas, que immutabilis est, in humanitatem conversa est, neque humanitas in Divinitatem[4]. Tenent igitur in eo in singu-

[1] In the MS. a blank space has been left here. The sense seems to require *rationabilem*.

[2] The passage seems almost borrowed from St. Augustine—'non duo Christi sunt, nec duo filii Dei, sed una persona, unus Christus Dei filius idemque unus Christus.' S. Aug. *Ser.* ccxciv. § 9.

[3] Two remarks suggest themselves here. First, that the Commentator, while clearly following the verse of the Creed commencing *aequalis Patri*, has substituted for *secundum Divinitatem* and *secundum humanitatem*, which we have in the Creed, expressions borrowed from St. Paul, Philip. ii. 6, 7—*in forma Dei* and *in forma servi*. And then the very remarkable antithesis, introduced here as a comment, is clearly derived from the same source as the verse itself—the writings of St. Augustine. We find, 'Erat ante carnem suam. Ipse *creavit matrem suam*. Elegit, in qua conciperetur; *creavit*, de qua *crearetur*.' S. Aug. *Ser.* cxix. 6; apud Migne, *Patrol. Lat.* Also 'Proinde quod ad Verbum adtinet, *Creator* est Christus; *omnia enim per ipsum facta sunt*. Quod vero ad hominem, *creatus* est Christus. *Factus enim ex semine David secundum carnem*.' Ibid. *de Praesentia Dei*, liber seu Epist. clxxxvii. 8. Again, 'Filius hominis . . . nec sic assumptus ut prius creatus post assumeretur, sed ut ipsa assumptione *crearetur*.' Ibid. *Contra sermonem Arianorum liber unus*, cap. viii.

[4] The MS. certainly has *humanitatem* here: it is written *humanitate* with the mark of contraction over the *e*, which indicates of course the omission of

laritate personae utręque naturae absque ulla convertibilitate proprietates suas, Dei scilicet quod Dei est et hominis quod homo est. Sicut enim in essentiam Divinitatis unum sunt[1] cum Patre, ipso dicente: *Ego et Pater unum sumus*[2], ita in natura humanitatis unum est cum Ecclesia; quia idem Christus Dominus cum Ecclesia Catholica, quae est sponsa eius et caput et corpus, unus est Christus, Apostolo hoc affirmante atque dicente: *Propter hoc relinquet homo patrem et matrem et adherebit uxori suae, et erunt duo in carne una. Sacramentum hoc magnum est; ego autem dico in Christo et in Ecclesia*[3]. Hoc autem ideo Dominus fieri voluit, ne in Trinitate, quod absit, quaternitas intromittatur; quemadmodum Nestorius hereticus impie predicare ausus est, qui dixit beatam Mariam virginem non Deum et hominem genuisse[4], in quo homine postea propter meritum sanctitatis Divinitatem Filii Dei habitasse, sicut et in ceteris sanctis. Ac per hoc, non unam, sed duas in Christo asserunt[5] esse personas, et introduxit in Trinitatem quaternitatem: cuius impia professio procul absit a cordibus fidelium[6]. Nos autem credere oportet saepedictum Dei Filium secundum Divinitatem invisibiliter in utero virginis Mariae introisse, et veram carnem ex substantia eiusdem virginis Mariae, quam cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto creavit, quasi quoddam vestimentum[7] in singularitate personae

the final *m*. This leads us to suppose that the Commentator read *carnem* in the quotation from the Creed, but that he or the copyist omitted inadvertently the mark of contraction over the *e*, thus changing the word into *carne*. This comment may be compared with the following passage of St. Cyril's third Epistle to Nestorius, as translated by Dionysius Exiguus: 'Nec carnem dicimus in naturam Deitatis esse conversam, nec in substantiam carnis ineffabilem Dei Verbi essentiam commutatam.' Routh, *Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Opuscula*, tom. ii. p. 38. See also S. Aug. *de Trin.* i. 14.

[1] So the MS., clearly for 'est.'

[2] S. Joh. x. 30.

[3] Ephes. v. 31, 32.

[4] '*sed* hominem' no doubt should have been written. 'Nestorius beatam Mariam virginem non Dei, *sed* hominis tantummodo credidit genitricem.' S. Leo, *ad Leonem Augustina.*

[5] So the MS.; probably a clerical error for *asseruit.*

[6] Fortunatus' Commentary has—'ne propter adsumptionem humanae carnis dicatur esse quaternitas, quod absit a fidelium cordibus vel sensibus dici aut cogitari.'

[7] So St. Gregory in Ezekiel, lib. ii. *Hom.* i. 9: 'Quid enim *vestimentum* eius, nisi corpus quod assumsit ex virgine?'

suae ita unisse, ut nec Deus sine homine nec homo absque Deo fieri omnino [1] potuisset ; et ita in utraque natura et una persona incorruptibiliter ex ea natum. Et idcirco iam dictam virginem Mariam non hominis tantum, sed Dei et hominis, genitricem credimus et confitemur ; quia Dei Filius, non personam hominis, sed naturam ex ea assumpsit humanitatis ; quia nequaquam conceptio carnis in virginis utero Divinitatis praevenit adventu [2], sed Divinitas praevenit virginis conceptum ; quam humanam naturam tota Trinitas in utero virginis creavit, sed solus Filius in singularitate personę suae suscepit atque univit. Idcirco autem Dei Filius naturam humani generis, id est, perfectum hominem absque peccato de virgine suscipere dignatus est, ut per eandem naturam, quae in paradiso a diabolo decepta montem incurrerat ; rursum eundem diabolum, non potentia Divinitatis, sed ratione iustitiae vinceret et prostraret, et per indebitam mortem suam debitam mortem nostram evacuaret, et credentibus sibi perpetuam vitam condonaret ; quatinus et diabolus per iustitiam victus cederet, et, quos iniuste retinebat, amitteret, et humanum genus, non merito suo, seu libero arbitrio, sed sola gratia misericordiae salvaretur. Et ideo ob redemptionem humani generis, ut dictum est, Divinitatis suae potentia *passus est*, in carne mortuus, et sepultus est in eadem carne. Secundum animam *descendit ad infernum.* Secundum virtutem Divinitatis suae *die tertia* in eadem carne, in qua mortuus fuerat, vivus *resurrexit.* Post resurrectionem vero suam per dies xl multis modis discipulis suis se vivum exhibuit, atque ad palpandum prebuit, et ad confirmandam eorum fidem, et hereticorum destruendam perfidiam, qui eum negant veram carnem in caelo levasse [3], cibum petiit, et coram eis comedit : quadragesimo vero die post resurrectionem suam, videntibus apostolis suis, *ascendit*

[1] 'omnino' is written in small letters above the line.

[2] Thus the MS. The mark of abbreviation over the *u* has probably been omitted through inadvertence.

[3] The Apellitae taught that Christ left His body dissolved in the air, and so ascended into heaven without it: 'Hunc Apellem dicunt quidam etiam de Christo tam falsa sensisse, ut diceret eum non quidem carnem deposuisse de caelo, sed ex elementis mundi accepisse, quam mundo reddidit, cum sine carne resurgens in caelum ascendit.' S. Aug. *de Haeresibus*, xxiii. See Pearson on the Creed, note on the Article 'He ascended into Heaven.'

in caelum, et *sedet ad dexteram Patris*, id est, regnat in gloriam et beatitudinem sempiternam. Quem *inde venturum* ad faciendum iudicium vivorum et mortuorum in ipso mundi termino sustinemus in eadem forma humanitatis et vera carne, in qua ascendit, sed glorificata, non infirma aut despecta, sicut in primo adventu, cum venit occultus, ut iudicaretur, sed, ut dictum est, in gloriam Patris et suam, non ut iudicetur, sed iudicet et reddet[1] unicuique secundum opus suum. De cuius adventu secundo in libro apocalypsin scriptum est: *Ecce veniet cum nubibus* caeli, *et videbit eum omnis oculus, et qui illum pupugerunt*[2]; ipse quoque in evangelio de suo adventu ait: *Cum venerit filius hominis in maiestate sua, et omnes angeli cum eo*[3]; *et iterum ipse: Verumtamen filius hominis veniet*[4], *putas inveniet fidem in terra*[5]? In cuius adventu ad angelicam tubam omnes defuncti a primo homine Adam usque ad ultimum, qui in fine mundi obiturus erit, tam pii, quam impii, tam iusti, quam etiam iniusti secundum apostolicam auctoritatem in ictu oculi in eadem carne, in qua vixerunt, et in qua bona vel mala gesserunt, et in qua mortui sunt, *resurgere habent*, non naturam aut sexum mutantes, id est, neque vir in sexum femineum, neque mulier in virili forma, sed unusquisque, ut dictum est, in propria forma atque sexu, in qua vixit et mortuus fuit, resurrecturus erit, ut in eadem carne, in qua bona vel mala gesserunt, recipiat unusquisque quod meretur[6].

[1] So the MS. [2] Apoc. i. 7. [3] S. Matt. xxv. 31.

[4] Clearly an error for 'veniens,' the scribe probably being misled by 'inveniet' immediately after. In the MS. the corrector has inserted *ns* after 'veniet.'

[5] S. Luc. xviii. 8.

[6] The doctrine here maintained respecting the continuance in the future life of the distinction of the sexes had been clearly asserted by St. Jerome: 'Ego libere dicam et . . . fidem Ecclesiae apertissime confitebor. Resurrectionis veritas sine carne et ossibus, sine sanguine et membris, intelligi non potest. Ubi caro et ossa et sanguis et membra sunt, ibi necesse est ut sexus diversus sit. Ubi sexus diversus est, ibi Ioannes, Ioannes, Maria, Maria. Noli timere eorum nuptias, qui etiam ante mortem in sexu suo sine sexus opere vixerunt.' Again: 'Angelorum nobis similitudo promittitur, id est, beatitudo illa, in qua sine carne et sexu sunt Angeli, nobis in carne et sexu nostro donabitur.' S. Hieronymi *liber con. Ioannem Hierosolymitanum*, cap. xxxi; Migne, *Patrol. Lat.* tom. xxiii. p. 383. Of the eight errors of Origen against which this book of St. Jerome's was directed, the fifth was 'quod carnis resurrectionem membrorumque compagem et sexum, quo viri dividimur a feminis, apertissime neget.' He maintained that the Origenist tenet was inconsistent with the terms of the

Illud tamen nobis credendum est, quod tam iusti, quam et[1] peccatores incorrupta recipiant corpora sua. Hoc est, quod ultra mori non poterunt, apostolo hoc affirmante atque dicente: *Omnes quidem resurgemus, sed non omnes inmutabimur, in momento, in ictu oculi, in novissima tuba. Canet enim tuba, et mortui resurgent incorrupti, et nos inmutamur*[2]. Ideo tam electi, quam reprobi, incorrupta recipient corpora, quatinus et iusti in eadem carne, in qua propter Deum in hac vita poenas seu ceteros labores sustinuerunt, in ipsa recipiant a Domino aeternam beatitudinem et perpetuam gloriam. In quibus erit aeterna vita una remuneratio, sed pro diversitate meritorum dissimilis gloria. Similiter et omnes reprobi, impii videlicet et peccatores, in propria corpora sua, in quae[3] prave seu luxuriose vixerunt, recepturi sunt aeternam dampnationem, in quibus tamen pro qualitate vel quantitate peccatorum dissimilis erit poena, sed una dampnatio sempiterna. Hoc quippe iudicium Deus Pater omnipotens per Filium suum in hominem assumptum facturus est, sicut ipse Filius in evangelio de semet ipso testatur dicens: *Pater non iudicat quemquam, sed omne iudicium dedit Filio*[4]. Non tamen ita accipiendum est, ut Filius absque Patre et Spiritu Sancto, a quibus omnino dividi non potest, solus iudicet; sed ideo ita dictum credimus, quia Pater invisibilis est, et a nullo hominum videri potest. Et ideo solus Filius, ut dictum est, iudicabit, quia ipse solus formam servi accepit, in qua visibiliter vivos et mortuos iudicaturus est. Invisibiliter vero tota Trinitas iudicabit: visibiliter autem, ut

Creed 'carnis resurrectionem,' heretics admitting a resurrection of the body but not of the flesh. 'In symbolo fidei et spei nostrae, quod ab Apostolis traditum, non scribitur in charta et atramento, sed in tabulis cordis carnalibus; post confessionem Trinitatis et unitatem Ecclesiae omne Christiani dogmatis sacramentum carnis resurrectione concluditur.' *Ibid.* cap. xxviii. The statement of the Athanasian Creed—'omnes homines resurgere habent cum corporibus suis'—is clearly not a mere general enunciation of the doctrine of the Resurrection; it is a distinct assertion of the identity of the risen body in each individual. In this respect it is very valuable, but the force of the original is lost in our translation—'with *their* bodies,' instead of 'with their own bodies.'

[1] The corrector appears to have inserted the letter *m* with the mark of abbreviation after 'et' with the intention of altering it into 'etiam.'

[2] 1 Cor. xv. 51, 52. The corrector has made a mark over the *a* in 'inmutamur,' evidently because he thought it an error for 'inmutabimur.'

[3] So the MS.

[4] *S. Joh. Evan.* v. 22.

dictum est, solus Filius in forma servi iuste iudicabit, qui ob redemptionem humani generis solus in carne assumpta iniuste ab impiis iudicatus est. In cuius iudicio electi duabus in partibus discreti erunt, id est, perfectis, quibus dictum est: *Sedebitis super duodecim sedes iudicantes XII tribus Israel*[1]. Quod enim apostolis tunc promissum est, ad omnes perfectos pertinet, qui cum Domino ceteros iudicabunt. Secundus vero ordo erit in illis, qui ad superiorem, hoc est, apostolorum et martyrum se[2] perfectorum mensuram pervenire non potuerunt, et tamen per satisfactionem poenitentię, per elemosynarum largitionem, per compassionem sanctorum, et cetera iustitiae opera vitam consecuturi sunt aeternam. Talibus enim convenit illa Domini sententia, qua ait: *Facite vobis amicos de iniquo mamona, ut, cum defeceritis, recipiant vos in eterna tabernacula*[3]*; et illud: Qui vos recipit, me recipit*[4]. Reprobi vero similiter duabus distincti erunt in partibus, impiis videlicet et peccatoribus. Impii appellantur omnes infideles, qui Dominum non noverunt, de quibus psalmista ait: *Non resurgunt impio in iudicio*[5]. Resurgent utique, non ut iudicentur, sed ut punientur[6]; quoniam secundum apostolicam auctoritatem *quicunque sine lege peccaverunt, sine lege et peribunt*[7]. De talibus veritas in evangelio ait: *Qui non credit, iam iudicatus est*[8]; hoc est, iam dampnatus est. Peccatores vero vocantur, qui intra Ecclesiam per fidem commorantur, sed prave vivunt. De talibus rursum psalmista ait: *Neque peccatores in consilio iustorum*[9]*;* de quibus et Paulus: *Confitetur*[10] *se nosse Deum, factis autem negant, cum sint abbominati, et incredibiles, et ad omne opus bonum reprobi*[11]; quos et Dominus per evangelium increpat dicens: Quid prodest qui dicitis michi, *Domine, Domine, et non*

[1] S. Matt. xix. 28.

[2] So the MS.; but a small *u* has been inserted by the corrector over 'se.'

[3] S. Luc. xvi. 9.

[4] S. Matt. x. 40. There is nothing in this passage inconsistent with the hypothesis that the Commentary was the work of the seventh century. It follows SS. Augustine and Ambrose in its interpretation of our Lord's words. See especially S. Aug. *de Civ. Dei*, lib. xxi. § 28, 5. Also St. Ambrose on St. Luke xvi. 9, and the *Catena Aurea* of Thomas Aquinas on St. Luke, cap. xvi.

[5] So the MS. The Vulgate has *non resurgent impii in iudicio*, Ps. i.

[6] So the MS. [7] Rom. ii. 12. [8] *S. Joh. Evan.* iii. 18.

[9] Ps. i. 5. [10] So the MS. [11] Tit. i. 16.

facitis quae dico[1]. Sicut enim fides, quam se mali Christiani habere gloriantur, absque bonis operibus eos salvare non potest, ita bonum opus quodcunque infideles agunt, sine fide nichil illis prodest, apostolo hoc affirmante, qui ait: *Omne, quod non est ex fide, peccatum est*[2]. Et ideo solos illos credimus posse salvos fieri, qui et fidem rectam absque ullo discrimine retinent, et bonis operibus, in quantum possunt, laborare non desinunt, vitantes scilicet capitalia atque mortifera crimina, sicut ait psalmista: *Declina a malo et fac bonum*[3]; et alibi: *Quiescite*

[1] S. Luc. vi. 46.

[2] The last quotation is from Rom. xiv. 23. This classification of 'impii' and 'peccatores' is found in Bruno's *Exposition of the Psalms*, in a passage borrowed from Cassiodorus: 'Impii sunt, qui sanctam Trinitatem nullatenus confitentur. *Resurgunt impii, sed non in iudicio,* quia iam iudicati sunt. Iustus surgit, ut iudicet; peccator, ut iudicetur; impius ut sine iudicio puniatur. Peccatores sunt Christiani, sed peccatis obnoxii, qui ideo *non resurgunt in consilio iustorum,* id est, in iudicio iustorum, quia iam illis, scilicet iustis, per gratiam confessionis peccata dimissa sunt.' Brunonis *Expos. Psalm.* i. 6; Migne, *Patrol. Lat.* tom. cxlii. p. 51. It appears also in Bede: 'Et congregabuntur ante eum omnes gentes et reliqua. Duo sunt itaque ordines hominum in iudicio collectorum, qui tamen in quatuor dividuntur. Perfectorum ordines duo sunt: unus, qui cum Domino iudicabit, et non iudicantur, de quibus Dominus ait: *Sedebitis et vos super sedes duodecim*; alius, quibus dicetur: *Esurivi, et dedistis mihi manducare* (S. Matt. xxv. 35), hi iudicabuntur et regnabunt. Item reproborum ordines duo sunt: unus eorum, qui extra Ecclesiam inveniendi sunt, hi non iudicabuntur et peribunt, de quibus Psalmista ait: *Non resurgunt impii in iudicio.* Aliter quoque reproborum est eorum, qui iudicabuntur et peribunt, quibus dicitur: *Esurivi, et non dedistis mihi manducare* (S. Matt. xxv. 42).' Bedae *Expositio in Matthaei evangelium,* cap. xxv; Migne, *Patrol. Lat.* tom. xcii. p. 109. It will be observed that this passage, like the Commentary, divides the elect, as well as the reprobate, into two classes; and it was Bede's declared principle to follow the interpretations of the Fathers. St. Ambrose gives a similar description of 'peccatores' and 'impii': 'Ergo impii *non resurgunt in iudicio,* hoc est, in portionem eorum, qui iudicium subituri sunt, nec *peccatores resurgunt in consilio iustorum.* Vides, quia surgunt impii, et non surgent in iudicio iustorum, quia peccatores, etsi non resurgent in consilio iustorum, resurgent tamen in iudicio. Unde videntur, qui bene crediderunt, et fidem suam etiam operibus executi sunt, ipsi non iudicari, sed surgere in consilio iustorum. Peccatores autem, qui non possunt inter iustos surgere. surgent in iudicio. Habes duos ordines. Tertius superest impiorum, qui quoniam non crediderunt, iam iudicati sunt, et ideo non resurgent in iudicio, sed ad paenam.' S. Ambros. *Enarratio in Psalmum I.*

[3] Ps. xxxiii. 14. *Declina,* it is worth noticing, is the reading of the Vetus version of the Psalter; the Roman and Gallican have *Diverte.*

agere perverse, discite bene facere[1]. Quod autem dicimus de Christo Domino: *Inde venturus vivos ac mortuos*[2], vivos intellegimus, quos dies iudicii vivos invenerit, mortuos autem omnes, qui antea obierunt, et tunc resurrecturi erunt; vel certe, ut quidam volunt, sicut per viventes electi, ita per mortuos reprobi omnes accipiendi sunt[3]. Post futurum vero iudicium, et iustorum remunerationem, atque iniquorum dampnationem, quicquid in utrisque divina sententia decreverit, id est, in electis ac reprobis, aeternum et sine fine erit: nec mali ultra gaudia sperabunt, nec boni tristitiam formidabunt. Quoniam, sicut electi perpetua letitia fruentes ad reproborum dampnationem, ut quidam heretici voluerunt, in aeternum reversuri non erunt; ita et reprobi in perpetua[4] demersi ad electorum gaudia nequaquam ultra consurgent, ipso iudice teste, qui ait: *Et ibunt hi*, id est, impii et peccatores, *in supplicium aeternum, iusti autem in vitam aeternam*[5]. *Haec est fides catholica, quam* universalis Ecclesia in electis suis corde credit, ore profitetur, et bonis operibus exequitur. De qua fide quicunque ex his, qui Christiano nomine censentur, quicquam detraxerit aut credere noluerit, proculdubio catholicus non erit, sed intra Ecclesiam positus sub nomine Christianitatis recte catholicus, ut hereticus, deputabitur.

[1] The words of Isaiah (i. 16, 17) seem to be here attributed to the Psalmist, but possibly it may be a mere clerical error; the copyist may have omitted after 'alibi' the words 'scriptum est.'

[2] So the MS. originally, but the corrector has written 'iudicare' above 'vivos.' Obviously it had been omitted inadvertently by the original hand.

[3] These two alternative interpretations of 'vivi' and 'mortui' are also given by Fortunatus' Commentary. The correspondence seems to indicate that the writer still had the earlier exposition before him in the latter portion of his Commentary, relating to the Incarnation, although he ceases to follow it closely, as in the former part concerning the Trinity. A similar indication may be found in the allusion to Nestorianism as inconsistent with the doctrine of the Trinity, and introducing a quaternity of Persons.

[4] A word must be here omitted, probably 'tristitia.'

[5] S. Matt. xxv. 46.

G.

Copy of the second Commentary on the Athanasian Creed, contained in Troyes 804, *and immediately following the foregoing one. It is preceded by the title 'Item alia expositio.' The collations of the copy of this Commentary, edited by Mai*[1] *from a manuscript in the Vatican, are added in the notes. The title which he applies to it, 'Symboli Athanasiani explanatio,' is not to be found in the MS.*

Quicunque vult salvus esse, ante omnia opus est, ut teneat catholicam fidem, quam nisi quisque integram inviolatamque servaverit, absque dubio in aeternum peribit. Quod dicitur in capite horum versuum, hoc repetitur in fine. Nam hoc est in aeternum perire, quod salvum non esse; et hoc est salvum esse, quod non perire. Sed quid est quod integram et inviolatam servandam admonet fidem, nisi quia nichil de illa est auferendum, nichil mutandum, sicut in fine libri apocalipsis terribiliter contestatum est. Demunt namque et violant, id est, minuunt et corrumpunt sacramenta fidei heretici et scismatici; et idcirco eicit[2] illos foras ecclesiam[3] et excludit a se, ut ipsa sine macula inveniatur et ruga. Sicut enim Deus veritas[4] est, ita ea, quę apostolica ecclesia de Deo docuit, vera sunt. Si aliquid horum depinxeris[5] aut mutaris, intrat putredo de veneno serpentis, nascitur vermis mendaciorum, et nichil integrum remanebit, quia ubi fuerit corruptio falsitatis, non ibi erit integritatis veritatis[6]. Oportunum

[1] *Scriptorum veterum nova collectio*, tom. ix. p. 396. [2] For 'eiicit.'

[3] In the corresponding passage of the Bouhier Commentary, Troyes 1979 and 1532 and B. M. Addit. 24902 have 'ecclesia.'

[4] Mai reads 'veracitas.'

[5] Mai, 'depresseris.' Troyes 1979 in the corresponding passage has 'detraxeris.' Probably the right reading is 'dempseris.'

[6] Mai reads 'integritas.' This sentence, from 'Si aliquid' to 'veritatis,' is found almost word for word in Prosper's *Liber sententiarum ex Augustino*, printed in the Appendix to St. Augustine's works—No. 326 of the series. See Migne, *Patrol. Lat.* xiv. 1888. The Commentator evidently drew directly from Prosper, who flourished in the early half of the fifth century. The original source, from which the latter borrowed the greater portion of the passage, was St. Augustine's *Tract. in Joh. Evan.* viii. 5. Some of these

namque michi videtur paucis admonendum, quam[1] illa sit fides quę salvat[2] quę in aeternum perire non sinit: nempe non est illa, qua demones credunt et contremescunt, non tamen diligunt aut sperant quod credunt, sed illa potius est, quę per dilectionem operatur, illa videlicet dilectione[3], de qua Dominus ait: *Qui diligit me, sermones meos servat*[4]. Quam dilectionem quisquis adeptus fuerit, sentit proculdubio quantum et quale bonum sit Deus. Quod etiam ex hoc ostenditur, quia nulli ab eo recedenti bene est[5]. A quo enim habet homo ut sit, ab eo habet ut bene sit[6]. Et hoc est bonum hominis ut summi et incommutabilis boni[7] adhaereat naturae; quod si noluerit, bono se privat, cuius participatione esse ipse poterat. Bonum sit, malum est ei[8] propter quod etiam per iustitiam Dei cruciatus consequitur. Quid enim tam iniquum quam ut bene sit ei, qui voluntarie deserit summum bonum? Sed hoc malum, quod fit deserendum[9] summum bonum. Idcirco autem[10] plerique non sentiunt, quia inferius amant temporale bonum; sed divina iustitia est, ut, qui voluntate deserit Deum, cum dolore amittat quod amat preter eum[11], et ab hoc dolore fides non liberet eum. Fides namque

sentences of Prosper were incorporated in the Canons of the Second Council of Orange, A. D. 529.

[1] Mai reads 'quae.'

[2] Mai omits 'quę salvat.'

[3] So the MS. The mark of contraction over the final letters of 'illa' and 'dilectione' has probably been omitted through inadvertence. Mai reads 'dilectio.'

[4] Compare S. Luc. xiv. 23, 24.

[5] From 'quantum' to 'bene est' seems to be drawn directly from Prosper's *Sententiae*, cclxxxix; *quale bonum sit Deus* indirectly from St. Augustine, *de Genesi ad Literam*, lib. xi. cap. v.

[6] Apparently from St. Augustine, u. s., lib. xi. cap. viii: 'Qui gloriatur, nonnisi in Domino gloriatur, cum cognoscit non suum, sed illius esse, non solum ut sit, verum etiam ut nonnisi ab illo bene sibi sit, a quo habet ut sit.'

[7] Mai reads 'summae et incommutabiliter bonae.'

[8] The passage is evidently corrupt. Mai reads 'poterat bonus, et magnum malum est ei bonum non esse.' Prosper and St. Augustine, in the passages which the Commentator here borrows from, both have 'Quod si noluerit, bono se privat, et hoc ei malum est.'

[9] Mai, 'deserendo.'

[10] Mai omits 'autem.'

[11] The whole of this passage, beginning with 'hoc est bonum hominis' and ending here, is clearly drawn from Prosper's *Sententiae*, cclxxxvii, *De bono humanae naturae*; and it is equally clear that Prosper drew from St. Augustine, *de Genesi ad Litteram*, lib. viii. cap. xiv.

alio nomine dicitur credulitas; nam apud Grecos fides et credulitas uno dicitur nomine. Catholica grecum nomen est; interpretatur autem latino eloquio universalis, quia toto mundo diffusa ecclesia est[1], et toto tempore hanc tenet fidem et tenuit, neque unquam aut tempore mutata est aut locis variata. Nam hereticorum fides non potest dici catolica, quia non est publica, sed privata; nec ubique tenetur, nec semper fuisse monstratur. Sequitur: *Fides autem catholica haec est, ut unum Deum in trinitate et trinitatem in unitate veneremur.* Unitas in Deitate, trinitas est[1] in personis. Veneremur ergo Unitatem Deitatis in trinitate personarum, veneremur trinitatem personarum in Unitate Deitatis. In qua trinitatem[2] substantiae unitas, ut aequalitatem teneat, pluralitatem non recipiat[3], tantum[4] personarum distinctio, ut unione non permisceatur[5]. Tres personae unius sunt essentię, sive naturę, unius virtutis, unius operationis, unius beatitudinis, atque unius potestatis, ut trina sit unitas, et una sit trinitas. Ita ut unusquisque eorum verus perfectusque sit Deus, videlicet ex plenitudine Divinitatis nichil minus in singulis, nichil amplius ut[6] intellegatur in tribus[7]. Nec huius trinitatis tertia pars est unus, nec maior pars duo quam unus[8]. Ita tota Deitas sui perfectione aequalis est, ut exceptis vocabulis, quę proprietatem indicant personarum, quicquid de una persona dixeris, de tribus dignissime possit intellegi[9]; et non maius sit in tribus quam in singulis, nec minus in singulis quam in tribus[10]. Vel[11] si in tribus hominibus dicas quod sint immortales, ego non intellego plus posse vivere simul tres quam singulos, nec minus singulos quam totos tres,

[1] Mai omits 'est.' [2] Mai reads 'trinitate tanta est.'

[3] From 'In Trinitate' to 'recipiat' is drawn from Prosper's *Sententiae ex Augustino*, ccxxvii.

[4] So the MS., but in the corresponding passage in Troyes 1979 we have 'tanta.'

[5] Mai, 'permisceantur.' [6] Mai omits 'ut.'

[7] This passage, from 'tres personae' to 'in tribus,' appears in the Epistle of Pelagius I to King Childebert. See Migne, tom. cv. p. 141.

[8] From 'nec' to 'unus' is from St. Augustine, *Con. Maximinum*, lib. ii. cap. x. § 2.

[9] From 'tota Deitas' to 'intellegi' appears in the Creed of St. Jerome so called.

[10] From 'non' to 'tribus' is in substance from St. Augustine, *Ep.* clxx. 5.

[11] Mai reads 'velut.'

quoniam trium una est immortalitas. Aut si aequaliter sint sapientes, non plus sapiunt simul quam singuli; sed tanta est in unoquoque sapientia, quanta in tribus[1]. Si haec ergo in creatura invenitur[2], ubi non est una anima aut unum cor, nisi[3] per dilectionem et fidem, quanto magis in creatore, in Patre scilicet et Filio et Spiritu Sancto, cui[4] est aeterna et incommutabilis unitas, qui est indifferens trinitas, unus Deus[5], unum lumen, unumque principium[6]. Sequitur. *Neque confundentes personas, neque substantiam separantes.* Sicut enim confutantes Arrium unam eandemque dicimus trinitatis esse substantiam, et unum in tribus personis fatemur Deum, ita impietatem Sabellii declinantes tres personas sub proprietatem[7] distinguimus. Sabellius, qui[8] intellexit unam esse trinitatis substantiam, ideo confundens personas, ipsum sibi Patrem, ipsum sibi Filium, ipsum[9] Spiritum Sanctum, esse dicebat. Nos tamen non nomina tantum, sed etiam nominum proprietates idem[10] confitemur. Nec Pater Filii aut Spiritus Sancti personam aliquando excludit[11]; nec rursus Filius aut Spiritus Sanctus Patris nomen personamque recipit: sed Pater semper Pater, Filius semper Filius, Spiritus Sanctus semper Spiritus Sanctus. Arrius vero, quia cognovit tres personas, idcirco et tres asseruit divinas substantias. Sed nos confitemur, quia Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus substantia unum sunt, personis ac nominibus distinguntur[12]. Sequitur: *Alia est enim persona Patris, alia Filii, alia Spiritus Sancti: sed Patris et*

[1] These illustrations are from St. Augustine, *Ep.* clxxxvii. cap. iv.

[2] Mai reads 'inveniuntur.'

[3] Mai adds 'forte.'

[4] Mai reads 'qui.'

[5] Mai omits 'Deus.'

[6] From 'indifferens' to 'principium' is from Prosper's *Liber Sententiarum ex Augustino*, cccl, ex Augustini *Tract.* 39 in *Johannem*, n. 5. It is in substance from St. Augustine.

[7] Mai 'proprietate.'

[8] Mai 'quia.'

[9] 'sibi' is added by Mai.

[10] *o* has been written above *m* in 'idem' by the corrector, and a line drawn under it. Mai gives the right reading, no doubt, 'proprietates id est personas,' which is found also in the Bouhier Commentary. This is one of the errors which show that the scribe copied from an earlier codex. Probably the text from which he copied omitted 'personas' and read 'id ē'; and owing to the omission of 'personas' he misunderstood the contraction.

[11] Mai reads 'excludit aliquando.'

[12] Nearly the whole of this passage, from 'confutantes Arrium' to 'distinguntur,' appears in the *Fides Hieronymi.*

Filii et Spiritus Sancti una est divinitas, aequalis gloria, et coaeterna maiestas. Aequalis gloria, quia non est maior in gloria Pater, quam Filius aut Spiritus Sanctus. Non minorem [1] gloria Spiritus Sancti quam Patris aut Filii. *Coaeterna maiestas:* quia non est anterior Pater Filio aut Spiritu Sancto, non est posterior Spiritus Sanctus Patre aut Filio. Sciendum tamen est, quia personas dicere necessitas fecit disputationis contra hereticos: nam in scripturis divinis dictum non invenitur. Doctores tamen licenter hoc assumpserunt; non quia scriptura dicit, sed quia scriptura non contradicit [2]. Nam cum dixeris, tres sunt, et mox interrogatus fueris, qui [3] sunt tres, nichil omnino respondendum restat, nisi personę. Nam aliud quid respondeas, nichil habebis; quia non potest dicere, tres dii, aut tres substantię, aut aliquid huiusmodi, quod absit. Dicta autem persona, quasi per se una, eo quod per se sit. Dicitur etiam substantia [4], eo quod per se subsistat, nam quod nos dicimus personas, Greci dicunt ipotasis [5], quod interpretatur in Latino subsistentias: et quod apud nos dicitur substantia, apud illos dicitur USIA [6]. Et quidem in Latina lingua quasi unum videtur esse substantia et subsistentia. In Alexandrino tamen concilio, ubi hoc primum tractatum fuit, ita definitum est, ut substantia ipsam rei alicuius naturam rationemque, qua constat, designet, subsistentia autem uniuscuiusque personę hoc ipsum, quod extat et subsistit, ostendat. *Alia est enim persona Patris, alia Filii, alia Spiritus Sancti;* quia alius est in persona Pater, alius in persona Filius, alius in persona Spiritus Sanctus; non est alius in Deitate, non est alius in gloria. Alius est Pater, et alius Filius, quia non est ipse Pater, qui Filius; non est tamen aliud Pater et aliud Filius, quia hoc est Pater, qui [7] Filius. Adtendendum quoque diligenter, quod

[1] The final *m* has been underscored by the corrector. Mai reads 'minor est.' The cause of the error was evidently the same here as in the last instance. The text from which the scribe copied probably had 'minor ē.' He understood the mark of contraction to signify the omission of the final *m*; but 'ē' is a very common form of abbreviation for 'est.'

[2] This must have been founded upon St. Augustine, *de Trin.* lib. vii. cap. iv. § 8, 'Propterea *licuit* loquendi et disputandi necessitate tres personas dicere, *non quia Scriptura dicit, sed quia Scriptura non contradicit.*'

[3] Mai 'quid.'

[4] Mai 'subsistentia.'

[5] Mai *ὑποτάσεις.*

[6] Mai *οὐσία.*

[7] Mai rightly 'quod.'

dicitur: non est ipse Pater, qui Filius, sed ipsum est Pater, qui[1] Filius[2]. Pater enim genitor est, non genitus; Filius genitus est, non genitor; Spiritus Sanctus non est genitor, quia non est Pater, non est genitus, quia non est Filius, sed procedens est, quia Spiritus. Hoc est tamen Filius, quod Pater, quia Deus, quia creator, quia omnipotens, et cetera nomina, quae substantialia sunt, non personalia, totius trinitatis aequalia sunt. Sciendum quoque summopere est, quod Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus inseparabiles sunt etiam in personis, quia sicut ubique est Pater, ita ubique Filius et Spiritus Sanctus; neque alium locum occupat Pater, alium Filius, alium Spiritus Sanctus. Non enim mundum inter se in tres partes diviserunt, quas singulas singuli implerent, quasi non haberent, ubi essent[3] Filius aut[4] Spiritus Sanctus in mundo, si totum occupasset Pater. Non ita se habet vera, incorporea, inmutabilisque Divinitas. Non enim corpora sunt, quorum amplius[5] sit in tribus, quam in singulis, magnitudo. Nec loca suis molibus tenent, ut distantibus spatiis simul esse non possint. Si enim anima in corpore constituta, non solum nullas angustias sentit, verum etiam quandam latitudinem invenit non corporalium[6] locorum sed spiritalium gaudiorum, cum sit quod ait Apostolus[7]: *nescitis, quoniam corpora vestra templum in vobis Spiritus Sancti sunt, quem habetis in Deum*[8]*?* nec dici nisi[9] stultissime potest non habere locum in nostro corpore Spiritum Sanctum, eo quod totum nostra anima impleverit: quanto stultius dicitur ullis angustiis alicubi imperari[10] trinitatem, ut Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus ubique simul esse non possint[11]. Inseparabile est etiam opus trinitatis; quia quęlibet persona,

[1] A dot has been made under the letter *i* and *od* written above it by the corrector.

[2] The reference may be to S. Aug. *in Iohan. Evan. Tract.* xxxvi. 9.

[3] In St. Augustine, 'haberet ubi esset' is the reading.

[4] Mai reads 'et.'

[5] Mai reads 'amplior.' So also it is in St. Augustine.

[6] Mai, 'incorporalium.'

[7] 1 Cor. vi. 19.

[8] Mai reads, as do the Vulgate and St. Augustine, 'a Deo.'

[9] Mai reads 'dicimus si.'

[10] Mai reads 'impediri.' So also St. Augustine.

[11] The whole of this passage, from 'Non enim mundum inter se' to 'esse non possint,' is from St. Augustine, *de praesentia Dei, Epist.* clxxxvii. cap. iv. 15.

sicut sine aliis personis esse non potest, ita sine aliis non operatur, et nichil seorsum agit inseparabilis caritas[1]. Sequitur: *Qualis Pater, talis Filius, talis Spiritus Sanctus.* Sciendum est omnino, quod qualitas de Deo proprie non dicitur. Nam de illis decem speciebus categoriarum haec[2] sunt, quibus caret Deus, id est, qualitatem, quantitatem, situm, habitum, locum, tempus, et passionem[3]; non tamen caret substantiam aut relationem[4], quia et Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus relativa sunt nomina unius substantię. Itaque absque illis speciebus intelligamus[5] Deum, quantum possumus, sine qualitate bonum, sine quantitate magnum, sine indigentia creatorem, sine situ presentem, sine habitu omnia continentem, sine loco ubique totum, sine tempore sempiternum, sine ulla sui mutatione mutabilia facientem, nichilque patientem[6]. Unam autem de his speciebus id est actionem, ideo pretermisi, quia actio creatoris longe dissimilis est ab actu creaturę. Nam creatura sine motu et labore nichil potest agere, actio vero creatoris sine motu et labore sola fit ei voluntate. Hoc tamen quod dicitur: *qualis Pater, talis Filius, talis Spiritus Sanctus*, propter necessitatem contra hereticos usurpatum est, quia similem[7] Deo Patri Filium asserebant, dissimilemque Spiritum Sanctum. Nos tamen dinoscamus, quid sit in creatura substantię qualitas, quid in creatore sine qualitate substantia. Proinde si de Deo dicamus, aeternus, immortalis, incorruptibilis, immutabilis, unius[8], sapiens, et speciosus, iustus, bonus, beatus, spiritus. Horum omnium quod novissimum posui, id est spiritus, quasi tantum

[1] This is in substance from St. Augustine, *in Johan. Tract.* v. 1 and xx. 3.

[2] Mai 'hae.'

[3] Mai 'qualitate, quantitate, situ, habitu, loco, tempore, et passione.' It is to be presumed that he found these readings in his MS., as he says nothing to the contrary. But the Troyes MS. probably is right, the accusative case being frequently used for the ablative in the age which produced this Commentary. I have drawn attention to the occurrence of this barbarism in the previous Commentary.

[4] Mai reads 'substantia aut relatione.'

[5] Mai inserts 'nos.'

[6] From 'intelligamus Deum' to 'patientem' is in St. Augustine, *de Trin.* lib. v. cap. i.

[7] Mai 'dissimilem.'

[8] A dot has been placed under the *i* by the corrector, signifying that 'unus' ought to have been written; 'vivus' is no doubt the right reading. This appears in Mai, and in St. Augustine in the passage here borrowed from.

modo videtur significare substantiam, cetera vero qualitates substantię eius. Sed non ita est in illa ineffabili simplicique natura ; quicquid enim secundum qualitatem illam[1] dici videtur, secundum substantiam vel essentiam est intellegendum. Absit enim ut spiritus secundum substantiam dicatur Deus, et bonus secundum qualitatem, sed utrumque[2] substantiam[3], sicut secundum substantiam sapientia dicitur Deus. Sequitur : *Increatus Pater, increatus Filius, increatus*[4] *Spiritus Sanctus.* Nichil in trinitate creatum, quia tota trinitas unus est creator. Omnis itaque substantia, quę Deus non est, creatura est ; et quę creatura est, non[5]. Nulla igitur differentia est in Deitate trinitatis ; quoniam, quod de[6] Deo minus est, Deus non est[7]. Sequitur : *Inmensus Pater, inmensus Filius, inmensus*[8] *Spiritus Sanctus.* Inmensus est Deus trinitatis[9], quia nulla ratione, nulla estimatione metiri valet. Mundo non capitur ; sic replet mundum, ut ipsum[10] contineat mundum, non ut[11] contineatur a mundo. Est enim mundo superior, inferior, exterior, et interior : regendo superior, portando inferior, circumdando exterior, replendo interior. Sic est per cuncta diffusus, ut non sit qualitas mundi, sed substantia creatrix mundi, sine labore regens[12], sine honore[13] continens, mundum.

[1] Mai reads 'illic' ; and so it is in St. Augustine.

[2] 'secundum' has been written above by the corrector ; it appears in Mai's text, as also in St. Augustine.

[3] From 'Proinde si' to 'secundum substantiam' is from St. Augustine, *de Trin.* xv. v. 8.

[4] Mai inserts 'et.'

[5] So the original text ; but 'ē,' that is 'est,' has been inserted after 'non,' and 'dš ē' written in the margin. Mai reads 'creatura non est, Deus est.' The Bouhier Commentary has the same.

[6] Mai omits 'de.'

[7] This passage, from 'Omnis itaque substantia' to 'Deus non est,' is word for word the same as Prosper's *Liber sententiarum ex Augustino*, lv. The Benedictine editors have given a marginal reference, 'Ex lib. 14 *de civ. Dei* et est canon ii. concilii Arausicani.' I have not been able to verify the reference to St. Augustine. Part of the passage—from 'omnis' to 'Deus est'—appears in Alcuin, *de fide S. Trinitatis*, lib. ii. cap. ix, by whom, as well as by Prosper, it must have been originally borrowed from St. Augustine, *de Trin.* lib. i. cap. vi. § 9. The author of the Commentary drew doubtless directly from Prosper.

[8] Mai inserts 'et.'

[9] Mai reads 'trinitas.'

[10] Mai, 'ipse.'

[11] Mai omits 'ut.'

[12] Mai reads 'regnans.'

[13] Mai, as also St. Augustine, 'onere.'

Non tamen per spatia locorum, quasi mole diffusus, non ut in dimidia mundi parte sit dimidius, et in alia dimidia dimidius, atque ita per totum totus: non sic dein[1] solo cęlo totus, et in sola terra totus, et in parte totus, et per cuncta totus: ita[2] contentus loco, sed in se ipso ubique totus[3]. Ita Pater, ita Filius, ita Spiritus Sanctus: unus Deus trinitas; sed et[4] ineffabili modo, cum sit ubique totus per Divinitatis presentiam, non est ubique per habitationis gratiam[5]. Et, cum quosdam peccantes deserit, eisdem tamen ipsis adest per iudicium, quibus decernimus[6] per adiumentum. Unde non dicimus, Pater noster qui es ubique, cum procul dubio verum sit, sed Pater noster qui es in caelis, in sanctis videlicet angelis et sanctis hominibus[7], in quibus[8] esse dicitur non solum per presentiam suę inmensitatis, verum etiam per gratiam suae inhabitationis. Et propterea, cum supra dicerem ubique esse Deum, addendum putavi in se ipso. Est namque ubique, quia nusquam est absens, in se ipso autem, quia non continetur eis, quibus presens est, tanquam sine his esse non possit. Nam spatia locorum tolle corporibus, nusquam erunt; et, quia nusquam erunt, nec erunt. Iterum tolle ipsa corpora qualitatibus corporum, non erit ubi sint, et ideo necesse est ut non sint[9]: Deus autem, qui corporali loco non continetur, in se ipse[10] est ubique, scilicet per cuncta diffusus: sicut aqua[11], sicut

[1] Mai reads 'sed in.' So also St. Augustine.

[2] Mai reads 'et nullo.' So also St. Augustine.

[3] From 'Sic est per cuncta' to 'ubique totus' is from St. Augustine, *de praesentia Dei*, *Epist.* clxxxvii. cap. iv. 14.

[4] For 'et' Mai reads 'miro.'

[5] This is also almost word for word from St. Augustine, *Epist.* clxxxvii. cap. v. 16.

[6] 'Quibus decernimus' have been underscored by the corrector, and a marginal note has been added, which is partly lost owing to the leaf having been cut away at the edge. Mai reads 'quibus deesse cernitur.'

[7] This interpretation of the language of the Lord's Prayer must be drawn from the same passage of St. Augustine. It also appears in another passage of that Father—*de Sermone Domini in Monte*, ii. 17—a passage which has been incorporated by Alcuin, but without acknowledgement, in his work *de fide S. Trinitatis*, lib. ii. cap. v.

[8] Mai adds 'hominibus.'

[9] This also, from 'Et propterea,' is almost word for word from St. Augustine, *Epist.* clxxxvii. cap. vi.

[10] Mai reads 'ipso.'

[11] Something has clearly been omitted before 'sicut aqua.' In the margin

aer, sicut etiam ipsa lux, quę in minori loco minora sunt, in maiori maiora[1]. Deus autem, cuius inmensitas atque magnitudo non est molis sed virtutis, sic est etiam in quolibet uno homine, sicut per cuncta[2] rerum machina[3] totus. Sequitur: *Aeternus Pater, aeternus Filius, aeternus et Spiritus Sanctus.* In Deitate trinitatis quod est esse perpetuum est[4], quia natura, initio carens, incremento non indigens, sicut non incipitur, ita nec fine terminatur. Ibi quippe est, ubi nec expectatur quod veniat, neque percurrit quod debeat recordari; sed unum est[5] quod semper esse est. Quod si nos et angeli cum initio videre incipimus Deum, esse tamen hunc sine initio videmus. Ubi sic semper sine fine esse est, ut nunquam se[6] animus tendat ad sequentia[7], in qua nulla pars suae longitudinis preterit, ut pars alia succedat, in qua omne quod est animus videt, et tardum non esse et longum esse. Et haec quidem[8] novimus; qualiter tamen sit ipsa[9] aeternitas sine preterito ante saecula, sine futuro post saeculum, sine mora longio[10], sine prestolatione perpetua, adhuc non videmus. Sequitur: *Et tamen, non tres aeterni, sed unus aeternus; sicut non tres increati, nec tres inmensi, sed unus increatus, et unus inmensus.* Ideo non sunt tres aeterni, sed unus; quia sicut unus natus naturae[11] est Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus, sicut[12] una est eorum increatio et inmensitas atque aeternitas. Sequitur: *Similiter omnipotens Pater, omnipotens Filius, omnipotens et Spiritus Sanctus; et tamen non tres*

the corrector has written 'sed non ita diffusus.' That these are the omitted words is shown by the fact of their being found in Mai. Obviously the cause of the error was the repetition of the word 'diffusus.' The corrector must have had another copy of this Commentary before him.

[1] In this sentence the commentator clearly follows St. Augustine, *Epist.* cxxxvii. § 4.

[2] Mai reads 'cunctam.'

[3] Mai 'machinam.'

[4] This is from St. Leo, *Ep.* lix. *ad Constantinopolitanos.*

[5] Mai reads 'est unum.'

[6] Mai reads 'semet,' but he has added a marginal note, 'Cod. set.' Apparently he supposed 'set' to be a contraction for 'semet.'

[7] Possibly the mark of contraction for the final *m* has been omitted over the last letter in 'sequentia.'

[8] Mai inserts 'per fidem.'

[9] Mai reads 'haec ipsa.'

[10] *re* has been added by the corrector to 'longio,' but Mai reads 'longa.'

[11] Mai 'sicut unius naturae.'

[12] Mai rightly 'sic.'

omnipotentes, sed unus omnipotens. Omnipotens dicitur [1], quia omnia potest, sicut scriptum est: *Apud Deum autem omnia possibilia sunt* [2], vel quia omnia quę sunt, ut sint, potestate illius tenentur, nec [3] occidant. Solent autem plerique aut quasi adulando Deo superflua de omnipotentia eius loqui, aut non necessaria vera docere, cum cimicum aut muscarum vel culicum multitudinem ad curam Dei pertinere aiunt et notitiam; et propter illud, quod in evangelio dicitur, *unum de duobus* aut quinque passeribus *non cadere in terra* [4] *sine Deo* [5], aut *fenum agri* [6] uri [7], audent predicare, quod non solum genera, sed et numerum vermium noverit Deus, quod [8] ex corruptione corporum aut viventium aut mortuorum lignorumque aut aquarum corruptionibus vivificantur. Ni qui [9] dicunt, quia [10] omnia potest, quippe qui sibi mortem concedere nequit nec mutari possit a bono. Sed, qui ista dicere vel audire delectantur, intellegunt [11] attentissime Deum simplicis esse naturę, ita ut non sint [12] in Deo aliud esse et aliud habere, nec esse [13] eius aliud velle et aliud posse, sed hoc est velle quod posse. Omnia ergo quae vult potest, et quod potest vult [14]; nec maior est voluntas, quam potentia, eius, sed neque minor; sed utraque tanta est, quanta et ille, quia Deus hoc est, quod habet. Aeternitatem quippe habet, sed ipsa [15] est aeternitas sua; lucem habet, sed lux sua ipse est. Nam in creatura nulla vere simplex substantia est, cui non est hoc esse quod nosse. Potest enim esse nec nosse. At illa divina non potest, quia id ipsum est quod habet. Ac per hoc non sic habet scientiam, ut aliud [16] illi sit scientia qua scit, aliud essentia qua est; sed utrumque unum, quamvis non utrumque dicendum sit, quod verissime simplex et unum est [17]. Sequitur: *Ita Deus Pater, Deus Filius, Deus et*

[1] Mai 'dicit.' [2] St. Matt. xix. 26. [3] Mai 'ne.'
[4] Mai 'terram.' [5] St. Matt. x. 29. [6] St. Matt. vi. 28.
[7] For 'uri' Mai reads 'vestire.' [8] Mai 'quotquot.'
[9] 'Aliqui' is Mai's reading. It is observable how frequently he supplies the right reading. I have before remarked on the numerous errors of the Troyes MS., as proofs that the scribe was copying from an older document.
[10] Mai adds 'non.' [11] Mai 'intellegant.'
[12] Mai 'sit.' [13] Mai 'est.'
[14] After 'vult' Mai inserts 'quoniam sic potens est, ut dispositionem suam servet, et nullo modo sua statuta convellat.'
[15] Mai 'ipse.' [16] Mai 'alia.'
[17] This passage, from 'in creatura nulla' to 'et unum est,' is almost word for

Spiritus Sanctus. Dominus Pater, Dominus Filius, Dominus et Spiritus Sanctus. Et tamen non tres Dii aut tres Domini, sed unus Deus et unus Dominus. De unitate Deitatis et dominatione sanctae trinitatis iam sufficienter dictum est; sed tamen sciendum est, quod Deus dicatur ad se, Dominus ad creaturas, quibus dominatur; Deus, quia solus colendus est[1], Dominus, quia solus timendus; Deus religiosorum, Dominus vero servorum. Sequitur: *Quia sicut singillatim unamquamque personam Deum ac Dominum confiteri Christiana veritate compellimur, ita tres Deos aut tres Dominos dicere catholica religione prohibemur.* Singillatim, hoc est, viritim vel singulariter, quia singulus Pater Deus et Dominus est, singulus Filius Deus et Dominus est, singulus Spiritus Sanctus Deus et Dominus est. Ita nos dicere fides Christiana cogit; quia, nisi ita dixerimus, Christiani esse non possumus, et tamen alium Deum aut Dominum dicere Patrem, alium Deum aut Dominum dicere Filium, alium Deum aut Dominum dicere Spiritum Sanctum prohibet nos catholica religio. Quia, si ita dixerimus, nec catholici nec religiosi esse poterimus. Sed ut Christiani simus atque catholici, dicamus vel potius credamus et Patrem Deum et Filium Deum et Spiritum Sanctum Deum, et simul, non tres Deos, sed unum Deum, qui substantia et natura sit veraciter unus. Sequitur: *Pater a nullo est factus, nec creatus, nec genitus: Filius a Patre solo est, non factus, aut creatus, sed genitus: Spiritus Sanctus a Patre et Filio, non factus, aut creatus, nec genitus, sed procedens.* Quod factus aut creatus nec Pater sit, nec Filius, nec Spiritus Sanctus, iam supra dictum est. Sed et de Patre, quod non sit genitus, quia non est Filius, sed genitor tantum, quia Pater est, iam premissum est. Nunc vero attendendum omnino, quod dicitur, Filius a Patre solo est genitus, Spiritus autem Sanctus ab utroque, id est, a Patre Filioque procedens, spiritus amborum est, Patris scilicet et Filii: Filius autem solius est Patris. Et haec est causa, quae distinguit quid

word from St. Augustine, *Tract. in Iohan.* xcix. 4. But it seems to have been taken *directly* from *Prosperi liber Sententiarum ex Augustino*, ccclxviii, where it appears exactly as it is found in the text. This 'liber sententiarum' is printed, as I have before mentioned, in the Appendix to St. Augustine's works, Benedictine edition, and in Migne, *Patrol. Lat.* tom. xlv.

[1] Mai omits 'est.'

differat inter nativitatem Filii et processionem Spiritus Sancti. Filius sic est de Patre, quomodo natus, non quomodo datus; Spiritus vero Sanctus sic est de Patre, simul et Filio, quomodo datus, non quomodo natus, hoc est, donum amborum [1]. Itaque Filius nascendo procedit, Spiritus vero Sanctus procedendo non nascitur, ne sint duo filii. Sequitur: *Unus ergo Pater, non tres Patres; unus Filius, non tres Filii; unus Spiritus Sanctus, sed* [2] *non tres Spiritus Sancti.* Hęc sunt illa relativa nomina, sed [3] appellativa, in quibus trinitas invenitur. Non enim sic dicitur unus Pater aut unus Filius, sicut dicitur unus inmensus aut unus aeternus aut unus Deus, quia illa nomina sunt substantiae, hoc est, unitas [4]; ista [5], Pater videlicet, Filius, Verbum, et Spiritus Sanctus, nomina sunt personarum, hoc est, trinitas [6]. Et ideo relativa sunt nomina, quia Pater ad alium refertur, hoc est, ad Filium; non enim sibi ipsi est Pater, sed alteri, hoc est, Filio: similiter Filius ad Patrem refertur: sed [7] Spiritus Sanctus vel donum, cum dicitur, refertur ad Patrem et Filium, a quibus procedit vel datur. Nam illa nomina substantialia, hoc est, Deus, Dominus, aeternus, et cetera, de quibus iam satis scriptum est, in quacunque persona dicantur, non referuntur ad aliam sed ad seipsum [8]. Nam etsi Apostolus dicit Christum Dei virtutem et Dei sapientiam, tamen non ita est relativum in eo virtus et sapientia, sicut est quod dicitur Verbum aut Filius. Virtus enim et sapientia in Deo substantia est, Verbum autem aut imago aut Filius relativum. Quod si Pater, qui genuit sapientiam [7], ex ea fit sapiens, neque hoc est [9] illi esse quod sapere; qualitas eius erit Filius, non proles [10] eius, et non ibi erit iam summa simplicitas:

[1] The expression 'quomodo datus, non quomodo natus' is really from St. Augustine, *de Trin.* lib. v. cap. xv. The same Father carefully guards against the term 'donum' as applied to the Holy Spirit being understood in a sense derogatory to His eternal Procession, *de Trin.* lib. v. cap. xvi. Alcuin, *de fide S. Trinitatis*, lib. ii. cap. xx, does the same, adopting the very language of St. Augustine, but without acknowledgement.

[2] Mai omits 'sed.'

[3] This has been underscored, and 'vel' written above it by the corrector. 'Vel' is the reading of Mai.

[4] Mai reads 'unitatis.'

[5] Mai adds 'vero.'

[6] Mai reads 'trinitatis.'

[7] Mai adds 'et.'

[8] Mai 'alium sed ad seipsam.'

[9] Mai omits 'est.'

[10] Mai reads 'prolis.'

sed non ita sit[1]. Ergo et Pater ipse sapientia est, et ita dicit[2] Filius a[3] sapientia Patris, quomodo dicitur lumen Patris, id est, ut quemadmodum lumen de lumine, et utrumque lumen unum, sic intellegatur sapientia de sapientia, et utrumque una sapientia[4]. Pater igitur et Filius simul una essentia et una magnitudo et una virtus[5] et una sapientia. Sed non Pater et Filius simul ambo unum Verbum, quia non simul ambo unus Filius. Verbum enim relative, sapientia essentialiter intelligitur[6]. Sapientia ergo Filius de sapientia Patre, sicut lumen de lumine, et Deus de Deo, ut et singulus Pater lumen, et singulus Filius lumen, et singulus Pater Deus, et singulus Filius Deus. Ergo et singulus Pater sapientia, et singulus Filius sapientia. Sicut utrumque simul unum lumen et unus Deus, sicut[7] utrumque una sapientia[8]. Spiritus quoque Sanctus sapientia, et simul non tres sapientię[9]; sed una sapientia Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus[10]. Sequitur: *Sed in hac trinitate nichil prius aut posterius, nichil maius aut minus.* Haec et trinitas unus est Deus; et, quia unus est, non potest esse diversus; quia[11] natura non potest seipsa esse prior aut posterior, maior aut minor. Non est Pater prior Filio neque maior: non est Spiritus Sanctus posterior Patre aut Filio vel minor. Sequitur:

[1] This is underscored, and in the margin is written 'absit ut ita sit,' which is the reading of Mai and of the passage in St. Augustine, *de Trin.* lib. vii. cap. i. § 2, from which this sentence, beginning at 'Quod si Pater,' is copied.

[2] Mai 'dicitur'; so also St. Augustine.

[3] Mai and the printed text of St. Augustine omit 'a.'

[4] This sentence is also from St. Aug. *de Trin.* lib. vii. cap. i. § 2. Alcuin too, *de fide S. Trinitatis*, lib. ii. cap. 14, has borrowed the passage, but without acknowledgement.

[5] In St. Augustine, for 'virtus' we have 'veritas.'

[6] From 'Pater igitur' to 'intelligitur' is from St. Aug. *de Trin.* lib. vii. cap. ii.

[7] In Mai, as also in St. Augustine, it is 'sic.'

[8] This also, from 'Sapientia ergo' to 'una sapientia,' is word for word from St Aug. *de Trin.* lib. vii. cap. iii. § 4. Mai and the Bouhier Commentary both add 'sed Filius factus est nobis sapientia a Deo, de qua cum aliquid in scripturis dicitur, Filius nobis insinuatur.' This too is from St. Augustine: from 'sed' to 'Deo' comes immediately after the last-mentioned passage; the rest is compiled from a sentence which follows very shortly after. The words must have been omitted by the scribe of the Troyes MS. through inadvertence.

[9] Mai 'sapientes.'

[10] This is in substance from St. Aug. *de Trin.* lib. vii. cap. iii. § 6.

[11] Mai inserts 'una.'

Sed totae tres personae quo-aeternae sibi sunt et quo-aequales. Ita ut per omnia, sicut iam supra dictum est, et trinitas in unitate et unitas in trinitate veneranda sit. Qui ergo vult salvus esse, ita de trinitate sentiat[1]. Sequitur: *Sed necessarium est ad aeternam salutem ut incarnationem quoque Domini nostri Ihesu Christi fideliter credat.* Sicut fideliter credenda est divinitas regnantis, ita fideliter credenda est humanitas salvantis, quia equalis patricole[2] est de mysterio incarnationis prave sentire, ut divinitatis archana[3] male intellegere. Nihil enim iustius quam ut salvus non sit, qui salutis mysterio derogare non timuerit. Sciendum sane, quod aliam significationem habeat Ihesus, aliam Christus, cum sit unus salvator. Ihesus tamen proprium nomen est illi, sicut propria nomina sunt Elias aut Abraam: Christus autem sacramenti nomen est, quomodo si dicatur propheta aut[4] patriarcha[5]. Ihesus quoque nomen ebream, interpretatur in latino salutaris sive salvator: Christus autem grece dicitur, quod transfertur in latinum unctus ab unctione, id est, chrisma[6] et hebraice dicitur messias[7]. Sequitur: *Est ergo fides recta, ut credamus et confiteamur quia Dominus noster Ihesus Christus Deus pariter et homo est.* Hoc enim est illud sacramentum ab initio ex vulva dispositum, ut semen Abraę mundi conditor apprehenderet, quatinus in se ipso nostrae probaret primitias naturae, ut Deus homo fieret in[8] singularitate personae copulans utramque

[1] Mai adds 'Et haec iam dicta sunt.'

[2] So apparently the MS. Mai and the Bouhier Commentary both have 'periculi,' which is doubtless the right reading. The expression must have been borrowed from St. Leo, who in his Epistle to Flavian and also in his fifty-first Sermon uses these words: 'Aequalis periculi erat Dominum Iesum Christum aut Deum tantummodo sine homine aut sine Deo solum hominem credidisse.' And the same Father says similarly in another Sermon, xxvii. cap. 1: 'Paris periculi malum est, si illi aut naturae nostrae veritas aut paternae gloriae negatur aequalitas.' St. Leo appears to have followed St. Hilary, *de Trin.* ix. 3: 'Eiusdem periculi res est Christum Iesum vel Spiritum Deum vel carnem nostri corporis denegare.'

[3] Mai 'de divinitatis arcano.'

[4] Mai adds 'dicatur.'

[5] From 'aliam significationem' to 'propheta' is clearly derived from St. Augustine, *Tractatus iii. in Epistolam Ioannis*, § 6.

[6] Mai 'chrismate.'

[7] From 'Ihesus' to 'messias' bears an obvious resemblance to the corresponding passage in the Troyes Commentary.

[8] For 'in' Mai reads 'ut.'

naturam, mediator Dei et hominum hominibus appareret[1], et his, propter quos venerat redimendos, ipse unus autem[2] Deus et legifer et rex et magister et redemptor Deus[3] et redemptio, sacerdos et oblatio, veritas et vita, sapientia et doctor, id est, qualiter et se[4] sequentibus exempla vivendi monstraret; et suo generi, id est, hominibus homo ipse factus per gratiam consuleret, quibus suffragari iustitia nullatenus volebat[5]; ut, cum ille in homine mortem vinceret, natura in eo humani generis triumpharet. In illo enim nostra portio, quia nostra caro et sanguis, ut, ubi regnat nostra portio, nos quoque glorificemur. Quamvis igitur peccato[6], de hac communicatione[7] gratiae non desperes[8]; quia, etsi peccata nos prohibent, substantia nos requirit; si delicta propria exquirunt[9], naturę communio non repellit[10].

[1] This evidently follows S. Aug. *ad Volusianum*, or *Epist.* cxxxvii. cap. iii.
[2] For 'autem' Mai reads 'esset.' [3] Mai omits 'Deus.'
[4] Mai omits 'se.' [5] Mai 'valebat.'
[6] The corrector has written the letter *r* above the *o* in 'peccato.' Mai reads 'peccator.'
[7] Mai 'communione.' [8] Mai 'desperet.' [9] Mai 'excludunt.'
[10] This passage, from 'In illo nostra portio' to 'repellit,' has an obvious resemblance to the following passage, which appears in the fifteenth chapter of the *Liber Meditationum*, in the fifth Appendix to the works of St. Augustine: 'Est enim in ipso Iesu Christo Domino nostro uniuscuiusque nostrum portio, caro et sanguis. Ubi ergo portio mea regnat, ibi me regnare credo. Ubi caro mea glorificatur, ibi gloriosum me esse cognosco. Ubi sanguis mea dominatur, ibi dominari me sentio. Quamvis peccator sim, de hac communione gratiae non diffido. Etsi peccata mea prohibent, substantia mea requirit. Etsi delicta mea me excludunt, naturae communio non repellit.' This *Liber Meditationum* is a collection of prayers and meditations drawn from earlier sources, and the greater part of it, comprising the above passage, is identified with a book compiled by Iohannes Fiscamnensis, who died A. D. 1178, and compiled, according to his own account, which appears in the dedication and preface, from Scripture and the works of the Fathers. And so it is described in a manuscript written about the time of the compiler. (See *Admonitio* to *Liber Meditationum* in the Benedictine edition of St. Augustine.) The *Liber Meditationum* was attributed to St. Augustine, and hence was at first edited among his works. That the author of the Oratorian Commentary should have drawn from Iohannes Fiscamnensis, the earlier from the later writer, is of course impossible; that the converse process did not take place would appear from a comparison of the two passages; it remains—for there can be no other way of accounting for the resemblance—that both must have drawn independently from the same source, and that source must have been the work of some Father prior to either of them, of what Father is unknown.

Nullum enim maius donum prestare posset Deus hominibus, quam ut Verbum suum, per quod condidit omnia, faceret illis caput, et illos ei, tanquam membra, cohabitaret[1], ut esset filius Dei et filius hominis, unus[2] cum Patre, unus homo cum hominibus[3]. Sequitur: *Deus est ex substantia Patris ante saecula genitus, homo est ex substantia matris in saeculo natus: perfectus Deus, perfectus homo et*[4] *ex anima rationali et humana carne subsistens.* Ingressus est igitur Filius Dei uterum Virginis, ut iterum nasceretur, ante iam genitus, qui suscepit tantum[5] hominem, qui iam habebat de Patre[6] plenissimam Deitatem, non dissimilis Patri cum nascitur eorum[7] aeterno perpetuus, non dissimilis homini cum ex matre nascitur moriturus[8]; consubstantialis Patri secundum Divinitatem, consubstantialis matri secundum cognatam nobis infirmitatem[9]: quia essentialiter natus est de Patre, et essentialiter conceptus natusque de matre, ut esset unus[10] naturę cum Virgine[11]. Natus[12] idcirco *perfectus Deus*, quia non[13] dis-

[1] For 'cohabitaret' Mai reads 'coaptaret.' This reading is found in St. Augustine. The Bouhier Commentary has 'coaptavit.'

[2] The Bouhier Commentary adds 'Deus.' So also St. Augustine.

[3] This from 'nullum' to 'hominibus' inclusive is from S. Aug. *in Psalmum*, lxxxv. 1.

[4] Mai omits 'et.'

[5] Mai 'totum.'

[6] Mai 'quia iam de Patre habebat.'

[7] So the MS. apparently, but for 'eorum' Mai reads 'ex.'

[8] This passage, from 'Ingressus' to 'moriturus,' is found in Vigilius, *de Unitate Trinitatis*, cap. xiv. Compare St. Augustine, *in Ioh. Evan. Tract.* xii. 8: 'Duae nativitates Christi intelliguntur, una divina, altera humana, una per quam efficeremur, altera per quam reficeremur, ambae mirabiles, illa sine matre, ista sine patre.'

[9] The expression 'cognatam nobis infirmitatem' appears in St. Augustine, *Epist. ad Velusianum*, cap. iii. Compare Vincentii Lirinensis, *Commonitorium primum*, § 13: 'In uno eodemque Christo duae substantiae sunt; sed una divina, altera humana; una ex Patre Deo, altera ex matre virgine; una coaeterna et aequalis Patri, altera ex tempore et minor Patre; una consubstantialis Patri, altera consubstantialis matri; unus tamen idemque Christus in utraque substantia.'

[10] A small *i* has been written above the *n* in 'unus' by the corrector. Mai reads 'unius.'

[11] The words 'unius naturę cum Patre et' have clearly been omitted inadvertently after 'esset,' as appears by the Bouhier Commentary which inserts them. The above passage bears an evident correspondence with the following from the work entitled *Liber de Fide ad Petrum*: 'Verbum carnem factum; ipsum quoque esse, qui essentialiter natus est de Patre et essentialiter con-

similis Deo Patri, *perfectus*[1] *homo*, quia similis omni[2] matri, quę mater ita illum salva virginitate genuit, sic ut salva virginitate concoepit[3]. Verus enim Deus verus factus est homo, quia omnia nostra suscepit, quę in nobis ipse creavit, id est, carnem et animam rationalem: propter quod[4] confitemur perfectum eum[5] Deum et perfectum hominem. Sequitur: *Aequalis*[6] *Patri secundum Divinitatem, minor*[7] *Patre secundum humanitatem.* Ideo aequalis et minor, quia Deus et homo, quia sempiternus et temporalis, ut incomprehensibilis comprehendi posset, et immortalis haberet, in quo moreretur. Sequitur: *Qui licet Deus sit et homo, non duo tamen, sed unus est Christus.* Non est alter Christus in Deitate, et alter in humanitate, quia non sunt duae personae, sed una. Deus enim Verbum non accepit personam hominis, sed naturam, et persona Divinitatis accepit substantiam carnis, ut in singularitate personae tota humanitas suscepta unus Christus sit, et unus filius Dei atque hominis[8]. Nam sicut tres personas sanctae trinitatis credimus in unitate naturae, ita credimus duas Christi naturas in unitate personae. In uno etiam Christo,

ceptus est natusque de Virgine; ipsumque unum esse et unius naturae cum Patre et unius naturae cum Virgine.' *Liber de Fide ad Petrum*, cap. xiii. S. Aug. *Opera*. See Migne, *Patrol. Lat.* tom. xl. p. 753. This work was formerly attributed to St. Augustine, but by the Benedictine editors it has been placed in the Appendix to his works, and is assigned by them without hesitation to Fulgentius.

[12] For 'natus' Mai reads 'et.'

[13] Mai adds 'est.'

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[1] Mai adds 'quoque.'

[2] The corrector has written 'no' above 'omni' in the belief obviously that 'omnino' was the right reading; but Mai has 'homini,' which is found also in the Bouhier Commentary, and is no doubt the right one. The expression is found in St. Augustine, *Sermo* ccxv. § 4.

[3] This seems to be borrowed all but word for word from St. Leo: 'Conceptus est . . . intra uterum virginis matris quae illum ita salva virginitate edidit, quemadmodum salva virginitate concepit.' *Epist. ad Flavianum*, § 2. Mai omits the words 'genuit . . . virginitate.'

[4] Mai 'propterea.'

[5] Mai 'eum perfectum.'

[6] Mai adds 'est.'

[7] After 'minor' an erasure has taken place. Mai adds 'est.'

[8] Here again we are able to trace an evident correspondence of language with Fulgentius' *Liber de Fide ad Petrum*. The passage is in the seventeenth chapter of that book: 'Deus Verbum non accepit personam hominis, sed naturam; et in aeternam personam Divinitatis accepit temporalem substantiam carnis.'

sicut duas credimus naturas, ita duas naturales[1] operationes indivise, inconvertibiliter, inseparabiliter, inconfuse; et has duas voluntates, non contrarias, sed sequentem humanam eius voluntatem et non resistentem vel reluctantem, sed potius subiectam divinę eius atque omnipotente[2] voluntati. Sicut enim eius caro Dei Verbum dicitur et est, ita et naturalis carnis eius voluntas propria Dei Verbi dicitur et est. Quemadmodum enim sanctissima atque inmaculata animata[3] eius caro deificata est, non est perempta, sed in[4] proprio sui statu et ratione permansit, ita et humana eius voluntas deificata[5] est[6]. Nam salvator, sicut humanam naturam propterea suscepit, ut salvaret, ideo et humanam voluntatem vel operationem suscipiendo salvavit. Sequitur: *Unus autem non conversione Divinitatis in carne*[7] *sed assumptione humanitatis in Deo*[8]. Conversio mutatio dicitur. Non enim est conversa[9], id est, mutata Divinitas in carne[7]; sed manens, quod erat, suscepit carnem[10]. Humanitas quoque assumpta est in Deum, non consumpta[11]. Sicut enim Deus non mutatur miseratione, ita homo non consumitur dignitate[12]. Homo Deo accessit, Deus a se non recessit: adquievit esse, quod non

[1] After 'naturales' the margin of the MS. supplies the words 'voluntates et duas naturales.' They appear in Mai.

[2] The corrector has drawn a line through the final *e*. Mai reads 'omnipotenti.'

[3] Mai adds 'que.' [4] Mai omits 'in.'

[5] Mai reads 'Dei facta,' but 'deificata' is no doubt the right reading, being found in the 'Interpretatio vetus.'

[6] The whole of this passage respecting the divine and human wills of our blessed Lord, from the words 'ita duas naturales voluntates' down to 'voluntas deificata est,' is from an *Interpretatio vetus Latina* of the Definition of the Sixth General Council. See Routh's *Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Opuscula*, tom. ii. pp. 241, 242, Oxon. 1840. Routh says of this *Vetus Interpretatio*: 'In editionibus Conciliorum recentioribus adposita est Definitioni; in vetustioribus ante Graece edita concilia comparet.'

[7] Mai 'carnem.' [8] Mai 'Deum.' [9] Mai 'conversa est.'

[10] See St. Augustine, *Enchiridion*, cap. xxxiv: 'Verbum caro factum est, a Divinitate carne suscepta, non in carnem Divinitate mutata.'

[11] Compare St. Augustine: 'Forma servi accessit, non forma Dei recessit: haec est assumpta, non illa consumta.' *Trac. in Iohannem*, lxxviii. 1.

[12] This sentence, 'Sicut enim . . . dignitate,' is from Leo's Epistle to Flavian. A previous instance of verbal correspondence with that document has been noticed.

erat; non desiit esse, quod erat[1]. Sequitur: *Unus omnino, non confusione substantiae, sed unitate personae.* Confusio dicitur permixtio: sicut solent duo liquores ita misceri, ut neutrum servet integritatem suam[2]. In Christo ergo non sunt permixtę substantiae, quia servat utraque cum alterius communione proprietatem suam in singularitate personae. Sequitur: *Nam sicut anima rationalis et caro unus est homo, ita Deus et homo unus est Christus.* Sicut in quolibet homine non est una persona anima[3] et alia caro, sed ex anima et carne unus est homo; ita in Christo non sunt duae personae, sed una divina, quae incarnata est. Nam sicut hominis personam gestat anima, non enim corpus mortuum dicitur persona sicut nec lapis aut lignum, ita Christi personam gestat Divinitas, assumptrix humanitatis: propter quod in utraque substantia dicitur et creditur unicus et unigenitus Filius Dei[4]. Unde et Verbum propter carnem homo est, et caro propter Verbum Deus est[5]. Sequitur: *Qui passus est pro salute nostra.* Passus est; et[6] in sola assumpta substantia. Licet enim iuxta naturam suam expers passionis extiterit, pro nobis tamen carne passus est; quia erat in crucifixo proprio corpore impassibiliter ad se referens passiones. Gratia vero Dei pro omnibus gustavit mortem tradens ei proprium corpus, quamvis

[1] In St. Augustine, *Epist.* cxxxvii. 10, the very words 'Homo . . . non recessit' occur. Compare also ibid. *Ser.* cxxi. 5: 'Accessit ad nos, sed a se non multum recessit; immo a se, quod Deus est, nunquam recessit; sed addidit, quod erat, naturae nostrae. Accessit enim ad id, quod non erat; non amisit, quod erat. Factus est Filius hominis, non cessavit esse Filius Dei.' The commentator must have had these passages before him.

[2] This seems to be from St. Augustine, *Epist.* cxxxvii. cap. iii.

[3] Mai 'animae.'

[4] Mai 'Deus.'

[5] This is based apparently upon a passage of Vigilius Tapsensis, *con. Eutychetem*, lib. iv. § 5: 'Verbum propter carnem suam homo Iesus Christus; et caro propter Verbum Deus Verbum est'; and shortly after, 'Christus . . . idem Deus, idem homo: unde constat et divinitatem humanitatis et humanitatem divinitatis habere vocabulum; id est, Verbum dici carnem, et carnem dici Verbum; non quia in se utrumque mutatum sit, sed quia utrumque una persona, id est unus Christus sit.' Vigilius flourished towards the close of the fifth century. Alcuin, who is much in the habit of adopting the language of earlier writers, appears also to have had this passage before him. 'Caro Deus est,' he says, 'propter Verbum, et Verbum homo propter carnem.' *Adv. Felicem*, i. 10. The commentator clearly followed Vigilius, not Alcuin.

[6] Mai reads 'pro salute nostra passus est, sed.'

naturaliter ipse[1] vita sit et resurrectio mortuorum[2]. Sequitur: *Descendit ad inferna*; ut mortem[3] ineffabili potentia proculcata expoliaret infernum. *Tertia die resurrexit a mortuis*; ut primogenitus ex mortuis fieret primitiae dormientium, et faceret viam humanae naturae ad incorruptionis recursum[4]. Sequitur: *Ascendit ad coelos, sedet ad dexteram Patris.* Propterea humiliatus est Deus in homine, ut homo exaltaretur in Deo, et unus Christus, qui inclinatur in assumptis, assumpta glorificaret[5] in propriis, dum[6] affici non dedignatur iniuriis et ad aequalitatem recurrit Genitoris[7]. *Sedet ad dexteram Patris*, id est, regnat in beatitudine superna. Sedere enim regnare est; dextera vero Patris beatitudo est sempiterna. Sequitur: *Inde venturus iudicare vivos et mortuos.* Inde, hoc est, dextera Patris venturus est, quia visionem humanitatis omnibus presentaturus, ut in iudicio sit conspicuus in ea forma, qua iudicatus est. Querendum est autem, quomodo intellegatur quod ipse Dominus ait in evangelio: *Ego non iudicabo, sed verbum, quod locutus sum vobis, iudicabit vos*[8]; cum in alio loco dixerit: *Pater non iudicat quemquam sed omne iudicium dedit Filio*[9]. Ita enim[10] intellegendum est: Ego non iudicabo ex potestate humana, sed iudicabo ex potestate Verbi[11]. Quapropter Filius hominis iudicaturus est, nec tamen ex humana potestate, sed ex ea, qua Filius Dei est. Et rursus Filius Dei[12] iudicaturus est, nec tamen in ea forma apparens, in

[1] Mai 'ipsa.'

[2] This, from 'Licet' to 'mortuorum,' is from the translation of the Synodical Epistle of St. Cyril of Alexandria by Dionysius Exiguus. Routh, *Opuscula*, tom. ii. p. 40, Oxford, 1840.

[3] Mai 'morte.'

[4] These two notes are also from St. Cyril's Epistle.

[5] Mai 'glorificasset.' [6] Mai inserts 'et.'

[7] This passage, from 'unus' to 'Genitoris,' is apparently founded on the following passage in Vigilius Tapsensis, *de Unitate Trinitatis*, cap. xvi: 'Unus autem atque inseparabilis Christus et humiliatur in assumptis et glorificatur in propriis, cum affici non dedignatur iniuriis et aequalitatem custodit Genitoris.' See Migne, *Patrol. Lat.* tom. lxii. p. 345.

[8] In this free quotation from St. John xii. 47, 48, the commentator clearly follows St. Augustine, *de Trin.* i. § 27.

[9] St. John v. 22. [10] Mai omits 'enim.'

[11] This is literally the interpretation of St. Augustine in the passage just referred to—*de Trin.* i. § 27. There cannot be the least doubt from what source the commentator drew here. [12] Mai omits 'Dei.'

qua Deus est, sed in ea, qua Filius hominis est[1]. Ita quoque dicitur: Pater non iudicat *quemquam*, ac si diceret[2]: Patrem nemo videbit in iudicio, sed omnes Filium, quia Filius hominis est, ut sit in iudicio conspicuus bonis et malis[3]. Nam invisibiliter tota Trinitas iudicabit. *Vivos et mortuos*, id est, eos quos dies iudicii vivos invenerit et eos qui iam antea obierant. Sequitur. *Ad cuius adventum omnes homines resurgere habent cum corporibus suis, et reddituri sunt de factis propriis rationem.* Adveniente Domino resuscitantur mortui cum corporibus suis, ut unusquisque in eo corpore, quod[4] bona vel mala gessit, reddat rationem gestorum suorum, et in eo corpore, per quod operatus est, recipiat retributionem factorum suorum. Sequitur. *Et qui bona egerunt, ibunt in vitam aeternam.* Tunc enim humana[5] ad conditoris sui similitudinem sublimabitur, et omnia ei bona, quae naturaliter accepta per peccata corruperat, reparabuntur in melius, id est, intellectus sine errore, memoria sine oblivione, cogitatio sine pervagatione, caritas sine simulatione, sensus sine offensione, incolumitas sine debilitate, salus sine dolore, vita sine morte, facultas sine impedimento, saturitas sine fastidio, et tota sanitas sine morbo. Sequitur. *Qui vero mala egerunt, in ignem aeternum.* Multi egerunt mala, qui non[6] ibunt in ignem aeternum, quia ante mortem suam veram penitudinem de peccatis suis gesserunt; sed haec[7] de illis dicitur, quia[8] mala egerunt et in malis perseveraverunt et non emendaverunt. Aeternus vero est ignis, qui eis aeternus[9] exhibet cruciatus, quia nunquam finietur, nec eos desinet cruciare[10]. Sequitur. *Haec est fides catholica, quam nisi*[11] *fideliter firmiterque crediderit, salvus esse non poterit.* Fideliter credamus, ut in fide non erremus; firmiter credamus, ut de

[1] From 'Quapropter' to 'hominis est' is from St. Aug. *de Trin.* i. § 28.
[2] Mai reads 'diceretur.'
[3] Here too the Commentator is evidently following St. Augustine, *de Trin.* i. § 29.
[4] Mai reads 'quo.'
[5] Some word is evidently omitted. 'Substantia' is written in the margin. It is found in Mai.
[6] Mai adds 'et.'
[7] Mai 'hoc.'
[8] Mai reads 'dicitur de illis, qui.'
[9] So the MS., but Mai reads 'quia aeternos.'
[10] Mai 'cruciari.'
[11] Mai adds 'quique.'

creditis non dubitemus, si volumus ad aeternam salutem pervenire, ubi cum angelis Deum laudantes de illius laude vivamus, de illius laude et nos gloriemur, qui vivit et regnat per infinita semper saecula saeculorum [1].

H.

Preface to the Oratorian Commentary, edited by Cardinal Mai, 'Scriptorum veterum nova collectio,' tom. ix. p. 396, from the Vatican MS. 231, Reg. f. 152 v, with the original readings of the MS. where the editor has departed from the text.

Iniunxistis mihi illud fidei opusculum, quod passim in ecclesiis recitatur quodque [2] a presbyteris nostris usitatius quam cetera opuscula meditatur, sanctorum patrum sententiis quasi exponendo dilatarem, consulentes parrochiae nostrae presbyteris, qui sufficienter habere libros nullo modo possunt, sed vix et cum labore sibi psalterium, lectionarium, vel missalem adquirunt, per quos [3] divina sacramenta vel officia agere queant; et quia cum inopia librorum plerisque neque studium legendi aut discendi suffragetur [4], idcirco vultis ut saltim hanc fidei expositionem meditari [5] cogantur, ut aliquanto amplius de Deo possint sapere et intellegere. Quia maxima omnium ista pernicies est, quod sacerdotes qui plebes Dei docere debuerant, ipsi Deum ignorare inveniuntur: nam, sicut laico. blasphemia, ita [6] sacerdoti voluntaria Dei ignoratio in sacrilegium deputatur. Hoc namque opusculum non quidem est altis sermonibus obscurum nec laciniosis [7] sententiis arduum, cum paene [8] plebeio conscriptum sit sermone; sed tamen si adiunguntur ei pro locis necessariis tractatorum [9] fidei verba, plurimum iuvat [10] ad fidei notitiam. Traditur enim quod a beatissimo Athanasio Alexandrinae ecclesiae antestite sit editum: ita namque semper eum vidi praetitulatum etiam in veteribus codicibus; et puto quod idcirco tam plano et brevi

[1] Mai adds 'Amen.'
[2] MS. 'quoq.'
[3] MS. 'pereos.'
[4] MS. 'suffragatur.'
[5] MS. 'meditare.'
[6] MS. 'ista.'
[7] MS. 'latiniosis.'
[8] MS. 'pene.'
[9] MS. 'tractorum.'
[10] MS. 'plurimūiubat.'

sermone traditum fuerit, ut omnibus catholicis etiam minus eruditis tutamentum defensionis prestaret adversus illam tempestatem, quam ventus contrarius, hoc est diabolus, excitavit per Arrium. Qua tempestate navicula, hoc [1] est Christi ecclesia, in medio mari videlicet mundo, diu tantis [2] fluctibus est [3] vexata, sed non soluta aut submersa. Quia ille imperavit vento et mari, qui se eidem ecclesie promisit usque ad finem saeculi affuturum. Quicunque ergo ex [4] huius maris fluctibus salvari desiderat et in profundum abyssi, aeternam videlicet perditionem, demergi pavescit, teneat integre et inviolabiliter fidei veritatem. Ita enim incipit [5] ipsum opusculum: *Quicunque vult*, etc.

I.

The Bouhier Commentary.

The text is that of Troyes 1979. *Collations are given from Troyes* 1532, *and British Museum Additional* 24,902, *described respectively as Tr.* 1532 *and B. M. Addit.* 24,902.

Incipit expositio Sancti Augustini Fidei Sancti Athanasii Episcopi in veneratione Sanctissime Trinitatis individuaeque Unitatis omnipotentissimi universitatis Dei [6].

Traditur quod a beatissimo Athanasio Alexandriae [7] ecclesie antistite istud fidei opusculum sit editum, sic [8] etiam in veteribus codicibus invenitur pretitulatum. Quod idcirco tam brevi et plano [9] sermone tunc traditum fuisse cognoscitur, ut omnibus catholicis etiam minus eruditis tutamentum defensionis [10] prestaret adversus illam tempestatem, quam ventus contrarius, hoc est, diabolus excitavit per Arrium. Qua tempestate navicula, hoc

[1] MS. 'id.' [2] MS. 'tanta.' [3] MS. 'et.' [4] MS. 'de.'
[5] MS. 'incipitur.'
[6] In Tr. 1532 the title is 'Incipit expositio fidei catholice Sancti Athanasii Episcopi'; in B. M. Addit. 24,902 'Incipit expositio fidei catholicae.'
[7] B. M. Addit. 24,902 'Alexandrinę.' [8] B. M. Addit. 24,902 'sicut.'
[9] B. M. Addit. 24,902 'plano et brevi.'
[10] Tr. 1532 omits 'defensionis.'

est[1], Christi ecclesia in medio mari, videlicet[2] mundo, diu iactata est fluctibus et vexata[3] sed non soluta aut submersa. Quia ille imperavit vento et mari, qui se eidem ecclesie promisit usque ad[4] finem saeculi affuturum. Quicunque ergo de huius maris fluctibus salvari desiderat, et in profundum abyssi, aeternam videlicet perditionem, demergi pavescit, teneat integre et inviolabiliter fidei veritatem. Ita enim incipit ipsum opusculum: *Quicunque vult salvus esse, ante omnia opus est ut teneat catholicam fidem.* Fides, quę credentem salvat et in aeternum perire non sinit, non est illa, de qua Iacob apostolus[5] dicit: *Et demones credunt et contremescunt*[6]: et iterum: *Fides sine operibus mortua est*[7]. Sed illa potius est, que iuxta apostolum Paulum[8] *per dilectionem operatur*[9]; illam videlicet dilectionem, de qua Dominus ait: *Qui diligit me, sermones meos servat*[10]. Ille ergo tenet fideliter[11] fidem Dei, qui non solum recte credit de Deo, sed etiam digne diligendo et agendo promereri desiderat Deum. Fides alio nomine dicitur credulitas: nam apud Grecos fides et credulitas uno nomine appellatur, id est, PISTIS[12]. Catholica Grecum nomen est[13]; interpretatur autem Latino eloquio universalis, quia toto mundo diffusa ecclesia et toto tempore. Hanc tenet fidem et tenuit; neque unquam aut tempore mutata est aut[14] variata. Nam hereticorum fides non potest dici catholica, quia non est publica, sed privata, nec ubique tenetur, nec semper fuisse monstratur. Ante omnia ergo summa necessitas est, ut fides vera teneatur. Ipsa enim opera precedit. Nam sine bonorum operum meritis

[1] B. M. Addit. 24,902 'id est.'
[2] B. M. Addit. 24,902 'id est,' but 'videlicet' is written above.
[3] Tr. 1532, and B. M. Addit. 24,902 'invexata.'
[4] B. M. Addit. 24,902 'in' but 'ad' has been written above it.
[5] B. M. Addit. 24,902 'apostolus Jacob.'
[6] Ep. S. Iac. ii. 19.
[7] Ibid. ii. 20.
[8] B. M. Addit. 24,902 'Paulum apostolum.'
[9] Gal. v. 6.
[10] S. Ioh. xiv. 21 and 24.
[11] Tr. 1532, and B. M. Addit. 24,902 'veraciter.'
[12] Tr. 1532 'apellatur ΠγCTIC.' A line has been drawn through the last word, and 'pistis' written above it. B. M. Addit. 24,902 has 'nam fides et credulitas uno nomine ΠγCTC.' 'pistis' has been written above the last word by the corrector.
[13] B. M. Addit. 24,902 'est nomen.'
[14] Tr. 1532, and B. M. Addit. 24,902, add 'locis.'

per fidem iustificatur impius, sicut dicit apostolus[1]: *Credenti in eum, qui iustificat impium, deputatur fides eius ad iustitiam*[2]. Ut deinde ipsa fides per dilectionem incipiat operari; ea quippe sola bona opera dicenda sunt, quę fiunt per dilectionem Dei. Hęc autem necesse est ante cedat fides, ut inde ista, non ab istis incipiat illa; quoniam nullus operatur per dilectionem Dei, nisi prius credit in Deum. Hęc est fides, de qua dicitur: *In Christo* enim *Ihesu neque circumcisio aliquid valet neque praeputium, sed fides que per dilectionem operatur*[3]. Ergo, ut bona opera sequantur, precedit fides; nec ulla sunt bona opera, nisi quę secuntur, precedente fide. Et ideo credendo in Deum prevenit quisque opera sua. *Existimo enim*, inquit apostolus, *iustificari hominem per fidem sine operibus*[4]. Non enim ut iustificetur de operibus gloriatur, nec preponit fidei merita sua, sed fide prevenit opera sua. Et quidem temporalis salus communis est et bonis et malis; immo, communis est hominibus et iumentis, sicut cantatur in psalmo: *Homines et iumenta salvos facies, Domine*[5]. Aeternam vero salutem quam Dominus promittit dicens: *Qui crediderit et baptizatus fuerit, salvus erit*[6], et de qua propheta ait: *Israel salvatus est in Domino salute eterna*[7], nullus proculdubio consequi valet, nisi per fidem; et fidem non quamlibet, num[8] quam excogitavit Arrius aut Sabellius vel ceteri heretici, sed catholicam, id est, universalem. Quam divinitus traditam et inspiratam universa semper tenuit et tenebit ecclesia. Hęc est enim, de qua Deus per prophetam dicit: *Iustus autem meus ex fide vivit*[9]; et apostolus testatur dicens: *Sine fide impossibile est placere Deo*[10]. Quę in tantum omnia bona hominis precedit, ut, nisi ab ipsa et

[1] B. M. Addit. 24,902, adds 'Paulus.'

[2] Rom. iv. 5. [3] Gal. v. 6. [4] Rom. iii. 28.

[5] Ps. xxxvi. A. V.; xxxv. Vulg. The quotation is either from the Roman Psalter or the Vetus.

[6] St. Marc. xvi. 16.

[7] B. M. Addit. 24,902 'salutem ęternam.' The quotation is from Isaiah xlv. 17.

[8] Tr. 1532, and B. M. Addit. 24,902 'non,' and no doubt rightly. In the latter 'duę partes' has been written above in another hand.

[9] See Habac. ii. 4, where the passage in the Vulgate is—*Justus autem in fide sua vivet.* But in Heb. x. 38 it is quoted word for word the same as in the text.

[10] Heb. xi. 6.

per ipsam, nihil boni in homine inchoari possit. Hęc enim primo [1] homini commendatur et traditur; et sic ad sacramenta salvus accedit [2], videlicet, ut exhorcizetur, catechizetur, baptizetur, mensę dominicae societur, et sacri chrismatis [3] unctione per donum sancti Spiritus consumetur. Quatinus per hęc ecclesię incorporatus eruatur de potestate tenebrarum et transferatur in regnum Filii [4] caritatis [5] Dei, ut deinceps vivere Deo [6] et cum Deo possit operari. Unde recte de eadem fide subiungitur [7]: *Quam nisi quisque integram inviolatamque servaverit, absque dubio in eternum peribit.* Integra et inviolata servanda est fides; quia nihil [8] de illa [9] est auferendum, nihil mutandum, sicut in fine libri apocalypsis [10] terribiliter contestatum est; ubi legitur: *Si quis apposuerit ad hęc, apponet Deus super illum plagas quae scriptae sunt in libro isto* [11]; *et si quis deminuerit, auferet Deus nomen* [12] *eius de libro vitae* [13]. Demunt namque et violant, id est, minuunt et corrumpunt sacramenta fidei heretici et scismatici; et idcirco eiicit illos [14] foras ecclesia et excludit a se, ut ipsa sine macula inveniatur et ruga. Sicut enim Deus veritas est, ita ea quę apostolica ecclesia de Deo docuit, vera sunt. Si aliquid horum detraxeris [15] aut [16] mutaveris, intrat putredo de veneno serpentis, nascuntur vermes mendaciorum, et nihil integrum remanebit. Quia ubi fuerit corruptio falsitatis, non ibi erit integritas veritatis. Sequitur [17]. *Fides autem catholica haec est, ut unum Deum in*

[1] Tr. 1532 and B. M. Addit. 24,902 'prima.'

[2] Tr. 1532 'accedat.'

[3] Tr. 1532 'crismatis.'

[4] B. M. Addit. 24,902 omits 'Filii.'

[5] Tr. 1532 'claritatis.'

[6] B. M. Addit. 24,902 'Deo vivere.'

[7] This passage from 'Ante omnia ergo' to 'subiungitur' is not found at all in the Oratorian Commentary.

[8] T. 1532 always reads 'nichil.'

[9] Tr. 1532 and B. M. Addit. 24,902 'ea.'

[10] In B. M. Addit. 24,902 the word is given in Greek characters, and 'apocalipsis' is written above.

[11] Tr. 1532 'isto libro.'

[12] The Vulgate has 'partem.'

[13] Apoc. xxii. 18, 19.

[14] B. M. Addit. 24,902 'eos.'

[15] Tr. 1532 'deinseris' apparently; but B. M. Addit. 24,902 'dempseris,' the right reading doubtless.

[16] B. M. Addit. 24,902 'vel.'

[17] 'Sequitur' is omitted in Tr. 1532 and B. M. Addit. 24,902.

trinitate et trinitatem in unitate veneremur. Unitas[1] est in Deitate, trinitas in personis. Veneremur ergo unitatem Deitatis in trinitate personarum; veneremur trinitatem personarum in unitate Deitatis. In qua trinitate tanta est substantiae unitas, ut aequalitatem teneat, pluralitatem non recipiat; tanta personarum distinctio, ut unione non permisceatur[2]. Tres personae unius sunt essentiae sive naturae, unius virtutis, unius operationis, unius beatitudinis, atque unius potestatis, ut trina sit unitas et una sit trinitas. Ita ut ex plenitudine Divinitatis nihil minus in singulis, nihil amplius[3] intelligatur in tribus. Velut si de tribus hominibus dicamus, quod sint immortales: manifestum est non plus posse vivere simul tres quam singulos, nec minus singulos quos[4] totos[5] tres; quorum trium una est immortalitas. Aut si aequaliter sint sapientes: non[6] plus sapiunt simul quam singuli, sed tanta est in unoquoque sapientia, quanta in tribus. Si hoc ergo in creatura invenitur, quanto magis in creatore, in Patre scilicet et Filio et Spiritu Sancto: cui est aeterna et incommutabilis unitas, qui[7] est indifferens trinitas; unus Deus, unum lumen, unumque principium. Trinitas dicitur quasi tri unitas, id est, trium unitas. Hoc est enim vera trinitas, tres unum esse. Unde Iohannes apostolus dicit: Et[8] *tres unum sunt*[9]. Sequitur[10]. *Neque confundentes personas, neque substantiam*[11] *separantes.* Sabellius, quia intellexit unum[12] esse trinitatis substantiam, ideo confundens personas, ipsum sibi Patrem, ipsum sibi Filium, ipsum[13] Spiritum Sanctum, esse dicebat. Nos vero non nomina tantum sed etiam nominum[14] proprietates, id est, personas confitemur. Nec Pater[15]

[1] Tr. 1532 and B. M. Addit. 24,902 'Una,' but in the latter 'unitas' has been written above as a correction.

[2] B. M. Addit. 24,902 'permisceantur.'

[3] For 'amplius' Tr. 1532 reads 'plus.'

[4] For 'quos' B. M. Addit. 24,902 reads 'quam.'

[5] For 'totos' Tr. 1532 reads 'omnes.'

[6] 'Non' is omitted in Tr. 1532 and B. M. Addit. 24,902.

[7] Tr. 1532 'que.'

[8] B. M. Addit. 24,902 adds 'hi.'

[9] 1 Epist. S. Iohan. v. 8.

[10] Tr. 1532 omits 'Sequitur.'

[11] B. M. Addit. 24,902 'substantia'; but there is some appearance of erasure above the final *a*. Probably the mark of contraction has been erased.

[12] Tr. 1532 and B. M. Addit. 24,902 'unam.'

[13] Tr. 1532 adds 'sibi.'

[14] Tr. 1532 adds 'potestates et.'

[15] Tr. 1532 'Neque Patris,' B. M. Addit. 24,902 'Neque Pater.' In the

aut Filii aut Spiritus Sancti personam aliquando [1] excludit ; nec rursus Filius aut Spiritus Sanctus Patris nomen personamque [2] recipit. Sed Pater semper Pater, Filius semper Filius, Spiritus Sanctus semper Spiritus Sanctus. E contrario autem [3] Arrius, quia cognovit tres personas, idcirco et tres asseruit divisas substantias. Sed nos detestantes Arrium unam eandemque dicimus trinitatis esse substantiam, et unum in tribus personis fatemur Deum. Impietatem quoque Sabellii declinamus [4], tres personas sub proprietate distinguimus. Quia Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus substantia unum sunt, personis ac nominibus distinguntur. Substantia est unius cuiusque rei essentia vel natura. Perquam omne, quod [5] est, subsistere et esse cognoscitur. Sequitur [6]. *Alia est enim persona Patris, alia Filii, alia Spiritus Sancti, sed Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti una est Divinitas, aequalis gloria, co-aeterna maiestas.* Alius est in persona Pater, alius in persona Filius, alius in persona Spiritus Sanctus. Non est alius in Deitate, non est alius in gloria. Alius est Pater et alius Filius, quia non est ipse Pater, qui Filius. Non est tamen aliud Pater et aliud Filius, quia hoc est Pater quod Filius. Pater enim genitor est, non genitus. Filius genitus est, non genitor. Spiritus Sanctus non est genitor, quia non est Pater; non est genitus, quia non est Filius : sed procedens est, quia Spiritus est. Hoc est tamen Filius quod Pater, quia Deus, quia creator, quia omnipotens. Aequalis ergo [7] gloria trinitatis, quia non est maior in gloria Pater quam Filius aut Spiritus Sanctus, non est minor [8] gloria Spiritus Sancti quam Patris aut Filii. Item coaeterna maiestas est trinitatis, quia non est anterior Pater Filio aut Spiritu Sancto, non est posterior Spiritus Sanctus Patre aut Filio. Personas dicere in trinitate necessitas fecit disputationis contra hereticos. Nam cum dixeris tres sunt et interrogatus fueris quid sunt tres [9], nihil omnino respondendum restat nisi personae.

latter the last letters of 'Pater' appear to have been altered, and 'enim' has been written above 'neque' by a different hand.

[1] Tr. 1532 and B. M. Addit. 24,902 omit 'aliquando.'
[2] Tr. 1532 'personam nomenque.'
[3] Tr. 1532 and B. M. Addit. 24,902 omit 'autem.'
[4] Tr. 1532 and B. M. Addit. 24,902 'declinantes.'
[5] Tr. 1532 omits 'quod.'
[6] Tr. 1532 omits 'Sequitur.'
[7] B. M. Addit. 24,902 adds 'est.'
[8] B. M. Addit. 24,902 'minor est.'
[9] B. M. Addit. 24,902 'tres sunt.'

Aliud enim[1] quid respondeas, nihil habebis, quia non potest dicere tres dii aut tres substantiae aut aliquid huiusmodi, quod absit. Dicta est[2] autem persona, quasi per se una eo quod per se sit. Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus inseparabiles sunt etiam in personis. Quia, sicut ubique est Pater, ita[3] ubique[4] Filius, ubique et Spiritus Sanctus. Inseparabile est etiam[5] opus trinitatis; quia quęlibet persona, sicut sine aliis personis esse non potest, ita sine aliis non operatur; et nihil seorsum agit inseparabilis caritas. Sequitur[6]. *Qualis Pater, talis Filius, talis Spiritus Sanctus.* Hoc propter necessitatem contra hereticos usurpatum est, qui dissimilem Deo Patri Filium asserebant, dissimilemque Spiritum Sanctum. Nam qualitas de Deo proprie non dicitur, quem, in quantum possumus, intelligere debemus sine qualitate bonum, sine quantitate magnum, sine indigentia creatorem, sine situ presentem, sine habitu omnia continentem, sine loco ubique totum, sine tempore sempiternum, sine ulla sui mutatione mutabilia facientem, nihilque pacientem[7]. In nullo ergo dissimilis Patri Filius, in nullo dissimilis Patri et Filio Spiritus Sanctus: quia in quibus est una Deitas, non est ulla diversitas. Sequitur[6]. *Increatus Pater, increatus Filius, increatus Spiritus Sanctus.* Nihil in trinitate creatum, quia tota trinitas unus est creator. Omnis itaque substantia quae Deus non est, creatura est, et quae creatura non est, Deus est. Nulla igitur differentia est in Deitate trinitatis; quoniam quod Deo minus est, Deus non est. Sequitur[6]. *Immensus Pater, immensus Filius, immensus Spiritus Sanctus.* Immensus est Deus trinitatis[8], quia nulla ratione nulla estimatione metiri valet. Mundo non capitur: sic replet mundum, ut ipse contineat mundum, non contineatur a mundo, sine labore regens, sine onere continens omnia; non tamen per spacia[9] locorum quasi mole diffusus, sed in solo celo totus et in sola terra totus et in parte totus et per cuncta totus;

[1] B. M. Addit. 24,902 'nam.'
[2] Tr. 1532 and B. M. Addit. 24,902 omit 'est.'
[3] Tr. 1532 omits 'ita.'
[4] B. M. Addit. 24,902 omits the second 'ubique.'
[5] B. M. Addit. 24,902 'etiam est.'
[6] Tr. 1532 omits 'Sequitur.'
[7] B. M. Addit. 24,902 'patientem.'
[8] Tr. 1532 and B. M. Addit. 24,902 'trinitas.'
[9] B. M. Addit. 24,902 'spatia.'

in[1] nullo contentus loco, sed in seipso ubique totus[2]. Ita Pater, ita Filius, ita Spiritus Sanctus; unus Deus trinitas[3]. Est namque ubique, quia nusquam est absens; in seipso autem, quia non continetur eis, quibus presens est, tanquam sine his esse non possit. Qui cum sit ubique totus per Divinitatis presentiam, non est ubique per habitationis gratiam. Unde non dicimus, Pater noster, qui es ubique, cum procul dubio verum sit, sed Pater noster, qui es in celis: in sanctis, videlicet, angelis et sanctis omnibus[4], in quibus esse dicitur, non solum per presentiam suae maiestatis, sed etiam per gratiam suę habitationis. Sequitur[5]. *Aeternus Pater, aeternus Filius, aeternus Spiritus Sanctus: et tamen non tres aeterni, sed unus aeternus; sicut non tres increati, nec tres immensi, sed unus increatus et unus immensus.* In Deitate trinitatis quod est esse perpetuum est. Nec Pater unquam fuit sine Filio, quia aeternaliter, id est sine initio, genuit Filium, et sicut semper Deus, ita semper extat[6] Pater: semper quoque Filius cum Patre, quia aeternaliter genitus est a Patre: semper etiam Spiritus Sanctus cum Patrè et Filio, quia aeternaliter ex Patre et Filio procedit. Non sunt tamen tres aeterni, nec tres increati, nec tres immensi; quia totius sanctae trinitatis, sicut una est natura, ita una est increatio, una immensitas, unaque[7] aeternitas. Sequitur[5]. *Similiter omnipotens Pater, omnipotens Filius, omnipotens Spiritus Sanctus: et tamen non tres omnipotens, sed unus omnipotens.* Omnipotens dicitur Deus, quia omnia potest, non patiendo aliquid, quod non vult, sed faciendo quodcunque vult[8], sicut scriptum est: *Apud Deum autem omnia possibilia sunt*[9]. Omnipotens est, quia omnia quae sunt illius potestate acceperunt ut sint, illius potestate tenentur[10]

[1] For 'in' B. M. Addit. 24,902 reads 'et.'

[2] B. M. Addit. 24,902 'totus ubique.'

[3] B M. Addit. 24,902 omits 'unus Deus trinitas.'

[4] For 'omnibus' Tr. 1532 and B. M. Addit. 24,902 read 'hominibus,' and rightly.

[5] Tr. 1532 omits 'Sequitur.'

[6] Tr. 1532 and B. M. Addit. 24,902 'existit.'

[7] B. M. Addit. 24 902 omits 'que.'

[8] This is not in the Oratorian Commentary; it seems to be taken from St. Augustine, *de Civ. Dei*, lib. v. cap. 10, 'Dicitur omnipotens faciendo quod vult, non patiendo quod non vult.'

[9] St. Matt. xix. 26.

[10] B. M. Addit. 24,902 'continentur.'

ne concidant. Hoc Pater, hoc Filius, hoc[1] Spiritus Sanctus. Nec tamen tres omnipotentes, sed unus omnipotens, quia totius sanctae trinitatis, sic est una omnipotentia, sicut una essentia[2]. *Ita Deus Pater, Deus Filius, Deus Spiritus Sanctus: et tamen non tres Dii, sed unus est Deus. Ita Dominus Pater, Dominus Filius, Dominus Spiritus Sanctus: et tamen non tres Domini, sed unus est Dominus.* Totius sanctae trinitatis una Deitas et una[3] Dominatio. Sciendum vero quod Deus dicitur[4] a se[5], Dominus ad creaturas quibus dominatur; Deus, quia colendus est; Dominus, quia solus timendus est; Deus religiosorum, Dominus vero servorum. Sequitur[6]: *Quia sicut singillatim unam quamque personam Deum et Dominum confiteri Christiana veritate compellimur; ita tres Deos aut tres Dominos*[7] *dicere Catholica religione prohibemur.* Unam quamque personam in sancta trinitate singillatim, hoc est singulariter, et Deum et Dominum confiteri oportet. Ita nos dicere fides[8] Christiana compellit. Quia nisi ita dixerimus, Christiani esse non possumus. Et tamen alium Deum aut Dominum dicere Patrem, alium Deum aut Dominum dicere Filium, alium Deum aut Dominum dicere Spiritum Sanctum, prohibet nos Catholica religio. Quia, si ita dixerimus, nec Catholici nec religiosi esse poterimus. Sed ut Christiani simus atque[9] Catholici, dicamus vel pocius[10] credamus et Patrem Deum et Filium Deum et Spiritum Sanctum Deum, et simul non tres Deos, sed unum Deum, qui substantia et natura sit veraciter unus. Sequitur. *Pater a nullo est factus nec creatus nec genitus; Filius a Patre solo est; non factus nec creatus, sed genitus; Spiritus Sanctus a Patre et Filio, non factus nec creatus* nec *genitus, sed procedens.* Pater a nullo est, quia non habet patrem, de quo sit. Nulla enim omnino[11] res est quę seipsam gignit[12], ut

[1] B. M. Addit. 24,902 adds 'et.' [2] B. M. Addit. 24,902 adds 'Sequitur.'
[3] B. M. Addit. 24,902 adds 'est.'
[4] Tr. 1532 and B. M. Addit. 24,902 'dicatur.'
[5] B. M. Addit. 24,902 has rightly, as also the Oratorian Commentary, 'ad se.'
[6] Tr. 1532 omits 'Sequitur.'
[7] B. M. Addit. 24,902 'Deos ac Dominos.
[8] B. M. Addit. 24,902 'fides dicere.'
[9] Tr. 1532 and B. M. Addit. 24,902 add 'religiosi et.'
[10] B. M. Addit. 24,902 'potius.'
[11] Tr. 1532 omits 'omnino.' [12] B. M. Addit. 24,902 'gignat.'

sit. Filius autem de Patre est, ut sit atque ut illi coaeternus sit [1]. Cognoscamus itaque Filium Dei Filium Dei esse; cognoscamus a se ipso non esse, sed genitum esse a Patre, Patrem vero ipsum ingenitum esse, a nullo esse, a nullo vitam accepisse [2]. Vita est enim ipse Pater [3], vita est [4] ipse Filius; sed ille de nullo vita, iste vita de vita [5]. Sed talis qualis illa, tanta quanta illa, hoc omnino quod illa [6]. Filius a Patre solo est genitus; Spiritus autem Sanctus ab utroque, id est Patre et Filio, procedens, Spiritus amborum est. Filius vero solius est Patris. Et hęc [7] est causa, quae distinguit inter nativitatem Filii et processionem Spiritus Sancti. Filius sic est de Patre, quomodo natus, non quomodo datus: Spiritus vero Sanctus sic est de Patre simul et Filio, quomodo datus, non quomodo natus, hoc est, donum amborum. Itaque Filius nascendo procedit, Spiritus vero Sanctus procedendo non nascitur, ne sint duo filii. Nam cum sit et Pater et [8] Spiritus, et [9] Filius et [10] spiritus, et Pater sanctus et Filius sanctus, proprie tamen ipse vocatur Spiritus Sanctus, tanquam sanctitas coessentialis et consubstantialis amborum [11]. Sequitur [12]. *Unus ergo Pater non tres patres, unus Filius non tres filii, unus Spiritus Sanctus, non tres spiritus sancti.* Unus est in sancta trinitate tantummodo Pater, qui genuit Filium; unus tantummodo Filius, qui genitus est a Patre; unus tantummodo Spiritus Sanctus, qui ex utroque procedit. Proprium ergo Patris est, quia genuit; proprium Filii, quia genitus est; proprium Spiritus Sancti, quia procedit [13]. Haec sunt relativa

[1] This is in substance from St. Augustine, *in Ioannis Evan.* xlviii. 6.

[2] Tr. 1532 'accipere.'

[3] Tr. 1532 'Pater ipse.'

[4] B. M. Addit. 24,902 omits 'est.'

[5] See St. Aug. *con. sermonem Arianorum.*

[6] From 'Pater a nullo est, quia' to 'illa' is not in the Oratorian Commentary.

[7] Tr. 1532 'hoc.'

[8] Tr. 1532 and B. M. Addit. 24,902 rightly omit this 'et.'

[9] Tr. 1532 omits this 'et' also.

[10] B. M. Addit. 24,902 has 'Filius spiritus' no doubt rightly, omitting the 'et.'

[11] This passage from 'nam cum sit' to 'amborum' is from St. Augustine, *de Civ. Dei*, xi. 24.

[12] Tr. 1532 omits 'Sequitur.'

[13] From 'Unus est' to 'procedit' is not in the Oratorian Commentary.

nomina, in quibus trinitas dinoscitur: Pater videlicet et[1] Filius et Spiritus Sanctus. Quę ideo relativa dicuntur, quia Pater ad alium refertur, hoc est ad Filium: non enim sibi ipsi est Pater, sed alteri, hoc est Filio. Similiter Filius ad Patrem refertur. Sed et Spiritus Sanctus vel donum, quod[2] dicitur, refertur ad Patrem et Filium, a quibus procedit vel datur. Alia ergo sunt nomina substantiae, hoc est unitatis, et alia sunt nomina personarum, hoc est trinitatis. Substantialia, in quacunque persona dicantur, non referuntur ad aliam[3], sed ad seipsam. Relativa vero semper, ut dictum est, ad invicem referuntur. Dicitur Filius ab apostolo *Dei virtus et Dei sapientia*[4]. Sed non ita est relativum in eo virtus et sapientia, sicut est quod dicitur Verbum aut Filius. Virtus enim et sapientia in Deo substantia est. Et ita dicitur Filius sapientia Patris, quomodo dicitur lumen Patris; id est, ut, quemadmodum lumen de lumine et utrumque unum lumen, sic intelligatur sapientia de sapientia et utrumque una sapientia. Pater igitur et Filius simul una[5] essentia et una magnitudo et una virtus et una sapientia. Sed non Pater et Filius simul ambo unum Verbum. Quia non simul ambo unus Filius: sed Filius *factus est nobis sapientia a Deo*[6]. De qua cum aliquid in scripturis dicitur, Filius nobis insinuatur. Spiritus quoque Sanctus sapientia. Et simul non tres sapientiae, sed una sapientia, Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus. Sequitur[7]. *Et in hac trinitate nihil prius aut posterius nihil maius aut minus, sed totae tres personae co-aeternae sibi sunt et co-aequales. Ita ut per omnia, sicut iam dictum est, et trinitas in unitate et unitas in trinitate*[8] *veneranda sit.* Haec trinitas unus est Deus; et quia unus est, non potest[9] esse diversus. Quia una natura non potest se ipsa esse prior aut posterior, maior aut minor. In hac itaque trinitate nihil est prius aut posterius, quia totę tres personae coęternae sibi sunt, id est, simul aeternae. Non est Pater prior Filio, non est Filius posterior Patre, non est Spiritus Sanctus posterior Patre et Filio. Sed

[1] B. M. Addit. 24,902 omits 'et.'
[2] B. M. Addit. 24,902 for 'quod' reads 'cum.'
[3] Tr. 1532 'alium.'
[4] 1 Cor. i. 24.
[5] Tr. 1532 omits 'simul' and adds 'est' after 'una.'
[6] 1 Cor. i. 30.
[7] Tr. 1532 omits 'Sequitur.'
[8] B. M. Addit. 24,902 'unitas in trinitate et trinitas in unitate.'
[9] Tr. 1532 inserts 'se ipsa,' but a mark has been made under it.

Pater aeternus sine initio Pater; Filius sine initio Patri co-aeternus; Spiritus Sanctus sine initio Patri et Filio co-aeternus. Aeterna quippe est generatio Patris, aeterna nativitas Filii ex Patre, aeterna processio Spiritus Sancti ex Patre et Filio. Nihil enim[1] in hac trinitate maius aut minus, quia totę tres personae sibi sunt co-aequales, id est, simul aequales. Non ibi est Filius minor[2] Patre, nec Spiritus Sanctus minor Patre et Filio. Sed quantus Pater, tantus Filius, tantus Spiritus Sanctus. Filius per omnia aequalis Patri, Spiritus Sanctus per omnia[3] Patri et Filio co-aequalis. Quapropter qui unam Divinitatem Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti confitemur, diversum in hac trinitate ordinem non recipimus. Quia increata et inaestimabilis trinitas, quae unius[4] est aeternitatis et glorie[5] nec tempus nec gradum vel posterioris recipit vel prioris. Nescit hic ordinem fides, nescit discretum Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti honorem, nec aliquem in Deo invenit gradum. Nusquam secundum, nusquam tertium Deum legimus. Primum legimus, primum ac solum audivimus. Nam et Filius, quamvis ex Patre sit, tamen primum ac principium esse se dicit. Omnimodis ergo et trinitas in unitate et unitas in trinitate veneranda est. Quia trinitas[6] est in unitate persona et una est in trinitate substantia. Quoniam unus est Deus, sed tamen trinitas. Nec confuse accipiendum est[7], quod ait Apostolus: *Ex quo omnia, per quem omnia, in quo omnia*[8]: nec deis multis, sed ipsi gloria in saecula saeculorum. Amen[9]. Sequitur[10]. *Qui vult ergo salvus esse, ita de trinitate sentiat. Sed necessarium est ad aeternam salutem, ut incarnationem quoque Domini nostri Ihesu Christi*[11] *fideliter credat.* Sicut fideliter credenda est Divinitas regnantis, ita fideliter credenda est humanitas salvantis. Quia aequalis periculi est de mysterio

[1] Tr. 1532 and B. M. Addit. 24,902 for 'enim' read 'etiam.'
[2] Tr. 1532 'maior.'
[3] B. M. Addit. 24,902 'per omnia Spiritus Sanctus.'
[4] B. M. Addit. 24,902 'unus.' [5] Tr. 1532 'aeternitatis et gloriae est.'
[6] Tr. 1532 and B. M. Addit. 24,902 'trina.'
[7] B. M. Addit. 24,902 omits 'est.' [8] Rom. xi. 36.
[9] 'Amen' is in a different hand. This passage from 'Sed Pater aeternus' to 'saeculorum' is peculiar to this Commentary. It is not in the Oratorian.
[10] Tr. 1532 omits 'Sequitur.' [11] Tr. 1532 adds 'unus-quis-que.'

incarnationis prave[1] sentire et[2] de Divinitatis archano male[3] intelligere. Nihil enim iustius, quam ut salvus non sit, qui salutis mysterio derogare non timuerit. Ihesus nomen est hebreum ; interpretatur autem in latino salutaris sive salvator. Christus grece dicitur, quod transfertur in[4] unctus ab unctione, id est, chrismate; hebraice vero dicitur Messias. Sequitur[5]. *Est ergo fides recta ut credamus et confiteamur, quia Dominus noster Ihesus Christus, Dei Filius, Deus et homo est.* Filius Dei Deus homo factus est, ut in singularitate personae copulans utramque naturam mediator Dei et hominum hominibus appareret, verus Deus, verus homo, unus Christus. Utraque ergo[6] natura in eo est credenda et confitenda, videlicet divina et humana, qui factus est nobis redemptor et redemptio, sacerdos et oblatio. In illo enim nostra portio, quia nostra caro et sanguis, ut, ubi regnat nostra portio, nos quoque glorificemur. Nullum maius donum prestare potuit[7] Deus hominibus, quam quod Verbum suum, per quod condidit omnia, fuit illis caput et illis[8] ei tanquam membra coaptavit, ut esset Filius Dei et[9] Filius hominis, unus Deus cum Patre, unus homo cum hominibus. Sequitur[5]. *Deus*[10] *ex substantia Patris ante saecula, homo*[11] *ex substantia matris in saeculo natus : perfectus Deus, perfectus homo*[12] *ex anima rationali et humana carne subsistens.* Essentialiter natus est de Patre, et essentialiter conceptus natusque de matre, ut esset unius naturę cum Patre et unius naturę cum virgine ; consubstantialis Patri secundum Divinitatem, consubstantialis matri secundum humanam infirmitatem ; de substantia Patris ante saecula genitus, de substantia matris in saeculo natus ; perfectus Deus, quia indissimilis[13] Deo Patri, perfectus quoque homo, quia similis homini matri. Quae mater ita illum salva virginitate genuit, sicut salva virginitate concepit. Verus enim Deus verus factus est homo ; quia omnia nostra suscepit, quae in nobis ipse creavit, id

[1] Tr. 1532 'male.'
[2] B. M. Addit. 24,902 'ut.'
[3] Tr. 1532 'prave.'
[4] Tr. 1532 adds 'latinum.'
[5] Tr. 1532 omits 'Sequitur.'
[6] Tr. 1532 for 'ergo' has 'vero.'
[7] B. M. Addit. 24,902 'potuit prestare.'
[8] Tr. 1532 and B. M. Addit 24,902 'illos.'
[9] B. M. Addit. 24,902 omits 'et.'
[10] B. M. Addit. 24,902 adds 'est.'
[11] B. M. Addit. 24,902 'et homo est.'
[12] Tr. 1532 adds 'est.'
[13] Tr. 1532 and B. M. Addit. 24,902 'non dissimilis.'

est carnem et animam rationalem. Propter quod perfectum eum Deum et perfectum hominem confitemur[1]. *Aequalis Patri secundum Divinitatem, minor Patre secundum humanitatem.* Ideo aequalis et minor, quia Deus et homo[2], aequalis Patri in forma Dei, sicut Apostolus dicit: *Qui cum in forma Dei esset, non rapinam arbitratus est esse se aequalem Deo*[3]. Minor Patre in forma servi, de qua idem Apostolus continuo subiungit: *Sed semet ipsum exinanivit, formam servi accipiens*[4]. Unde et ipse Dominus in evangelio aequalem se Patri in Divinitate esse ostendens ait: *Ego et Pater unum sumus*[5]. Et iterum minorem se Patre in humanitate esse confirmans dicit, quia *Pater maior me est*[6]. *Qui, licet Deus sit et homo, non duo tamen, sed unus est Christus.* Non est alter Christus in Deitate et alter in humanitate, quia non sunt duae personae, sed una. Deus enim Verbum non accepit personam hominum[7] sed naturam[8], ut in singularitate personae tota humanitas suscepta unus Christus sit, et unus Filius Dei atque hominis. In quo sicut duas credimus naturas, ita duas naturales voluntates et duas naturales operationes[9] inseparabiliter, inconfuse, et has duas voluntates, non contrarias, sed pocius humanam eius voluntatem subiectam divinae eius atque omnipotenti voluntati. Nam salvator sicut humanam naturam propterea suscepit, ut salvaret, ita et humanam voluntatem suscipiendo salvavit. Sequitur[10]. *Unus autem non conversione Divinitatis in carnem*[11] *sed adsumptione humanitatis in Deum.* Conversio mutatio dicitur. Non ergo est[12] conversa, id

[1] B. M. Addit. 24,902 inserts 'Sequitur.'

[2] Tr. 1532 and B. M. Addit. 24,902 add 'est.'

[3] Phil. ii. 6.

[4] Ibid. ii. 7.

[5] St. John x. 30. Tr. 1532 instead of 'Ego . . . sumus' has 'Ego in Patre et Pater in me est.'

[6] St. John xiv. 28. From 'Ideo aequalis' to 'maior me est' is peculiar to this Commentary. It is not in the Oratorian. In substance it is from St. Augustine. B. M. Addit. 24,902 adds 'Sequitur.'

[7] Tr. 1532 and B. M. Addit. 24,902 'hominis.'

[8] Tr. 1532 and B. M. Addit. 24,902 add, as the Oratorian Commentary, 'et persona Divinitatis accepit substantiam carnis.'

[9] Tr. 1532 instead of 'voluntates et duas naturales operationes' has 'potentias.'

[10] Tr. 1532 omits 'Sequitur.'

[11] Tr. 1532 and B. M. Addit. 24,902 'carne.'

[12] B. M. Addit. 24,902 'est ergo.'

est, mutata Divinitas in carnem; sed manens quod erat suscepit carnem. Humanitas quoque assumpta est in Deum, non consumpta. Homo Deo accessit, Deus a se non recessit. Adquievit esse quod non erat, non desiit esse quod erat. Sequitur[1]. *Unus omnino, non confusione substantiae, sed unitate personae.* Confusio dicitur permixtio, sicut solent duo liquores immisceri[2], ut neutrum servet integritatem suam. In Christo ergo non sunt permixte substantiae, quia servat utraque cum alterius communione proprietatem suam in singularitate personae. Sequitur[1]. *Nam sicut anima rationalis et caro unus est homo, ita Deus et homo unus est Christus.* Ut[3] in quolibet homine non est una persona anima, et anima[4] caro, sed ex anima et carne unus est homo, ita in Christo non sunt duae personae, sed una divina, quae incarnata est. Nam sicut hominis personam gestat anima, quia utique corpus mortuum non dicitur persona sicut nec lapis aut[5] lignum, ita Christi personam gestat Divinitas, assumptrix humanitatis[6], propter quod utraque substantia dicitur et creditur unicus et unigenitus Filius Dei. Unde et Verbum propter carnem homo est, et caro propter Verbum Deus est. Sequitur[1]. *Qui passus est pro salute nostra, descendit ad inferos, surrexit a mortuis, ascendit ad caelos, sedet ad dexteram Dei Patris omnipotentis, inde venturus iudicare vivos et mortuos. Passus est*, sed in sola assumpta substantia. Gratia enim[7] pro omnibus[8] gustavit mortem, tradens ei proprium corpus[9], quamvis naturaliter ipse vita sit et resurrectio mortuorum. *Descendit ad inferos*, ut morte ineffabili potentia proculcata spoliaret infernum, et antiquorum iustorum animas, qui, quamlibet in loco tranquillitatis, ibi tamen detinebantur, ad paradisi amoena reduceret. *Tertia die resurrexit*[10] *a mortuis* in eadem carne, qua passus fuerat, ut esset

[1] Tr. 1532 omits 'Sequitur.'
[2] B. M. Addit. 24,902 'ita misceri.'
[3] B. M. Addit. 24,902 'Sicut.'
[4] Tr. 1532 and B. M. Addit. 24,902 give the right reading 'alia.'
[5] B. M. Addit. 24,902 'nec.'
[6] B. M. Addit. 24,902 'Divinitatis,' but it has been underscored, and 'humanitatis' written above it by the corrector.
[7] Tr. 1532 and B. M. Addit. 24,902 add 'Dei.'
[8] Tr. 1532 'hominibus.'
[9] B. M. Addit. 24,902 'corpus proprium.'
[10] Tr. 1532 and B. M. Addit. 24,902 'surrexit.'

primogenitus a [1] mortuis et primitiae dormientium, et faceret viam humanae naturae ad immortalitatis recursum. *Ascendit ad coelos*, quia ideo humiliatus est Deus in homine, ut homo exaltaretur in Deo. *Sedet* vero *ad dexteram Patris*, id est, regnat in beatitudine superna [2]. Sedere enim regnare est. Dextera vero Patris beatitudo est sempiterna. *Inde venturus est* [3] *iudicare vivos et mortuos*; quia visionem humanitatis omnibus presentaturus est, ut in iudicio appareat conspicuus in ea forma, qua iudicatus est. Vivos autem et mortuos, qui iudicandi sunt, eos intelligere debemus, quos dies iudicii vivos invenerit, et eos, qui iam ante obierunt. Sequitur [4]. *Ad cuius adventum omnes homines resurgere habent cum corporibus suis, et reddituri sunt de factis propriis rationem.* Adveniente Domino, resuscitantur mortui cum corporibus suis, ut unusquisque in eo corpore, quo bona vel mala gessit, reddat [5] rationem gestorum suorum, et in eo corpore, per quod operatus est, recipiat [6] retributionem factorum suorum [7]. Sequitur [4]. *Et, qui bona egerunt, ibunt in vitam aeternam, qui vero mala, in ignem aeternum.* Tunc enim [8] iusti non solum in animabus beatificati, sed etiam in corporibus glorificati, possidebunt vitam aeternam, absque ullo metu mortis cum iucunditate [9] et gaudio immortalitatis. Tunc etiam hi, qua [10] mala egerunt, illo extremo iudicio mittentur in ignem aeternum: qui ignis ideo dicitur aeternus, quia eis aeternos exhibet cruciatus [11] et nunquam finietur, nec eos cruciare cessabit. Multi egerunt mala, qui [12] non ibunt in ignem aeternum, quia ante mortem suam veram penitudinem de peccatis suis gesserunt; sed hic de illis dicitur, qui mala egerunt, et sine emendatione in malis perseveraverunt. Sequitur. *Haec est fides catholica, quam nisi quisque fideliter firmiterque crediderit, salvus esse non poterit.* Fideliter credamus, ut in fide non erremus, firmiter [13] credamus ut de creditis non

[1] B. M. Addit. 24,902 'ex.' [2] Tr. 1532 'sempiterna.'
[3] B. M. Addit. 24,902 omits 'est.' [4] Tr. 1532 omits 'Sequitur.'
[5] Tr. 1532 adds 'uni Deo.' [6] B. M. Addit. 24,902 'retribuat.'
[7] From 'et in' to 'suorum' is omitted from the text of Tr. 1532, but is inserted in the margin.
[8] Tr. 1532 for 'enim' reads 'vero.' [9] B. M. Addit. 24,902 'iocundidate.'
[10] Tr. 1532 and B. M. Addit. 24,902 'qui.'
[11] Tr. 1532 'eos cruciet eterno cruciatu.' [12] Tr. 1532 adds 'et.'
[13] Tr. 1532 and B. M. Addit. 24,902 for 'firmiter' read 'fideliter.'

dubitemus, si ad aeternam salutem volumus pervenire, ubi cum angelis Deum laudantes de illius laude vivamus, de illius laude et nos gloriamur. Amen[1].

J.

Commentary on the Athanasian Creed in MS. 1012, *Latin, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. It commences on f.* 59 *and ends on f.* 66.

Incipit Fides chatolica cum exposicione *Quicunque vult salvus esse, ante omnia opus est ut teneat chatolicam fidem.* Chatolica dicitur universalis: et quid universalis, nisi quod universa ecclesia debet tenere[2]. Fides dicitur ab eo quod fies in dies[3]. *Quam nisi quisque integram inviolatamque servaverit.* Id[4] est, unus quisque singulis[5] per se. Integram inviolatamque servaverit, hoc est, incorruptam: quod nihil inde minuas, nihil addas. *Absque dubio,* hoc est, sine dubio *in aeternam*[6] *peribit. Fides autem chatolica haec est aequalis, ut unum Deum in trinitate et trinitatem in unitate veneremur.* Quid est hoc nisi ut unum Deum credamus in tres personas, Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum[7]? Pro quid dicitur *persona*? Qui[8] per se sonat. Quando dicis Patrem,

[1] B. M. Addit. 24,902 adds 'Explicit Expositio.'

[2] This note upon 'chatolica' appears also in the Commentary attributed to Fortunatus and in that of Bruno.

[3] *Fides* is derived from *fieri* by St. Augustine also, *Sen.* lxxxii. 22: 'Ipsa fides in Latino sermone dicitur appellata, quia fit quod dicitur.' Similarly in Sermon No. 264 in the Appendix to his works, attributed by the Benedictine editors on the authority of several manuscripts and by Baluze to Caesarius of Arles: 'Fides a fit, id est ab eo quod fiat, nomen accepit.'

[4] *H.* appears to have been written just before 'Id' and afterwards erased. Clearly the scribe at first intended to write 'Hoc.'

[5] So the MS.

[6] So the MS. 'Perditionem' may be omitted.

[7] The accusative where we should have expected the ablative. So we have afterwards: 'in carnem animam rationabilem abuisse,' 'in eam carnem, que prius fuerat, resurrexit,' and 'tres personas in unitatem,' and repeatedly 'pro quid.' There are several instances of the same peculiarity, as I have noticed, in the first Commentary on the Athanasian Creed in Troyes, 804.

[8] Probably for 'quia.' The last letter of a word is frequently omitted in this MS.

personam dicis: quando dicis Filium, personam dicis: quando dicis Spiritum Sanctum, personam dicis, quia unus quisque per se sonat. Et istas tres personas in unitatem veneremur, hoc est, adoremus. Sequitur. *Neque confundentes personas.* Qui dicit, ipse est Pater, ipse Filius, ipse et Spiritus Sanctus, confundat[1] personas, qui de tres[2] unam facit. *Alia est enim persona Patris, alia Filii, alia et Spiritus Sancti.* Quia superius dixi, et Pater per se, et Filius per se, et Spiritus Sanctus per se, secundum personas dico. *Sed Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti una est divinitas, aequalis gloria, quo-aeterna maiestas.* Nullus maior, nullus minor, *sed tote tres persone quo-aeterne sibi sunt et quo-aequales. Qualis Pater, talis Filius, talis et Spiritus Sanctus.* Id est, secundum divinitatem aequales sibi sunt. *Increatus Pater, increatus Filius, increatus et Spiritus Sanctus.* Dicuntur increati, quia nunquam fuerunt creati, quia nec initium habent nec finem. Sed tamen angeli creati sunt, et ominis[3] anima creatura est, et homo creatura est, et omnem rem quamcunque vides, creatura est, et tamen abent[4] inicium, sed non abent finem. *Inmensus Pater, inmensus Filius, inmensus Spiritus Sanctus.* Quid hoc? Inmensus dicitur, quia nulla illum potest mensura[5], quia de ipso scriptum est: *Ego celum et terram implebo*[6]; et alibi: *Celum palmum*[7] *mitigens*[8] *et tram*[9] *pugillo concludens*[10]; et rursum

[1] So the MS.

[2] Obviously 'personas' is understood. We have afterwards 'de tres personas unam faciamus' and 'una de istas tres personas.'

[3] It will be observed that *h* is frequently omitted in this MS. at the commencement of a word. This is particularly the case with *habere.*

[4] For 'habent.'

[5] So the MS. The British Museum MS. Reg. 2. B. v., which reproduces several of these notes, has—'Quia ipsum nullus mensurare potest.'

[6] The quotation is evidently from Jer. xxiii. 24 in the old Latin or Italic version: 'Nonne caelum et terram ego impleo,' in the Vulgate 'Numquid non caelum et terram ego impleo?'—Sabatier, *Bibliorum Sacrorum Latinae versiones,* &c., tom. ii. p. 686, edit. Paris, 1751. *Impleo* is generally found in quotations of this text by the Fathers: *implebo* seems to be unexampled.

[7] So the MS.

[8] So the MS. *Metiens* was probably the original reading. These corruptions and errors show plainly that this is not the autograph copy of the Commentary, and that the scribe was copying from an earlier MS.

[9] For *terram,* the mark of contraction being omitted.

[10] Isaiah xl. 12 is doubtless quoted. This text in the old Italic is 'Quis mensus est manu aquam et caelum palmo et omnem terram pugillo?' in the

scriptum est: *Caelum mihi sedis*[1] *est, terra autem scabellum pedum eorum*[2]. Quem tamen non caelum, non terram[3], non mare illum potest capere, quia nisi ille ibi est, et nullum[3] modo constare potuissent. Sequitur. *Aeternus Pater, aeternus Filius, aeternus et Spiritus Sanctus.* Aeternus dicit, quia semper in aeternitate est ante omnia secula et in finem seculorum. E[4] *tamen non tres aeterni, sed unus aeternus, sicut non tres increati, nec tres inmensi, sed unus increatus et unus inmensus.* Ut hoc cognoscas, quia secundum illas personas hoc dictum est. *Similiter omnipotens Pater, omnipotens Filius, omnipotens et Spiritus Sanctus.* Quid est omnipotens, nisi quia semper per omnia potens est? Et qui potest diabolum vincere, nisi ille solus, quia[5] *adligavit fortem*, id est, diabolo *vasa eius diripuit*[6], quos de potestatem[7] eius eripuit? Sicut apostolus Paulus dicit: *Si Deus pro nobis, quis contra nos*[8]*? Et tamen non tres omnipotentes, sed unus omnipotens.* Quare dicit: non tres omnipotentes, sed unus omnipotens, nisi quia non potest unus plus quam alius, sed tote tres una voluntate? Que non vult Pater, ne[9] Filius; que non vult Filius, ne Pater nec Spiritus Sanctus: sed una est voluntas illorum. Ob hanc causa[10] dicitur: non tres omnipotentis[11], sed

Vulgate, 'Quis mensus est pugillo aquas et caelos palmo ponderavit? Quis appendit tribus digitis molem terrae?' in St. Augustine, Epist. cxx. 14, 'Qui caelum mensus est palmo et terram pugillo': and other Fathers in quoting it agree very nearly with him. See Sabatier, *u.s.*, p. 580. The ante-Hieronymian version would seem to have been followed here.

[1] For 'sedes.'

[2] For 'meorum,' the initial *m* being omitted inadvertently. The passage quoted is Isaiah lxvi. 1 in the old Italic version, 'Caelum mihi thronus et terra suppedaneum pedum meorum'; in the Vulgate, 'Caelum sedes mea, terra autem scabellum pedum meorum'; in St. Augustine, *Epist.* cxx. 14, 'Caelum mihi sedes est, terra autem scabellum pedum meorum.'

[3] So the MS.

[4] Apparently *e* for 'et.'

[5] So the MS. The scribe has written *quia* for *qui*, being misled evidently by the following word commencing with the letter *a*.

[6] See St. Matt. xii. 29.

[7] The mark of contraction over the final *e* in 'potestate' indicative of the omission of *m* is perfectly clear. It has been already noticed that the MS. contains several instances of the same solecism.

[8] Rom. viii. 31.

[9] For 'nec.'

[10] Clearly for 'causam,' the mark of contraction being omitted probably through inadvertence.

[11] For 'omnipotentes.'

unus omnipotens. Sequitur. *Ita Deus Pater, Deus Filius, Deus et Spiritus Sanctus.* Ergo tres Deos colis? Absit. Quare ergo dicitur; tres Dei, nisi quia secundum illas personas hoc dictum est? Quia Pater Deus, Filius Deus, et Spiritus Sanctus Deus. *Et tamen non tres Dii, sed unus est Deus.* Quare? Quia *una est* illorum *Divinitas, aequalis gloria, quo-aeterna maiestas. Ita Dominus Pater, Dominus Filius, Dominus et Spiritus Sanctus. Et tamen non tres Domini, sed unus est Dominus.* Sicut superius dixi, ita et istud sic est. Sed tamen querendum est nobis, pro [1] quid Deus dicitur, vel pro quid Dominus, nisi quia aperte datur intelligi quia Deus dicitur secundum Divinitatem, et Dominus secundum humanitatem. Aliter adhuc intellegi potest; quia Deus dicitur [2] ad providendum, et Dominus nominatur ad dominandum [3]. Sed, sicut in aevangelio legimus de illo dissipulo Thomas, quando iterum veniens Dominus apparuit, et non credente discipulo manus et latus ostendit, et ille exclamavit, *Dominus meus et Deus meus* [4]; quid aliud nisi quod Deum confessus est ante secula et hominem factum in finem seculorum. Sequitur. *Quia sicut singilatim, id est singulariter, unamquamque personam et Deum et Dominum confiteri Christiana veritate compellimur*, hoc est admonemur sive cogimur, *ita tres Deos aut tres Dominos dicere chatolica relegione proibemur.* Quid aliut nisi que detestamur aut vitamur [5]. *Pater a nullo est factus nec creatus nec genitus.* Hic aetiam queri potest, quid abet Pater qui [6] no [7] abet Filius, aut quid habet Filius quod [8] non abet Pater, aut quid abet Spiritus Sanctus que nec Pater abit [9] nec Filius? Sic dictum est: *Filius a Patre solo est, non factus, nec creatus, sed genitus: Spiritus Sanctus a Patre et Filio, non factus, nec creatus, nec genitus, sed procedens*: quo-aeternae sibi et quo-aequales. Sed tamen querendum nobis est, quid est quod Filius a Patre genitus dicitur, nisi quod Filius Verbum Patris vocatur; sicut Iohannis aevangelista dicit: *In principio erat Verbum, et Verbum erat apud Deum, et Deus erat Verbum* [10]? *In principio erat Verbum*, dicit,

[1] So the MS. [2] Here there is an erasure in the MS.
[3] The initial letter in 'dominandum' appears to have been added by a corrector.
[4] St. John xx. 28. [5] So the MS.; probably for 'vetamur.'
[6] So the MS.; clearly an error for 'quod.' [7] So the MS.
[8] The MS. gives an abbreviation—*q*. [9] For 'habet.'
[10] St. John i. 1.

hoc est Filius; *et Verbum erat apud Deum*, vides quomodo declarat; *et Deus erat Verbum*, quia quando dixit, *faciamus hominem ad himaginem et similitudinem nostram* [1], non dixit, quia facio ad similitudinem meam, sed faciamus, id est ad Filium et Spiritum Sanctum hoc dictum est [2]. *Unus ergo Pater, non tres Patres; unus Filius, non tres Filii; unus Spiritus Sanctus, non tres Spiritus Sancti.* Absit, ut a nobis hoc esse credatur, ut de tres personas unam faciamus. *Et in a* [3] *trinitate nihil prius aut posterius nihil maius au* [4] *minus, sed tote tres persone quo-aeterne sibi sunt et quo-aequales*, id est in istas tres personas nullus est minor [5] nullus est minor, *sed tote tres persone quo-aeterne sibi sunt, ita ut per omnia, sicut iam supra dictum est, et trinitas in unitate et unitas in trinitate veneranda sit. Qui vult ergo salvus esse, ita de trinitate senciat. Sed necessarium est,* qui vult ad aeternam salutem pervenire, ut Dominum nostrum Ihesum Christum verum hominem esse fateatur [6]. Quia sunt nonnulli, qui eum fuisse credunt purum hominem in carnem; sed alii dicunt, quia fantassima; alia [4] dicunt, qui [7] patrem carnalem abuisset. Sed non est nobis hoc si [8] credendum. Credamus eum purum hominem non fuisse, et in carnem animam rationabilem abuisse. Et sitivit et esurivit et lassavit et iuxta carnis infirmitatem veros dolores sustinuit. *Est ergo fides recta, ut credamus et confiteamur, quia Dominus noster Ihesus Christus, Dei Filius, et Deus pariter et homo est.* Quomodo hoc potest esse? Ipse insinuat, cum subiugit [9]. Audi quid dicit. *Deus est ex substantia Patris ante secula genitus, et homo est ex substancia matris natus in seculo: perfectus Deus, perfectus homo ex anima racionabile* [10] *et humana*

[1] Gen. i. 26.

[2] On the passage in the first chapter of Genesis St. Augustine says: 'Ad insinuandam scilicet, ut ita dicam, pluralitatem personarum propter Patrem Filium et Spiritum Sanctum.' *De Genesi ad litteram*, cap. xix.

[3] Clearly for 'hac.'

[4] So the MS.

[5] So the MS.: a remarkable instance of carelessness on the part of the copyist.

[6] Probably the words 'verum Deum et' have been omitted inadvertently after 'Christum.' So it would appear from what follows.

[7] Clearly for 'quia,' the final letter being omitted, as is often the case in this MS.

[8] Clearly for 'sic.'

[9] So apparently the MS. for 'subiungit.'

[10] For 'racionabili.'

carne subsistens. Quid aliut nisi ut eum verum hominem credas secundum umanitatem[1]? Sequitur. Et qualis[2] *Patri secundum Divinitatem, minor Patri secundum humanitatem.* Hoc et etiam querendum est, qur[3] Filius iunior esse Patri credatur? Superius dictum est, quia Filius aequalis est Patri, id est, secundum suam Divinitatem. Unde est minor Patri tantum solum ex illam carnem[4] quam adsupsit[5]. Quia enim caeli rex terram nostram carnis adsumpsit, infirmitatem nostram illa iam angelica celsitudo non dispicit. Hinc est, quod ante redemtoris adventum angeli ab omnibus adorantur et tacent. Iohannes vero in apochalipsin angelum adorare volunt[6]. Sed tamen hisdem angelus, ne se debeto adorare, compescit dicens: *Vide ne feceris, conservus tuus sum et fratum*[3] *tuorum*[7]. Quia enim naturam nostram quod[3] caeli rex adsumpsit super se elevata[8] conspiciunt, adorare sibi et pertimescunt[9]. Sicut tament[10] superius dictum est, nihil credas

[1] The British Museum MS. Reg. 2. B. v. has this for one of its notes, adding, no doubt rightly, 'et esse verum Deum secundum divinitatem.'

[2] So the MS.; clearly by an error of the copyist for 'Aequalis.'

[3] So the MS.

[4] So clearly the MS., which has 'illa carne' with the mark of contraction over the last letter of each word indicative of the omission of the concluding *m*. I have already noticed the occurrence in this MS. of a similar barbarism—the accusative case after the preposition *de*.

[5] Clearly for 'adsumpsit'; the mark of contraction over the letter *u* being omitted probably through inadvertence. It is inserted in the same word shortly after.

[6] So the MS. The printed text of St. Gregory has 'voluit.'

[7] Rev. xix. 10.

[8] Clearly for 'elevatam,' the mark of contraction over the final *a* being inadvertently omitted.

[9] From 'Sed' to 'pertimescunt' is extremely difficult to read in the MS., the writing having become very faint, and some words all but obliterated. The whole passage bears an obvious resemblance to the following in St. Gregory the Great, *In Evan. Hom.* viii: 'Quid enim caeli rex terram nostrae carnis adsumpsit, infirmitatem nostram illa iam angelica celsitudo non despicit. . . . Hinc est enim quod Loth et Iosue angelos adorant, nec tamen adorare prohibentur, Iohannes vero in Apocalypsi sua adorare Angelum voluit, sed tamen idem hunc Angelus, ne se debeat adorare, compescuit dicens: *Vide ne feceris, conservus enim tuus sum et fratrum tuorum.* Quid est quod ante Redemptoris adventum angeli ab hominibus adorantur et tacent, postmodum vero adorari refugiunt, nisi quod naturam nostram, quam prius despexerant, postquam super se assumptam conspiciunt, prostratam sibi videre pertimescunt?'

[10] So the MS., probably for 'tamen ut.'

Filio minorem esse Patri, nisi solum secundum umanitatem: quia nec Pater adsumpsit carnem, nec Spiritus Sanctus, nisi tantum Filius. Ob hanc causa[1] est minor Patri. *Qui, licet Deus sit et homo, non duo tamen sed unus est Christus.* Nondut[2] hoc credas, quae[3] illic humanitas non sit cum divinitate, sicut[4] illa divinitas et illa humanitas in unum sibi sint. Audi qui[5] dicit: *Nam, sicut anima racionabilis et caro unus est homo, ita Deus et homo unus est Christus.* Nam, sicut homo unus, qui tamen ex duabus substanciis consta[6], ex corpore videlicet et anima, sed tamen unus homo est, similiter et Christus ex duabus substanciis constat, deitatem et umanitatem[7]. Non oc[8] credendum est, que illa divinitas non adiungit[9] ad illa[10] humanitatem, quae illa divinitas sit per se, et illa humanitas per se; non sic, sed ulla[10] divinitas et ulla umanitas in unum sunt. Sequitur. *Unus autem non conversione divinitatis in carne, sed adsumpsione umanitatis in Deo.* Una de istas personas, idem vero Christus. Non ideo conversus est in carnem, ut suam divinitatem perderet in celum[11]! sed adsumpsit carnem, ut Deus esset secundum divinitatem et Dominus secundum humanitatem. *Unus omnino non confusione substanciae, sed unitatem*[12] *persone.* Id est, non est confusa substancia Christi, quae[10] abebat cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto, sed equaliter sibi sunt. *Nam sicut anima racionabilis et caro unus est homo, ita Deus et homo unus est Christus.* Qualis Christus, *qui passus est pro salute nostra, descendit ad infernum, resurrexit*

[1] So the MS., the mark of contraction being omitted.

[2] So the MS., apparently for 'non duo ut,' the two first words being repeated from the verse of the Creed quoted just before. This passage of the Commentary forms one of the notes in the British Museum MS. Reg. 2. B. v.

[3] So the MS., probably for 'quia,' the reading of the note in Reg. 2. B. v.

[4] Reg. 2. B. v. reads 'sed ut'—probably the right reading.

[5] Probably for 'quid,' as before.

[6] So the MS., clearly for 'constat.'

[7] So the MS., the mark of contraction over the final letter in both words being clear.

[8] For 'hoc.'

[9] Apparently for 'adiungitur,' the mark being omitted.

[10] So the MS.

[11] This word may be 'celum' or 'colum,' but it is so difficult to read that it is impossible to say for certain what it is.

[12] So the MS., the mark of contraction over the last letter being quite distinct.

a mortuis. Nam querendum est, quum ad illum latronem, qui crucem [1] suspensus est, dixit: *Amen dico tibi, odie mecum eris in paradiso* [2]; et rursum dicunt aevangelia: *Inclinato capite tradidit spiritum* [3]; et hic dicit: Statym *descendit ad inferos*; quomodo hoc potuit facere? Num quod divisa fuit anima Christi? Quid aliut intellegit [4] debet, nisi de illius divinitate, que inseparabilis est Patri et Spiritu Sancto, hic dictum est: *Amen dico tibi, hodie mecum erit* [1] *in paradiso?* Et illa anima simplex descendit ad inferos, ad alias animas liberandas. Et postquam eas inde liberavit, stim [5] rediit ad corpus suum; et in eam carnem, que prius fuerat, resurexit [1]; et in aevangelio legimus, quod *multa corpora sanctorum, qui dormierant, resurrexerunt, et venierunt in sanctam civitatem, et aparuerunt multis* [6]. Quid hoc voluit Christus facere, quod tunc corpora sanctorum resurexerunt cum illo pariter, nisi quia ut perfeccius crederetur, quae et ipse resurexit in eam carnem, que prius fuerat, qui et alias sicut [7] resurgere facit? Et, post apparuerunt, redierunt in eorum sepulcra. *Ascendit ad celis* [8]*; sedet ad dextera* [9] *Patris. Inde venturus iudicare vivos et mortuos. Vivos* dicit qui in carne inveniendi sunt, et *mortuos* dicit, quorum iam ossa per eorum sepulcra consistunt. Sicut illa tuba magna fuerit cantura, et vox de celo audita fuerit dicens: Surgite, surgite; tam omnes mortui et vivi corpora sua incorruptibiles accipiunt et resurgunt. Sed tamen illi vivi, qui tunc inventi fuerint, non moriunt [10]; sed in eorum locum, ubi unus quisque stat, carnem illam corruptibilem, que abent, mutata incorruptibilem [11], sed tamen animam suam non

[1] So the MS.

[2] St. Luke xxiii. 43. This agrees with the Vulgate, also with the text as quoted by SS. Hilary and Augustine. The old Italic inserts *quod* before *hodie*.

[3] St. John xix. 30. This agrees both with the old Italic and the Vulgate.

[4] So the MS., clearly for 'intelligi.'

[5] Evidently for 'statim.'

[6] St. Matt. xxvii. 52, 53.

[7] Possibly 'se ipsum' is omitted.

[8] There are instances of this barbarism in the rubrics of the Utrecht Psalter—'Canticum Moysi ad filiis Israhel'—'Hymnum ad matutinis.'

[9] The mark of contraction over the last letter has doubtless been omitted inadvertently.

[10] No doubt the mark of contraction for the termination *ur* has been omitted inadvertently.

[11] Probably the mark of contraction over the final *a* in 'mutata' and the

exiendo corpus suum. Unde scriptum est: *Tam iustorum, quam iniustorum, caro incorruptibiliter resurgit uut*[1] *penam possit suffer rere*[2] *pro peccatis vel pro*[3] *in aeterna gloria manere pro meritis*[4]. *Ad cuius adventum omnes hominis resurgere abent cum corporibus suis, et reddituri sunt de factis propriis racionem. Et, qui bona aegerunt, ibunt in vitam aeternam, et qui male, in ignum*[5] *aeternum.* Unde nos Dominus pro sua pietate eripere dignetur. *Haec est fides catholica*, id est universalis. Nam *nisi quisque fideliter et*[5] *firmiterque crediderit, salvus esse non poterit*[6].

preposition *in* before 'incorruptibilem' have been omitted inadvertently, so that the text should be 'mutatam in incorruptibilem.'

[1] So apparently the MS.; obviously for 'ut.'

[2] So apparently the MS.; clearly for 'sufferre.'

[3] The copyist evidently intended at first to write 'pro meritis,' but finding himself in error did not add the latter word; and afterwards neglected to erase the former word which he had written by mistake.

[4] The commentator is evidently quoting the following passage in the *Liber de dogmaticis Ecclesiasticis* commonly, but upon uncertain grounds, attributed to Gennadius: 'Eadem caro corruptibilis, quae cadit, tam iustorum quam iniustorum incorruptibilis resurgit, quae vel poenam sufferre possit pro peccatis aut in gloria aeterna manere pro meritis.' So the passage is printed in the Appendix to St. Augustine, Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, tom. xlii. p. 1215; but a MS. in the British Museum Addit. 12,725, which contains a copy of that exposition of doctrine, gives some variety of reading:—'caro' is inserted after 'iniustorum,' 'ut' is read for 'quae,' 'penas' for 'penam,' 'sufficere' for 'sufferre,' 'aut' for 'vel.' It will be observed that some of these readings are followed by the Commentary. In the B. M. MS. the above-mentioned document is entitled *Doctrina Ecclesiastica*, and is not assigned to any author. It is remarkable that it does not maintain the view, in support of which it appears to be here alleged, but rather favours the opinion broached by St. Augustine, but only as a conjecture, that the quick at Christ's coming shall undergo a momentary death. St. Aug. *de Civ. Dei*, lib. xx. cap. 20. It asserts however that either opinion may be held without heresy. The passage quoted, it is obvious, merely maintains the identity of the risen body; the quotation therefore is inapposite.

[5] So the MS.

[6] The last three words have been rendered illegible by a note written over them, A.D. 1219.

K.

Copy of a Greek Version of the Athanasian Creed from Ὧραι τῆς ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας κατ' ἔθος τῆς Ῥωμαικῆς αὐλῆς. Ἑπτὰ ψαλμοὶ τῆς μετανοίας, κ.τ.λ. *Printed by Aldus at Venice* A. D. 1497.

Σύμβολον τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀθανασίου.

Ὅστις βούληται σωθῆναι, πρὸ πάντων χρὴ κρατεῖν τὴν καθολικὴν πίστιν. Ἣν εἰ μὴ εἷς ἕκαστος σῶαν καὶ ἀμώμητον τηρήσῃ, ἄνευ δισταγμοῦ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα ἀπολεῖται. Πίστις δὲ ἡ καθολικὴ αὕτη ἐστίν, ἵνα ἕνα θεὸν ἐν τριάδι καὶ τριάδα ἐν μονάδι σεβώμεθα. Μήτε συγχέοντες τὰς ὑποστάσεις μήτε τὴν οὐσίαν μερίζοντες. Ἄλλη γὰρ ἐστὶν ἡ ὑπόστασις τοῦ πατρός, ἄλλη τοῦ υἱοῦ, ἄλλη τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος. Ἀλλὰ πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος μία ἐστὶν ἡ θεότης, ἴση ἡ δόξα, συναΐδιος ἡ μεγαλειότης. Οἷος ὁ πατήρ, τοιοῦτος ὁ υἱός, τοιοῦτον καὶ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα. Ἄκτιστος ὁ πατήρ, ἄκτιστος ὁ υἱός, ἄκτιστον καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον. Ἀκατάληπτος ὁ πατήρ, ἀκατάληπτος ὁ υἱός, ἀκατάληπτον καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον. Αἰώνιος ὁ πατήρ, αἰώνιος ὁ υἱός, αἰώνιον καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον. Πλὴν οὐ τρεῖς αἰώνιοι, ἀλλ' εἷς αἰώνιος. Ὥσπερ οὐδὲ τρεῖς ἀκατάληπτοι οὐδὲ τρεῖς ἄκτιστοι, ἀλλ' εἷς ἄκτιστος καὶ εἷς ἀκατάληπτος. Ὁμοίως παντοδύναμος ὁ πατήρ, παντοδύναμος ὁ υἱός, παντοδύναμον καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον. Πλὴν οὐ τρεῖς παντοδύναμοι, ἀλλ' εἷς παντοδύναμος. Οὕτω θεὸς ὁ πατήρ, θεὸς ὁ υἱός, θεὸς καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον. Πλὴν οὐ τρεῖς θεοί, ἀλλ' εἷς θεός. Ὁμοίως κύριος ὁ πατήρ, κύριος ὁ υἱός, κύριον[1] καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον. Πλὴν οὐ τρεῖς κύριοι, ἀλλ' εἷς ἐστὶ κύριος. Ὅτι ὡς ἰδίαν μίαν ἕκαστον[1] ὑπόστασιν θεὸν καὶ κύριον ὁμολογεῖν τῇ χριστιανικῇ ἀληθείᾳ βιαζόμεθα, οὕτω τρεῖς θεοὺς ἢ τρεῖς κυρίους λέγειν τῇ καθολικῇ εὐσεβείᾳ κωλυόμεθα. Ὁ πατὴρ ἀπ' οὐδενὸς ἐστὶ ποιητὸς οὔτε μὴν κτιστὸς οὐδὲ γεννητός. Ὁ υἱὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς μόνου ἐστιν, οὐ ποιητὸς οὐ κτιστὸς ἀλλὰ γεννητός. Τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ, οὐ ποιητὸν οὐ κτιστὸν ἀλλ' ἐκπορευτόν. Εἷς οὖν πατήρ, οὐ τρεῖς πατέρες, εἷς υἱὸς οὐ τρεῖς υἱοί, ἓν πνεῦμα ἅγιον οὐ τρία πνεύματα ἅγια. Καὶ ταύτῃ τῇ τριάδι οὐδὲν πρότερον ἢ ὕστερον, οὐδὲν μεῖζον ἢ ἔλαττον, ἀλλὰ σῶαι αἱ τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις καὶ συναΐδιαι εἰσὶν ἑαυταῖς καὶ ἴσαι. Ὥστε κατὰ πάντα, καθὼς εἴρηται, καὶ τὴν μονάδα ἐν τριάδι σέβεσθαι δεῖ καὶ τὴν τριάδα ἐν μονάδι. Ὁ γοῦν βουλόμενος σωθῆναι οὕτω περὶ τριάδος φρονείτω. Πλὴν ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι πρὸς αἰωνίαν σωτηρίαν ὅπως καὶ τὴν ἐνσάρκωσιν τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἔτι ὀρθῶς πιστεύσῃ.

[1] *Sic.*

Ἔστι γὰρ πίστις ὀρθὴ ἵνα πιστεύωμεν καὶ ὁμολογῶμεν ὅτι ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ θεὸς καὶ ἄνθρωπός ἐστι. Θεὸς ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ πατρὸς πρὸ αἰώνων γεννηθεὶς καὶ ἄνθρωπος ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τῆς μητρὸς ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι τεχθείς. Τέλειος θεὸς καὶ τέλειος ἄνθρωπος ἐκ ψυχῆς λογικῆς καὶ ἀνθρωπίνης σαρκὸς ὑφιστάμενος. Ἴσος τῷ πατρὶ κατὰ τὴν θεότητα, ἐλάττων τοῦ πατρὸς κατὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα. Ὅς, εἰ καὶ θεὸς καὶ ἄνθρωπός ἐστιν, οὐ δύο ὅμως ἀλλ' εἷς ἐστὶ Χριστός. Εἷς δέ, οὐ τροπῇ τῆς θεότητος εἰς σάρκα, ἀλλὰ προσλήψει τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος εἰς θεόν. Εἷς πάντως, οὐ συγχύσει τῆς οὐσίας, ἀλλ' ἑνότητι τῆς ὑποστάσεως. Καὶ γάρ, ὡς ψυχὴ λογικὴ καὶ ἡ σὰρξ εἷς ἐστὶν ἄνθρωπος, οὕτω καὶ ὁ θεάνθρωπος εἷς ἐστὶ Χριστός. Ὃς ἔπαθε διὰ τὴν σωτηρίαν ἡμῶν, κατῆλθεν ἐν ᾅδου. Ἀνέστη τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν. Ἀνῆλθεν εἰς οὐρανούς, κάθηται ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ θεοῦ παντοκράτορος. Ὅθεν ἥξει κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς. Οὗ τῇ παρουσίᾳ πάντες οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἀναστήσονται μετὰ τῶν σωμάτων αὐτῶν, καὶ ἀποδώσουσιν ἐξ ἰδίων ἔργων τὴν ἀπολογίαν. Καὶ οἱ μὲν τὰ ἀγαθὰ πράξαντες πορεύσονται εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον, οἱ δὲ τὰ φαῦλα εἰς τὸ πῦρ τὸ αἰώνιον. Αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ καθολικὴ πίστις, ἣν ἐὰν μή τις πιστῶς πιστεύσῃ, σωθῆναι οὐ δυνήσεται.

L.

Copy of a portion of a Greek version of the Athanasian Creed in Vat. 81, a MS. of the Vatican Library, f. 163, r. I have attempted to reproduce the punctuation and the accentuation of the MS. as far as possible, as well as the spelling.

Οὐδῶν βούλαίται σοθηνε . προ παντῶν κροῖ. Κρατῆν τοὶν Καθόλοικοὶν πηστήν. Ηὶ ἐὰν μοι τηὺσ τέληὰν αμὸμὸν . ὸυ φηλακξοῖ αναὼ δοησταγμοῦ ἦσ ἐὸνα . ἀπολοιταῖ. Πήστὴσ δὲ η Καθυληκοῖ αώτοῖ ἑστοὶν . ἰνὰ ένὰ θῦ ἐν τριαδοὴ . καὶ τριὰδά. Κὲ μὸνάδα σαὼβὸμαιθὰ μὴ σοίχεὸντὲσ . τὰ πρὸσοπα . μοίτε τοὶν ουσμὰν απὸταιμὸνονταίσ . ηταίροσ γὰρ . ἑστοίν οχωραμτοὶρ τοὺ πάτρὸσ . ἑταῖροσ τοὺ ἰοηὺ . ἑταιρὺσ του αγιοὺ πνα[1]. Αλλὰ πατροσ και ιόυ[2] κε γηου[3] . πὴεματὸσ . μοιὰ ἑστὴν η θεοτὴσ ησοὶ δοξὰν[4] συνάηδοὶοσ . η . μαὶγὰλοσνοὶ[5]. Ηὶὸσ ὸ πὼτοὶρ . τοιοὺτὸσ ιοὺσ τομουτὸν και το πὴεμ[6] τ[7] άγηὸν. Ακτὼιστοσ ὸ πατρι[8]. ακτωιστὸσ.

[1] *Sic.* [2] H is written above ι. [3] α is written above γ to the left.
[4] The two last letters seem to have been altered.
[5] H is written above σν. [6] α is written above μ to the right.
[7] ω is written above τ to the right. [8] H is written above τρ.

We have here I think οι occurring twelve times for η according to the usual spelling, н eleven times for ι, αι eight times for ε, ο five times for ω, οι four times for ι, ε four times for αι, ω three times for α, η three times for ι, twice for υ, η once for ει, н once for ει, αω once for ευ and once for ε, οι once for υγ and once for ει, μ once for κ, ω once for ο and once for υ, and κ once for χ. I do not give this as an exhaustive list of the anomalies and peculiarities in this excerpt. It must not be supposed that we have here a sample from which an estimate may be formed of the codex generally; on the contrary, with this exception it appeared to me to be well and correctly written.

M.

Copy of the earliest English version of the Athanasian Creed contained in British Museum MS. Addit. 17,376, *f.* 147 *v*–149 *v*.

Whoso wy̓ll be sauf, nede it is to hy̓m to fore alle thinges[1] that he holde the catholick faithe. The which bot ȝif[2] ich on[3] kepe hole and nouȝt defouled, wy̓th outen drede he shal peris wy̓th outen ende. The faithe for sothe of holy chirche is this, that we houen o[4] god in trinite and the trinite in onhede, nouȝt confoundand persons ne departand substaunce. On for sothe is persone of the fader, another of the sone, another of the holy gost; bot of the father and of the sone and of the holy gost is o godhede, even glorie, majeste to gidres everlastand. Swich as the fader, swich is the sone, swich is the holi gost. Unfourmed is the fader, unfourmed is the sone, unfourmed is the holi gost. Mychel his the fader, mychel his the sone, mychel his the holi gost. The fader hy̓s everlastend, the son is everlastend, the holy gost is everlastend. And never the lefse ther ne be nouȝt thre everlastend, at ther is on everlastend. As hii[5] ne ben nouȝt thre unfourmed, ne thre grete, at on unfourmed, and on grete. Also his the fader almiȝti, the sone almiȝti, the holi gost almiȝti.

[1] In the MS. ρ always stands for *th*.
[2] ȝ signifies *y* at the beginning of a word and *gh* elsewhere.
[3] i.e. each one.
[4] i.e. one.
[5] The pronoun meaning *they*.

And never the les ther ne ben non thre almiȝti, bot on is almiȝti. So is god fader, god is sone, god ỳs the holy gost. And na for than ther ne ben nouȝt thre goddes, bot ther is o god. So is the fader lord, the sone lord, the holy gost lord. And na for than ther ne ben nouȝt thre lordes, at on is lord. Ffor as we ben constreint thurȝ [1] cristen sothenes [2] to knowelich on lich god and lord ich a persone, so we be defended thurȝ catholik religion to seien thre goddes and thre lordes. The fader his made of no wiȝt, ne fourmed ne biȝeten. The sone is one liche of the fader, nouȝt made, noȝt formed, at biȝeten. The holy gost is of the fader and of the sone, nouȝt made, nouȝt formed, noȝt biȝeten, bot forthgoand. Ffor thi o fader is and nouȝt thre fadres, o sone and nouȝt thre sones, on holy gost and nouȝt thre holy gost [3]. Bot in this trinite noȝt is to fore ne nouȝt bỳ hinde, nouȝt more ne laſse, at alle thre persons ben to gadres everlastand and even. So that by alle thinges, as it is soue said aboue, and on hede in thre hede and thre hede in on hede be to houd. Ffor thỳ he that wil be saved fele he so of threhede. Bot nedeful thinge is to the everlastand helthe that he trowe lich bileve the incarnacioun of our lord ihesu crist. Ffor thỳ the riȝt bileve is that we bileve and knowelich that our lord ihesu crist, goddes sone, is god and man. He his god of the substaunce of the fader biȝeten to fore the worldes and man of the substaunce of the moder boren in the world. He is perfit god and perfit man, beand of reasonable soule and mannes flesshe. He is even to the fader efter the godehede, laſse than the fader efter the manhede. The which, thoȝ he bi god and man, na for than hii ben nouȝt two bot o crist. He is for sothe on noȝt thurȝ taking of manhede in to god [4]. He is on in alle, nouȝt thurȝ confusion of substaunce, but thurȝ onhede of persone. Ffor, as resonable soule and flesshe is o man, so is god and man o crist. The which suffred for our helthe, went to helle, and aros the thridde daie from deth to lyf. He steȝe up to the hevens, sitteth at the riȝt hand of god fader almiȝti. From thennes he is to cum to jugen the quike and the

[1] i.e. through. [2] i.e. truth. [3] So the MS.

[4] Clearly some words have been omitted after *thurȝ*. The Latin in this MS. is 'non confusione (*sic*) divinitatis in carne, sed assumptione humanitatis in deum.'

ded. At whowos cumyng al men han to rise wyth her bodis and ben to ȝelden rekening of her propre dedes. And hii that deden wele shal gou to the lif everlastand, and hii that han don ivel shul gou into fir everlastend. This ys the bileve catholik, the which bot if ich man have bileved trowlich and fastelich, hene may nouȝt be sauf.

N.

Copy of the Wycliffe version of the Athanasian Creed from the British Museum MS. Addit. 10,049.

Who evere wole be saaf, it is nedeful bifore alle thingis that he holde the comyne bileve. This comune feith is of this kynde[1], that, but if[2] ech man kepe it hool and unfilid, withouten doute he schal perische withouten ende. This is the comune bileve, that we worschipe o[3] god in trynite of persones the which god is trynyte of oonhede of godhede: neth medlynge[4] these thre persones, ne departinge the substaunce. There is othir persone of the fadir and othir of the sone and othir of the hooly goost. But of these thre persones is oo godhed and evene glorie and comyne magiste withouten ende. Which is the fadir, siche is the sone, and siche is the holy goost. Unmaad is the fadir, unmaad is the sone, unmaad is the holy goost. The fadir is withoute mesure myche[5] and eek[6] the sone with the holy goost. The fadir is withouten bigynnynge and also withouten endynge and so ben the other two persones. And netheles if god be such that ther ben not thre goddis suche: for there is but o god of what kynde manere that he be, and so there ben not thre unmaad ne thre thus grete ne thre withouten ende, but alle these thre persones ben o god that is siche. Also almyȝty is the fadir, almyȝty is the sone, almyȝti is the holi goost. And netheless not

[1] The words 'This comune feith is of this kynde' are not underscored in the MS. with a red line as the words of the version are in general, but they are clearly necessary to the sense.

[2] i.e. except.

[3] i.e. one.

[4] i.e. mingling or confounding.

[5] The preceding version has *mychel*, that in Bodleian MS. 425 *mikel*.

[6] i.e. also.

thre goddis ben almyȝty, but o god is almyȝty. So the fadir is god, the sone is god, and the holy goost is the same god. And netheles ther ben not thre goddis, but o god is alle these thre. And so the fadir is lord, the sone is lord, and the holy goost is lord. And ȝit ther ben not thre lordis, but o lord is ech of these. And to this witt speketh the crede[1], that we ben nedid[2] to graunte that ech of these thre persones is ful god and ful lord, and ȝit we ben forfendid[3] of god to seie that ther ben thre goddis or that these thre persones ben thre lordis bi general religioun. But the fadir is maad of noon ne maad of nouȝt ne bigeten. The sone is of the oo fadir, not maad ne maad of nouȝt but boren. The holy goost cometh bothe of the fadir and of the sone, not maad ne maad of nouȝt[4] but comyng forth. And herfore we moten nede confeſse[5] that there is oo fadir not thre fadris, oo sone not thre sones, oo holi goost not three holi goostis. And in this trynite is nouȝt tofore ne aftir more ne leſse, but alle these thre persones ben evene withoute bigynnyng and ende and evene in power and in godhed. And so we gaderen here, as it is before seid, that bothe oonhed in godhed and trynite in persones and trynite in this oonhed[6] to be worschipid over other thingis. And who evere wolde be saaf, thus fele he of the trynyte. Biside the godhede of these thre persones it is nedeful to knowe the manhede of this secunde persone and so trowe it treuli. Therfore it is riȝt bileve that we bileve and knoweleche that oure lord ihesu crist, goddes sone, is bothe god and man. He is god of his fadris substaunce born spirituali before the world, and he is man of his modris substaunce born and maad man in the world. And so he is perfit god as he was tofore the world, and he is perfit man maad of a resonable soule and is of mannes fleisch. And so evene to the fader bi his godhede and leſse than the fadir bi his manhede. But if crist be god and man and so two kyndis[7] and bothe of him[8], netheles crist is not two persones but oo. Crist is oo persone, not bi turnyng

[1] The words 'And to this witt speketh the crede' are not underscored.
[2] After 'nedid' Harleian MS. 1806 and Laud 448 read by 'christen trouthe.'
[3] i.e. forbidden.
[4] Bodleian 288 adds 'ne bigeten.'
[5] The words 'And herfore . . . confesse' are not underscored.
[6] 'be' is added in Bodleian 288.
[7] i.e. natures.
[8] Bodleian 288 also reads 'him,' but Laud 448 'hem.'

of god in to fleisch, but bi takynge of manhede into godhede. And thus crist is algatis[1] oo, not bi confusioun of his substaunce, but by oonhed of his persone[2]. For with[3] a resonable soule and fleisch is bothe o man, so in crist bothe god and man is o persone in crist. That crist suffride for oure helthe, wente doun into helle, and thridde[4] day roos from deth. And thus crist ste3e[5] to hevenes, sittith on the ri3tside of the fadir almy3ty, and fro thennis he is to come to deme the quike and the dede. Hereso[6] this comynge at the laste day shal al manere of men rise and shal give resoun to crist of her owne dedis. And these men that hav do goode dedis schulen go to luf[7] withouten ende, and these men that hav do yvelis schulen go to fier withouten ende. This is general bileve, the which but[8] ech man trowe truli and stedfastli, he may not here[9] be saaf.

[1] i.e. wholly.

[2] This and the preceding verse are not underscored with red in the MS. as the version is in general. The omission was no doubt through inadvertence.

[3] Bodleian 288 and Laud 448 both have 'for whi as.'

[4] Laud 448 reads 'on the thridde.'

[5] i.e. ascended.

[6] So apparently this MS.; others read 'to.'

[7] So apparently; other MSS. have 'lyf' and 'lif.'

[8] Bodleian 288 adds 'if.'

[9] Other MSS. add 'with.'

GENERAL INDEX.

Abbo of Fleury, 28; his evidence of the use of the *Quicunque* in England, *ibid.*

Abelard, quotes *Quicunque*, 36; his commentary on, 236; dependence on earlier expositions, 237; letter to Bernard of Clairvaux respecting Cistercian Breviary, 453.

Adalbertus, Bp. of Morinum, his profession of faith, 26.

Admonitio Synodalis, 80, 81, 193, 194, 426.

Adoptionist controversy, its bearing on the date of the Fortunatus Commentary, 170, 171; of the *Quicunque*, 208–213.

Adrian, Pope, 113.

Ælfric, Abp. of Canterbury, 31 ff.; Abp. of York, *ibid.*; the monk, *ibid.*

Æneas, Bp. of Paris, quotes *Quicunque* as Athanasian, 26.

Æthelstan, Psalter of, 125 ff., 337, 449.

Agobard, Bp. of Lyons, quotes *Quicunque* as Athanasian, 19.

Aix-la-Chapelle, Convention of, 67.

Alcuin's *Libellus de Processione Spiritus*, 16; quotes *Quicunque* as Athanasian, 17; authenticity and date, *ibid.*; his *De fide S. Trinitatis* and Monotheletism, 186, 189.

Aldus press editions of the Horae, 281–283, 311.

Alexander de Hales, 40; his reasons for liturgical use of creeds, *ibid.*; commentary on *Quicunque*, 248; ascribes it to Anastasius, 249; method of, *ibid.*; passages wrongly ascribed to St. Augustine, 250; MSS. containing it, *ibid.*

Amalarius, work of, on the Offices of the Church, 444, 454.

Ambrosian rite, peculiarities of, 446; its Canticles, 149, 151; daily use of *Quicunque*, 428.

Anastasius, Pope, *Quicunque* ascribed to, 239, 249, 399 ff.

Angers collection of Canons, 53 ff.

Anglo-Saxon Church, its use of *Quicunque*, 29, 140 ff., 450.

Anglo-Saxon Homilies of Ælfric, 29; quotations from *Quicunque*, 29, 30; their authorship, 31–33.

Anglo-Saxon glosses in Psalters, 141 ff., 304.

Anselm, Dean of Laon, compiler of 'glosa scolastica,' 244.

Antioch, John of, 356, 361.

Antiphonary of Bangor, 14.

Apollinarian controversy, 362, 365, 366.

Apostles' Creed, sermons on, 3–12.

Aquinas, Thomas, his defence of the use of Creeds, 41; his explanation of the Ephesine Canon ἑτέρα πίστις, 42; attributes *Quicunque* to Athanasius, *ibid.*

Arian hypothesis of the Trinity illustrated by metals, 226; derived from St. Augustine, 215.

Armenian Church receives *Quicunque*, 458.
Arnold, Abbot of Lubeck, 37.
Athanasius not the author of the *Quicunque*, 335; earliest ascription to him, 395; how accounted for, 402 ff.
Atto, Bp. of Vercellae, his Capitulare and the Epistola Canonica, 48.
Augustine, Bp. of Hippo, his chronology, 172; connexion with Oratorian Commentary, 189; language compared with Trèves fragment, 6–8; with *Quicunque*, 347; with the *Commonitorium* of Vincent of Lerins, 378, 385.
Autun, Canon of, 52; its evidence of use of *Quicunque* as Athanasian in seventh cent., 53, 346; enlarged knowledge of it by publication of Angers and Herovall collections, 53, 54; their date, 55; contents of the Angers collection, 55–58; of the Herovall collection, 58–60; their evidence of genuineness and antiquity of the Canon, 60–62; history of MS. 1603, Paris, Lat., 62, 63; meaning of Fides S. Athanasii in Autun Canon, 63–65; date of Leodegar's Synod, 65, 66.
Avitus, Bp. of Vienne, defends doctrine of Double Procession by quoting language of *Quicunque*, 2.

Bamberg Psalter, 138–140.
Beleth, John, rector of the Theological School of Paris, 38; reckons four Creeds, *ibid.*
Benedictine use of *Quicunque* in monastic offices, 20, 21, 432.
Bessarion, Bp. of Tusculum, advocates Western doctrine of the Procession at Council of Florence, 277.
Bohemian version of *Quicunque*, 332.
Bouhier Commentary on *Quicunque*, 195; relation to Oratorian Commentary, *ibid.*; list of MSS. containing it, 197.
Bremen, Church of, and Vienna Psalter, 104 ff.
Breviary, oldest extant MS. of, 164; inclusion of *Quicunque*, 423; modern Cluniac omits *Quicunque*, 433; when inserted in Roman, 452.
Bruno, Bp. of Warzburg, his Psalter, 226; compared with Stavelot Commentary, 205–208; MSS. copies of, 227–230; Waterland's mistakes respecting it, 229, 239; printed editions, 231.

Caesarius of Arles, sermon of, referring to *Quicunque*, 4, 347.
Calecas, Manuel, quotes Greek version of *Quicunque*, 291.
Calendar, English, and chronological rules in tenth cent., 127–129, 158.
Caspari's Greek versions of *Quicunque*, 295–300.
Cassian, his treatise on the Incarnation, 356, 373; introduces Prime in the West, 425.
Catholica Fides, earliest title of the *Quicunque*, 2, 3, 392.
Chalcedon, definition of, its bearing on date of *Quicunque*, 364.
Charlemagne, treatise of Alcuin dedicated to, 17; his convention at Aix-la-Chapelle, 67; Psalters of his time, 72, 98, 107, 448; date of his reign, 115; his patronage of literature, 193.
Charles the Bald, capitula of, 76; his relations with Pope Hadrian, 102 ff.
Chiliasts, 174.
Christendom, relation of Eastern and Western, in fifth cent., 373.
Chronology, of Eusebius, 115, 172; of Fortunatus's Commentary, 171; of Augustine, 173.
Church estates, alienation of, by clergy forbidden, 48, 49.

Cirencester, Abbey of, 244.
Cluniac monks, rule of daily recitation of *Quicunque*, 27; modern Breviary omits *Quicunque*, 433.
Colbertine MS. of *Quicunque*, wrongly so described, 8.
Commonitorium of Vincent of Lerins, coincidences with *Quicunque*, 348, 358, 360, 374, 378 ff.; and with writings of Augustine, 378, 385.

Dagulfus the scribe, dedicatory verses of, 104.
Damasi symbolum, 15.
Date of the *Quicunque*, 336 ff.; summary of external evidence, 336–347; internal evidence, 347–374.
Denebert, Bp. of Worcester, his use of *Quicunque*, 15, 16.
Descent into hell, when first found in Apostles' Creed, 11; variations of terminology, 13, 14, 222, 368; its use against Apollinarianism, 369.
Destruction of ancient MSS., 341.
Dionysius Carthusianus of Ryckel, Commentary of, 265.
Discipline, ecclesiastical, 80, 84, 86.
Double procession of the Holy Spirit, 2, 147, 170, 188, 209, 409; its treatment in Greek versions of *Quicunque*, 271, 274, 275, 277, 278, 287, 290, 291, 294, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301.
Durandus, Bp. of Mende, *Rationale* 0, 45.

Eastern Church, attitude of, to *Quicunque*, 457.
Edward VI, first Prayer Book of, 310; its version of the *Quicunque*, *ibid.*; sources of the version, 311 ff.; rubrics relating to *Quicunque*, 430.
— second Prayer Book of, why it enjoined increased recital of *Quicunque*, 430.
English Psalters of tenth cent. containing *Quicunque*, 140; of eleventh cent., 153 ff.
English Synodalia referring to *Quicunque*, 89 ff.; Constitutions of Walter de Cantilupe, Bp. of Worcester, 89; of Walter de Kirkham, Bp. of Durham, 90; of Peter Quivil, Bp. of Exeter, 91.
— versions of *Quicunque*, 304–320, 450.
— use of French versions of *Quicunque*, 326.
Epistola Canonica, 47; reasons given by the Ballerini for supposed reference to *Quicunque*, *ibid.*; external evidence of antiquity, 48; internal evidence of authenticity, 49; list of codices containing it, 50–52; its bearing on the date of the *Quicunque*, 346.
Eusebian chronology, 115, 172.
Eusebius of Vercellae, 34.
Eutychianism, no trace of, in *Quicunque*, 352, 365.
Exeter, supposed abbey at, 245.

Felix of Orgel, 18.
Fides Romanorum, 14, 15, 65.
Fleury, monastery of, 19; daily recitation of *Quicunque* at Prime in ninth century, 19, 20, 432; Abbo Floriacensis, 28; Theodulf, 18.
Florus the Deacon, letter of, to Hyldrad, 21; his revision of the Psalter, 22; testimony to the use of the *Quicunque*, 23, 337.
Fortunatus Venantius, Bp. of Poictiers, 166; his Commentary on the *Quicunque*, 167; uncertainty of authorship, 168; date of, 169 ff., 346; its chronology, 171; relation to Monothelete controversy, 174 ff.; manuscripts of, 176 ff.; first printed copy, 183.
Frankfort, Council of, 67, 71.
French Psalters, 134, 135; some written and used in England, 326 English saints therein, 327.
French versions of the *Quicunque*, 322 ff.

Gallican collection of Canons, 113, 131.
German versions of *Quicunque*, 320–322.
Germany, early reception and use of the *Quicunque* in, 447.
Glosa scolastica, 243.
Godescal's Book of the Gospels, 104.
Greek books of devotions used by Latins, 285, 286.
— horologies, 300 ff.
— Psalter containing *Quicunque*, 284; its influence on the English Prayer Book version, 286; Graeco-Latin Psalter, 296.
— versions of the *Quicunque*, 270; four edited by Montfaucon, 270–295; two by Caspari, 295–300; one appended to a Greek horology, 300.

Hadrian, Pope, and Charlemagne, 102.
Hampole Psalter, 250; relation to Canonici MS., 251; mistaken identification by Waterland with Magdalen College MS., 252; his prologue to the Psalter, 255; connexion with Wycliffite version of the *Quicunque*, and Commentary, 255 ff.; why incomplete, 256.
Hatto, Bp. of Basel, Capitulare of, 72.
Henry, Abbot of Brunswick, quotes *Quicunque* against the Greeks, 37.
Heriveus, the writer of Boulogne MS. 20, 226.
Herovall collection of Canons, 53 ff.
Hilary of Arles, his supposed authorship of the *Quicunque* discussed, 375–377.
Hildegardis, Abbess of St. Rupert, 104; discourse on the *Quicunque*, 237.
Hilsey, Bp., Primer of, containing *Quicunque*, 309.
Hincmar, Abp. of Rheims, 24; quotes *Quicunque* as Athanasian, *ibid.*; capitula of, 322, 323.
Honorius of Autun, 35, 427; explains use of four Creeds, 35.
Horologies, Greek, 300 ff.
Hypostatic union in *Quicunque*, 352.

Incomprehensibilis, how used in *Quicunque*, 313.
Inquisitio Synodalis, 80, 193, 194.
Irish Church, connexion with Gaul and Lerins, 389; early reception of the *Quicunque*, 451.
Irish MSS. of the *Quicunque*, 33, 93; curious tradition of its authorship, 33.
Italian version of *Quicunque*, 332.

Jacobus Perez de Valentia, his Commentary on the *Quicunque*, 267.
Jerome, St., controversy with Rufinus on the Resurrection of the body, 372 *note*.
Johannes Genuensis, his *Catholicon*, 42; explanation of the use of Creeds, 43; Commentary erroneously attributed to him, 253; his statement as to the frequency of recitation of *Quicunque*, 427.

Leo's Epistle to Flavian, 353, 365.
Leodegar, or Leger, Bp. of Autun, 55 ff.; date of his Diocesan Synod, 65, 66.
Litanies, indicating date and locality of MSS., 109, 134, 136, 143, 144, 154, 157, 159, 160, 162, 163, 202, 228, 327, 341.
Lothair, Emperor, 73; capitula of his reign, *ibid.*; their date and locality, 74; dependence on earlier documents, 75; Psalter of, 119–122.
Ludolphus Saxo of Strasburg, 46.
Luithard, the writer of the Psalter of Charles the Bald, 134.

Married clergy in Middle Ages, 49, 88.
Mary, Blessed Virgin, not exempt from original sin, 241.

Mauricius de Soliaco, Bp. of Paris, 224.
Merton College Psalter, 238; its sources, 239; ascribed to Anastasius, *ibid.*; position of the *Quicunque*, *ibid.*; wrongly ascribed to Bruno by Waterland, *ibid.*; owners of the MS., 240.
Milan Commentary on the *Quicunque*, 221; its catechetical form, *ibid.*; connexion with the Ambrosian rite, 222; other MSS. of, 223, 224; cf. 233 ff.
Milanese Psalter, 148.
Millenary, sixth, 171 ff.
Monothelete controversy in relation to date of Fortunatus's Commentary, 174 ff.; Troyes Commentary, 186; Oratorian Commentary, 189.
Montfaucon's four Greek versions of the *Quicunque*, 293 ff.

Nativities, two, of our Lord, 354 ff., 380.
Necham, Alexander, Abbot of Cirencester, 241; Commentary on *Quicunque*, 242 ff.; quotations from earlier expositions, *ibid.*; Oudin's account of the author, 245.
Nequam, Alexander, Commentary on *Quicunque*, 246; confusion with Necham, 247; his connexion with Exeter, 248.
Nestorian controversy, traces of, in *Quicunque*, 350 ff.; as to unity of Christ, 350; analogy of soul and flesh in man, 351; hypostatic union, 352; implied acknowledgement of two natures, 353; two nativities of our Lord, 354–358; absence of Theotokos explained, 358; discussion of the phrase 'perfectus Deus, perfectus homo,' 360 ff.; repudiation of change in the Divine substance, 366; the descent into hell, 369.
Nice, Council of, composition of *Quicunque* attributed to, 33.
Oratorian Commentary on *Quicunque*, its sources, 188; repudiation of Monotheletism, 189; MSS. of, 190; date, 192 ff.
Ordo ad visitandum infirmum (Sarum), 92.
Orleans Commentary on *Quicunque*, 211; was it the work of Theodulf, 212, 213; relation to earlier Commentaries, 214–217.
Otto, Bp. of Freisingen, 37.

Paris Commentary on *Quicunque*, 199; its date, 200.
Paulinus of Aquileia, 209.
Paululus, Robert, of Amiens, 38.
Peckham's Constitutions, 92.
Petrus de Osoma, Canon of Salamanca, Commentary of, on *Quicunque*, 265; its account of the composition and use thereof, 266.
Plusiadenus, Johannes, his dialogue supporting Council of Florence, 290, 291; use of Greek version of *Quicunque*, *ibid.*
Prayer-book version of *Quicunque*, 311; comparison with Greek, Latin, and other English versions, 312–318; conclusions as to its sources, 318 ff.
Procession of the Holy Spirit, treatises by Alcuin, 16; Theodulf, 18; Ratramn, 25; Æneas, Bp. of Paris, 26; argument at Constantinople by Henry, Abbot of Brunswick, 37; Synod of Nymphaea, 39; discussed at Council of Gentili, 171.
Proclus, Bp. of Cyzicus, 357, 358.
Psalters, contents of, in ninth cent., 22; earliest extant containing *Quicunque*, 98; Gallican and Roman Psalters compared, 100, 107; both in use in England in Saxon times, 144; sacramental efficacy attached to recitation of Psalter, 163.

Quicunque, authorship of, 374–391; three conditions required, 374; Waterland's arguments for Hilary of

Arles examined, 376; no evidence for Cassian or Marius Mercator, 378; Vincent of Lerins the only person who fulfils the pre-requisite conditions, 379; parallels between his language and that of Augustine, 378; connexion between the *Commonitorium* and the *Quicunque*, 380; Augustine the common source of both, 385; unity of fundamental principle between the *Commonitorium* and *Quicunque*, 387; early history of the *Quicunque* favours this conclusion, 389; summary, 390; why attributed to Athanasius, 402.

Quicunque, Canons and Ecclesiastical Injunctions relating to, 47 ff.

— Commentaries on, 166 ff.

— Condemnatory clauses of, substantially found in Vincent of Lerins, 388.

— Is it a creed, 420 ff.

— Date of, 336 ff.; summary of external evidence, 336–347; internal evidence, 347–374; its resemblance to the language of Augustine, 347, 348; and to the *Commonitorium* of Vincent of Lerins, 348; traces of the Nestorian controversy in its terminology, 350 ff.; the unity of Christ, 350; the analogy of soul and body in man, 351; the hypostatic union, 352; the phrase 'licet Deus sit et homo,' 353; the two nativities of our Lord, 354; 'Perfectus Deus, perfectus homo,' &c., 360; 'Unus autem, non conversione Divinitatis in carnem,' &c., 365; discussion of last verses, 368.

— History of its reception, in France, 440; Italy, 444; Germany, 447; England, 450; Ireland, 451; Central Italy and Rome, *ibid.*; Spain, 456; never received in Eastern churches, 457; except Armenian, 458.

— Language, original, of, 334 ff.

— Liturgical use of: general in ninth cent., 424; its connexion with Prime, 425; reasons for, 40, 43; frequency of recital, by secular clergy, 425; post-Reformation use in England, 429; monastic use, 432 ff., 19, 21, 26, 27, 28, 37, 38, 40.

Quicunque, Manuscript copies of, 93 ff. See also special index.

— Text of, 407 ff.

— Titles of: no title in earliest MSS., 392; Fides Catholica, earliest and most frequent title, 392, 395; when attributed to Athanasius, 395; when first called Symbolum, 397; other titles, 398; ascription to Anastasius, 399; titles in English Prayer Book, 401; bearing of titles on its history, *ibid.*; how the ascription to Athanasius is to be accounted for, 402 ff.

— Unity of, 348, 349, 368, 407.

— Versions of, Greek (7), 270; English (6), 304; German (5), 320; French (5), 322; Spanish (2), 330; Italian (1), 332; Bohemian (1), *ibid.*; existence of, a proof of popular use, 438.

Quivil, Peter, Bp. of Exeter, Constitutions of, 90.

Ratherius, Bp. of Verona, quotes *Quicunque*, 27; enjoins its recitation on his clergy, 28; synodica of, 85; contumacy and violence of his clergy, 86, 88; his personal unpopularity, 87; vicissitudes of his life, 88.

Ratramn, monk of Corbie, 25; quotes *Quicunque* as Athanasian, *ibid.*

Recitation of Psalter in Middle Ages, 195; sacramental efficacy attached to, 163.

Regino, Abbot of Prum, 49, 71, 77; Admonitio synodalis appended to his books on *Ecclesiastical Discipline*, 79, 82.

Resurrection of the body, meaning of, in *Quicunque*, 371; controversy

between Jerome and Rufinus, 371, 372 *note*.
Riculfus, Bp. of Soissons, 77; statutes of, 194.
Rolle, Richard, *see* Hampole.
Rufinus on Apostles' Creed, 168; controversy with Jerome, 372.

Schoolmen, attitude of, to the three Creeds, 45.
Service-books, scarcity of, described in preface to the Oratorian Commentary, 192, 193, 194.
Sigeric, Abp. of Canterbury, 31 ff.
Simon of Tournay, Commentary of, 240; ascribes *Quicunque* to Pope Anastasius, 241; reference to B. V. Mary, *ibid.*
Six ages of the world, 173 ff.
Spanish Book of Hours containing *Quicunque*, 330.
Stavelot Commentary on *Quicunque*, 201; MSS. containing it, 202–205; relation to Bruno's Psalter, 205–208; date and authorship, 208–211.

Theodore of Mopsuestia, his profession of faith, 363, 364.
Theodoret's language about the Incarnation, 354, 359.
Theodulf, Abbot of Fleury and Bp. of Orleans, quotes *Quicunque*, as Athanasian, 18; probably author of Stavelot Commentary, 210; rather than that of Orleans Commentary, 212, 213.
Theotokos, why not found in *Quicunque*, 358.
Toledo, third Council of, 117.
— fourth Council of, 12; its confession of faith, *ibid.*; its close relation to *Quicunque*, 12 ff.; its peculiarities, *ibid.*; other sources of its language, 14.
Traditio Symboli, sermons at, 3–12, 117, 436.
Trèves fragment, described and date discussed, 4; its relation to *Quicunque*, 6; views of Drs. Swainson and Lumby, *ibid.*; arguments for priority of *Quicunque*, 6, 7, 8; wrongly called the Colbertine MS. of the Athanasian Creed, 8; reasons for believing it to be part of a sermon to catechumens on the *Quicunque*, 9; its date, 10, 11; its bearing on the date of the *Quicunque*, 343.
Troyes Commentary on *Quicunque*, where found, 184; relation to Commentary of Fortunatus, 185; of Theodulf, *ibid.*; its date, 186, 187; repudiation of Monotheletism and Origenism, *ibid.*

Unity of Christ's person, 350, 352, 414.
Utrecht Psalter, 122; its date, 123; history of the MS., 124.

Veccus, Patriarch of Constantinople, quotes *Quicunque* from Greek version, 292.
Versions of *Quicunque*, Greek (7), 270–300; English (6), 304–320; German (5), 320–322; French (5), 322–330; Spanish (2), 330, 331; Italian (1), 332; Bohemian (1), *ibid.*; existence of a proof of popular use, 438.
Vincent of Lerins, probably author of *Quicunque*, 379 ff.

Walter de Cantilupe, Bp. of Worcester, Constitutions of, 89.
Walter de Kirkham, Bp. of Durham, Constitutions of, 90.
Winchester Psalter, containing names of local saints, 158; connexion of St. Nicholas with the Cathedral, 160; Latin-French Psalters written in the monastery of St. Swithin, 327.
Wycliffite versions of and Commentary on the *Quicunque*, 253; Psalters containing it, 254, 261, 262; their arrangements, 265; connexion with Hampole's Psalter, 255 ff.; provision of manuals in vernacular, 261; characteristic passages, 263–265.

INDEX OF MANUSCRIPTS

CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO CONTENTS AND LOCALITY.

I. MSS. CONTAINING THE ATHANASIAN CREED.

ENGLAND.

		PAGE
Brit. Mus. Cotton MS. Galba A. XVIII.	Psalter (of Æthelstan)	125
—— Bib. Reg. 2. B. V.	,,	140
—— Arundel MS. 60	,,	158
Bodl. MS. Canonici Patr. Lat. 88	,,	161
Camb. Univ. Lib. Ff. 1. 23	,,	153
Parker Lib. C.C.C. Camb. 272. O. 5	,,	135
—— CCCXCI	,,	155
Lambeth 427	,,	142
Salisb. Cath. Lib. No. 150	,,	143
In private hands	Psalter (of Lothair)	118

ITALY.

Vat. MS. Pal. 574	Coll. Canons	131, 344, 366, 389
Vat. MS. 82	Psalter	148
—— 84	,,	151
Milan O. 212	Coll. Conf. Faith	93, 341, 389

FRANCE.

Paris B. N. Lat. 13159	Psalter	72, 107
—— 3848 B.	Coll. Canons	3, 117
—— 4858	Fragment	112
—— 1451	Coll. Canons	131
—— 1152	Psalter (of Charles the Bald)	134
—— 2341	Coll. Conf. F.	14, 133, 145
—— 2076	,,	14, 133, 148
Paris Cod. Mazarin 364	Breviary	164

AUSTRIA.

		PAGE
Vienna Imp. Lib. 28 (Denis)	Psalter	98
——— 269	Coll. Conf. F.	133

GERMANY.

Bamberg, no press mark	Psalter	138

HOLLAND.

Utrecht Lib.	Psalter	122

II. MSS. containing Quotations from the Athanasian Creed.

Paris B. N. Lat. 3848 B.	Sermons	3, 347
——— 2123	„	3, 347
——— 3836	„	5, 11, 133, 342

III. MSS. containing Commentaries on the Athanasian Creed.

(Where a commentary is not named the sources cannot be traced.)

ENGLAND.

Bodl. Lib. L. Jun. 25	Fortunatus	176
——— Laud, Codd. Miscel. 234	„	178
——— „ Lat. 17	Stavelot	202
——— Canonici Bibl. 30 ——— MS. Laud, Misc. 40	(from Stavelot and Oratorian)	218, 219
——— „ Codd. Lat. 105		223–4, 234
——— Rawlinson B. N. 163	Bruno	227
——— Laud, Lat. 96	„	227
——— 284	Necham	241, 3, 4
——— Auct. D. 2. 9	„	241
——— MS. Rawlinson C. 67	Nequam	246
——— MS. Laud, Misc. 493	Hales	248
——— „ 12 Codd. Misc.	„	250
——— 288 ——— 877 ——— 95 ——— Laud, Misc. 448	Wycliffite	254, 258
——— Douce 258	„	259
——— Laud, Misc. 174	„	262
Brit. Museum MS. Addit. 10046	„	261, 263
——— Reg. 8 B. xiv	(partly from Stavelot)	234

		PAGE
Brit. Museum Harl. MS. 1806	Wycliffite	254, 258
——— „ 3133	Necham	241
——— MS. Addit. 18043	Stavelot	201, 207, 230
——— „ 10924	.	219
——— „ 24902	Bouhier	198
Trin. Coll. Cam. Lib. R. 17. 1	Stavelot	202
——— 171	Wycliffite	254, 258
C. C. Coll. Camb. Parker Lib. E. 1. 387	„	255, 258
Ball. Coll. Oxon. Lib. No. 32	Stavelot	204
St. John's Coll. Oxon. Lib. No. 101	„	204
C. C. Coll. Oxon. Lib. No. 250	Simon of Tournay	240
Magd. Coll. Oxon. Lib. No. 115	(mainly from Stavelot and Oratorian)	253
Merton Coll. Oxon. Lib. MS. 208	„ „	238
Phillipps or Middlehill Collection, 1655	(mainly from Fortunatus)	237
York Cath. Lib. XVI. 7. 4	Stavelot	205
Durham Cath. Lib.	„	205

FRANCE.

Paris B. N. Lat. 2826	Fortunatus	179
——— 17448	„	179
——— 1008	„	179
——— 1012	Paris	199
——— 12020	Stavelot	201
——— 18068	Simon of Tournay	240
S. Gall. 27 and 241	Fortunatus	181
Troyes MS. 804	Troyes	184
——— „	Oratorian	188
——— 1979	Bouhier	196
——— 1532	„	197
S. Omer Lib., no press mark	„	197
Orleans Lib. MS. 94	Orleans	211
Boulogne Lib. MS. 20	(from Stavelot and other sources)	225

ITALY.

Vat. Lib. Lat. Reg. 231	Oratorian	190
Milan Lib. M. 79	Fortunatus, &c.	181, 232
——— T. 103	.	221, 233, 234, 236
——— I. 152	.	235
Florence Lib., no press mark	Fortunatus	182
Turin Lib. No. 66	(from Stavelot and Oratorian)	220

GERMANY.

Bamberg Lib. A. 11. 16	Fortunatus	181
——— Ed. or B. 11. 16	„	181
Munich Lib. Cod. Lat. 19417	„	181

			PAGE
Munich Lib. Cod. Lat.	3729	Fortunatus	181
———	14508	,,	181
———	14501	,,	181
Metz Pub. Lib. No. 14		(from Stavelot and Oratorian)	220

AUSTRIA.

Vienna Imp. Lib. 269 (Denis)		Fortunatus	133, 178

SWITZERLAND.

Basle MS. B. IX. 6		Simon of Tournay	240

BELGIUM.

Brussels Lib. No. 9191		(from Stavelot and Oratorian)	220

IV. MSS. CONTAINING VERSIONS OF THE ATHANASIAN CREED.

ENGLAND.

Bodl. Lib. Canonici Gr.	116	Greek	280
———	21 f. 147 b	,,	295
Bodl. Lib. MS.	425 F. 69. v	English	304
——— MS.	288	,,	309
Brit. M. Addit.	17376	,,	305
———	10046	,,	309
Brit. M. Harleian	4327	French	324
———	273	,,	328
———	1770	,,	328
Camb. Univ. Lib. Ee.	1. 10	English	309

FRANCE.

Paris B. N. Gr. 1286 (formerly Reg. 2962)		Greek	272
Paris B. N. Suppl. Franc.	5145	French	329
Paris Royal Lib. 1327 (formerly 2502)		Greek	275

ITALY.

Vat. MS. Gr. Palat.	364	Greek	271
———	81	,,	296
Florence Lib. Plut. XI. cod.	12	,,	289
S. Mk. Lib. Venice Cod.	DLXXV	,,	295

AUSTRIA.

			PAGE
Vienna Imp. Lib. (Nessel) Codex cxc. Gr. MSS.	Greek	. . . . .	277
——— ccxlv.	„	. . . . .	297
——— D. 1. 79, f. 229	German	. . . . .	321
——— Denis No. xxxviii	„	. . . . .	321
——— „ xxxix	„	. . . . .	322

GERMANY.

Munich MSS. Germ. 588	German	321
——— 589 f. 153	„	321
Wolfenbüttel MS. Theol. xxvii. f. 153	„	321

V. MSS. containing Canons and Ecclesiastical Injunctions referring to the use of the Athanasian Creed.

ENGLAND.

Brit. Mus. MS. Addit. 19725	Cap. Lothair	73

ITALY.

Vat. 1342	Ep. Canonica	50
— 1343	„	50
— 1353	„	50
— 5845	„	50
— 4332	Cap. Atto	85
Vallicellan A 5	Ep. Canonica	50
Barberini 2888	„	50
Vercelli 175	Coll. Canons (Herovall)	54
Ivrea MS.	„	54

FRANCE.

Paris B. N. Lat. 1603	Coll. Canons (Angers)	53
——— 3848 B	Coll. Canons (Herovall)	54
——— 2123	„	54
——— 4281	„	54
——— 2400	„	54
——— Sangerm. 1363	„	54

BELGIUM.

Brussels Burgund. Lib. 10127–10144	Coll. Canons (Angers)	54

GERMANY.

		PAGE
Darmstadt 2179	Coll. Canons (Angers)	53
Munich G 111	Cap. examinationis	68

SWITZERLAND.

Einsiedeln 205	Coll. Canons (Angers)	54
San Gall 675	Coll. Canons (Angers)	54

AUSTRIA.

Vienna 2171	Coll. Canons (Angers)	54

THE END.

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THE HOLY SCRIPTURES, ETC. . . page 1
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